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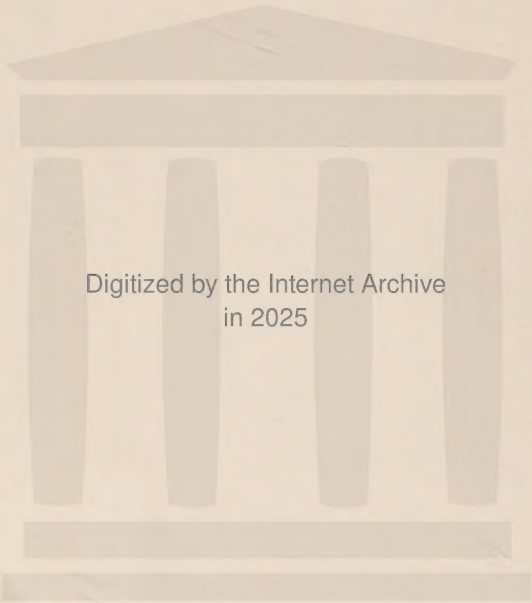

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45
40
35
10
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NORTH SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
English Channel
St. George Channel
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Bergen
Stavanger
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Edinburgh
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Angers
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Tours
Orleans
Blois
Nantes
Fontainebleau
Rochefort
Limoges
Nevers
Lyon
Bordeaux
Agen
Toulouse
Narbonne
Marseilles
Perpignan
Toulon
Bayonne
Biarritz
Bilboa
Santander
Corunna
Leon
Burgos
Oporto
Braganza
Valladolid
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Barcelona
Pyrenees
Madrid
SPAIN
Tagus R.
Lisbon
Ocana
Alicant
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Murcia
Cartagena
Lagos
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Majorca
Minorca
Iviza
BALEARIC IS.
Algiers
Oran
Bona
Tunis
AFRICA
MEDIT
FRANCE
SWITZ
Basel
Berne
Geneva
Milan
Genoa
Turin
Chambery
Grenoble
Lyon R.
Rhone R.
Corsica
Ajaccio
Bastia
SARDINIA
KM. OF
Sassari
Cagliari
Mainz
Metz
Strasbg
Cologne
Coblentz
Hanover
Munster
Aurich
Vienna
Prague
Dresden
Leipsic
Berlin
Hamburg
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Bologna
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Naples
Civita Vecchia
Ancona
Sienna
Perugia
Gaeta
Capua
Messina
Palermo
Syracuse
Malta
Trapani
Sardinia
Corsica
Tuscany
Papal States
Sicily
Naples
Hungary
Bohemia
Moravia
Silesia
Poland
Galicia
Lithuania
Courland
Livonia
Esthonia
Finland
Sweden
Norway
Denmark
Zealand
Funen
Jutland
Holstein
Mecklenburg
Pomerania
Brandenburg
Saxony
Westphalia
Hesse
Wurtemberg
Bavaria
Tyrol
Switzerland
Austria
Prussia
Russia
Turkey
Greece
Morea
Candia
Cyprus
Rhodes
Smyrna
Constantinople
Adrianople
Salonica
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Dalmatia
Croatia
Transylvania
Wallachia
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Crimea
Azof
Kiow
Moscow
Petersburg
Archangel
Wiborg
Abo
Stockholm
Upsal
Gothenburg
Carlscrona
Christianstad
Malmo
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Odense
Aalborg
Ripen
Tonningen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Rostock
Stettin
Dantzic
Memel
Konigsberg
Riga
Mitau
Pernau
Reval
Narva
Petersburg
Ladoga L.
Onega L.
Archangel
Wiborg
Abo
Stockholm
Upsal
Gothenburg
Carlscrona
Christianstad
Malmo
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Odense
Aalborg
Ripen
Tonningen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Rostock
Stettin
Dantzic
Memel
Konigsberg
Riga
Mitau
Pernau
Reval
Narva
Petersburg
Ladoga L.
Onega L.

20
25
30
35
40
45
FINLAND
Lake Ladoga
Frederikshamn
Helsingfors
Aland Is.
Gulf of Finland
Kronstadt
St. Petersburg
Vologda
Volga R.
Nijni Novgorod
Rival
Pipus Lake
Novgorod
Vladimir
Oka R.
55
Dago
Dorpat
Pskov
Tver
Moscow
Osel
Gulf of Riga
RUSSIA
Borodino
Gotland
Libau
Riga
Mitau
Tula
Dünaburg
Düna R.
Polotsk
Smolensk
Memel
Kovno
Vilna
Moghilev
Voronezh
Königsberg
Gumbinnen
Grodno
Minsk
Beresina R.
Don R.
Danzig
Elbing
Gorodnia
Desna R.
50
Bialystok
Pinsk
Tchernigov
Bielgorod
Thorn
Plock
Bug R.
Pripet R.
Brest
Vistula R.
Warsaw
Oyrutch
Kiev
Posen
POLAND
Poltava
Rawicz
Lublin
Vladimir
Jitomir
Donetz R.
Breslau
Oppeln
Kielce
GALICIA AND LODOMERIA
Brody
Dniester R.
Cracow
Uman
Ekaterinoslav
Azov
Ratibor
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Kamenetz
Olmütz
Brünn
Neusohl
Czernowitz
Pruth R.
Bug R.
Sea of Azov
Schemnitz
Erlau
Theiss R.
Odessa
Kherson
Kertch
45
Presburg
Jassy
Kichenev
AUSTRIA
Buda Pesth
Gross Wardein
MOLDAVIA
Crimea
HUNGARY
Szegedin
SYLVANIA
Galatz
Sevastopol
Agram
Drave R.
Temesvar
Hermanstadt
BLACK SEA
SLAVONIA
Save R.
BANAT
WALLACHIA
Belgrade
Kraiova
Bukharest
Sinope
Semendria
Danube
Silistria
Ivornik
SERVIA
Widin
Varna
Nicopol
Shumla
BOSNIA
Bosna Serai
Novi Bazar
Nish
BALKAN MTS.
40
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Ragusa
Cattaro
Constantinople
Scutari
Angora
Kizil-Irmak R.
EMPIRE
Saloniki
Bari
Taranto
Bera
Smyrna
Corfu
Janina
Prevyza
Arta
St. Maura
Athens
Cephalonia
Zante
Tripolitza
35
Reggio
Rhodes
Cyprus
Navarino
Syracuse
Cerigo
Candia
SEA
15
20
25
30

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY
CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN
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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

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3

PREFACE

To all thoughtful persons the European War has brought home with erwhelming power the importance of a knowledge of modern European tory. For without such knowledge no one can understand, or begin understand, the significance of the forces that have made it, the stness of the issues involved, the nature of what is indisputably one the gravest crises, if not the very gravest, in the history of mankind. e destinies of every nation in this world and the conditions of life every individual will inevitably be changed, and may be profoundly anged, by the outcome of this gigantic and portentous conflict. No izen of a free country who takes his citizenship seriously, who considers nself responsible, to the full extent of his personal influence, for the aracter and conduct of his government, can, without the crudest self-ltification, admit that he knows nothing and cares nothing about the tory of Europe.

If he cares for his own national inheritance and tradition, for its aracteristic and fundamental policies and principles, then he will care ost emphatically about what happens in Europe. Nothing that ppens there is really foreign to us, for the fortunes of Europe and nerica are inextricably intertwined.

This, in my opinion the most outstanding fact in the modern world, s exemplified in the eighteenth century in the person of Lafayette, American patriot and a French patriot, a hero of two revolutions. Lafayette's library hung appropriately side by side two momentous cuments, the American Declaration of Independence and the French clarion of the Rights of Man, two utterances that have had morable consequences in the world because multitudes of men ve been willing to give their lives that these principles might prevail d multitudes have given their lives that they should not prevail.

Fundamentally this struggle for liberty has been the warp and woof modern European history and the vicissitudes of the struggle are, in e deepest sense, what I have attempted to set forth in this volume.

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Complicated, exceedingly, has been the history of this conflict, and many other elements have entered into the problem and solution. These I have given their due place, but I have also endeavored to keep them in just subordination to the central theme.

As furnishing the background for the story, I have described in the opening chapters the chief features of the eighteenth century, the Old Régime in Europe and in France. That régime was boldly challenged and roughly handled by the French Revolution. I have endeavored to indicate the spirit and meaning of that revolution as well as to describe its stirring events and personalities. That revolution clashed with Europe and started a European revolution, which has had its ups and downs, its victories and defeats, its varying issues in the different countries. The contest assumed the character of world warfare under Napoleon, who said of himself that he was "the Revolution" and that he had "killed the Revolution." Neither statement was correct; yet each possessed an element of truth. This essential duality of the Napoleonic system, Old Régime and New Régime commingled in impossible union, I have sought to make clear.

Napoleon partially conquered the New Régime, and those who conquered Napoleon and sent him to St. Helena were anxious to conquer it still more. They for a while succeeded, but in the end the new spirit which was abroad in the world was too strong for them and they and their works were severely battered by the widespread revolutions of 1848. To those who are content to look at the surface, the revolutions of that year seemed ephemeral; to those who look beneath they appear anything but ephemeral.

This ebb and flow has been the rhythm of European history since the close of the eighteenth century. The new has indisputably progressed, but it has progressed unequally in the different countries, as was natural and inevitable, since those countries are very dissimilar in character, in stages of development, and in mental outlook. This all-absorbing conflict has not yet ended.

This struggle for freedom has had many aspects. The spirit of nationalism, so prominent a feature of the nineteenth century, has in some cases been an expression of the desire for liberty; in other cases it has been the expression of the old familiar desire for national greatness and power, nothing more. I have attempted in my narrative to show the varying operation of this spirit in the different countries.

Again, where economic and social factors have been formative in
tional policy, I have described them, as for instance the conditions
at prevailed in France before the Revolution, the free trade movement
England, the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the Zollverein in Ger-
any, the tariff policies, the labor legislation, and the various measures
social reform which have been a growing feature of the modern world.
In the treatment of the past century I have drawn freely upon my
rger work, *Europe Since 1815*. The numerous illustrations which
company the text have been selected with reference to their historical
portance, and it is hoped that they will render the scenes and persons
ey portray more actual. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ernest F.
enderson and his publishers, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, for permis-
n to use several illustrations from Dr. Henderson's vivid and illumi-
ting book *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution;* and to
iss Louise Stetson Fuller of the Department of History of Smith
ollege for the preparation of the Index.

C. D. H.

Columbia University, January, 1917

CONTENTS

APTER		PAGE
I.	The Old Régime in Europe	1
II.	The Old Régime in France	31
III.	Beginnings of the Revolution	60
IV.	The Making of the Constitution	86
V.	The Legislative Assembly	101
VI.	The Convention	120
VII.	The Directory	152
VIII.	The Consulate	179
IX.	The Early Years of the Empire	194
X.	The Empire at its Height	215
XI.	The Decline and Fall of Napoleon	228
XII.	The Congresses	249
XIII.	France under the Restoration	270
XIV.	Revolutions beyond France	280
XV.	The Reign of Louis Philippe	289
XVI.	Central Europe in Revolt	298
XVII.	The Second French Republic and the Founding of the Second Empire	313
XVIII.	The Making of the Kingdom of Italy	325
XIX.	The Unification of Germany	341
XX.	The Second Empire and the Franco-Prussian War	351
XXI.	The German Empire	363
XXII.	France under the Third Republic	384
XXIII.	The Kingdom of Italy since 1870	409
XXIV.	Austria-Hungary since 1848	416
XXV.	England from 1815 to 1868	428
XXVI.	England since 1868	453
XXVII.	The British Empire	487
XXVIII.	The Partition of Africa	507
XXIX.	Spain and Portugal	515
XXX.	Holland and Belgium since 1830	522
XXXI.	Switzerland	527
XXXII.	The Scandinavian States	533

XXXIII. The Disruption of the Ottoman Empire and the Rise of the Balkan States 540
XXXIV. Russia to the War with Japan 558
XXXV. The Far East 572
XXXVI. Russia since the War with Japan 585
XXXVII. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 590
XXVIII. The European War 608
Index 610

573
548
2 3-

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
ederick the Great	16
ter the Great	23
atherine II	25
aria Theresa	29
he Palace of Versailles	33
he Coach Ornamented with Symbols in which Louis XVI went to His Coronation in 1774	35
he Parlement of Paris	45
eyès	47
otestant Worship in the Wilderness	49
ontesquieu	53
oltaire	54
an Jacques Rousseau	56
he King's Bedchamber at Versailles	58
uis XVI	61
he Coronation of Louis XVI, in the Cathedral of Rheims, 1775	63
arie Antoinette	65
ecker	67
he Opening of the States-General	71
ostumes of the Three Orders	72
irabeau	74
he Tennis Court Oath	75
he Storming of the Bastille, July 14, 1789	77
he Session of August 4	79
he March of the Women to Versailles, October 5, 1789	82
he Palace of Versailles on October 6, 1789	83
fayette	86
Assignat	94
he Tuileries	97
The Return from Varennes. Arrival in Paris	98
The Jacobin Club	106
A Session at the Jacobin Club	107
Liberty Cap and Pike	108
Madame Roland	111
The Attack upon the Tuileries, August 10, 1792	115
The Prison of the Temple	117
Marat	118
Danton	122
Last Portrait of Louis XVI	123
The Execution of Louis XVI	125
The Hall of the Convention	128
The Guillotine	131
The Execution of Marie Antoinette	136
Mlle. Maillard, "Goddess of Reason"	138
Robespierre	141
The Fête of the Supreme Being, June 8, 1794	143
Card of Admission to the Festival of the Supreme Being	144
A Director in Official Costume	152
Charles Bonaparte	153
Laetitia Ramolino, Napoleon's Mother	154
The House at Ajaccio in which Napoleon was Born	155
The Bridge of Lodi	160
Napoleon at Arcola	163
Removal of the Bronze Horses from Venice, May, 1797	167
William Pitt	169
Official Costume of a Member of the Council of the Five Hundred	175

Lucien Bonaparte 176
Bonaparte, First Consul 179
Josephine 180
Josephine at Malmaison 184
The Three Consuls 191
The Duke d'Enghien 192
Napoleon Crowning Josephine . . 197
Napoleon in the Imperial Robes 198
Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples 203
Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland 204
Elise Bonaparte, Princess of Lucca 205
Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese 206
Caroline Bonaparte, Duchess of Berg, and Marie Murat . . . 207
Joachim Murat, Duke of Berg 208
Jerome Bonaparte 209
Napoleon Receiving Queen Louise of Prussia at Tilsit, July 6, 1807 212
Lord Nelson 213
Queen Louise of Prussia 215
Empress Marie Louise 226
Baron vom Stein 231
Pope Pius VII 232
Napoleon's Camp Bed 235
Napoleon Returning from France, December, 1812 237
Napoleon's War Horse, "Marengo" 239
The Duke of Wellington 243
Blücher 244
Napoleon Embarking on the "Bellerophon" 245
The Island of St. Helena 245
Longwood, Napoleon's House at St. Helena 246
Napoleon's Tomb in the Invalides, Paris 247
Tomb of Napoleon at St. Helena 248
The Congress of Vienna 251
Metternich 256
Louis XVIII 271
The Construction of a Barricade 275
Street Fighting on July 28, 1830 277
Leopold I 282
Alexander I 284
Louis Philippe 290
Guizot 293
Louis Kossuth 299
Francis Joseph I 304
The Parliament of Frankfort . . . 309
Lamartine in 1832 314
Napoleon III 321
Empress Eugénie 323
Joseph Mazzini 327
Cavour 331
Garibaldi. 337
Victor Emmanuel II 338
William I 342
Bismarck 345
Moltke 348
Léon Gambetta 359
The Proclamation of William I as German Emperor, Versailles, January 18, 1871 361
Dropping the Pilot 377
William II 381
Thiers 385
Marshal MacMahon 391
Jules Grévy 392
Jules Ferry 393
Sadi-Carnot 394
Casimir Perier 396
Félix Faure 396
Emile Loubet 398
Alfred Dreyfus 399
Interior of the Chamber of Deputies 402
Théophile Delcassé 407
Francis Deák 417
The Old Parliament Buildings. Burned in 1834 429
Passing of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords 440
Queen Victoria at the Age of 20 443
Richard Cobden 447
John Bright 448
Sir Robert Peel 449
Houses of Parliament, London. Begun 1840, Completed 1852 45
William E. Gladstone 45
Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield 46

harles Stewart Parnell 467
ueen Victoria, at the Age of Seventy-eight 474
avid Lloyd George 478
erbert Asquith 479
nterior of the House of Commons 481
nterior of the House of Lords . . 483
he Cabinet Room 484
Iajuba Hill 500
oseph Chamberlain 502
aul Kruger 503
ord Roberts 503
eneral Gordon 513
ord Kitchener 514
King Albert I 524
Facsimile of Article VII of the Treaty of 1839, which Guaranteed the Independence and Perpetual Neutrality of Belgium 525
Oscar II 536
The Congress of Berlin 549
Abdul Hamid II 556
Alexander II 566
Nicholas II 569
Francis Joseph 596
Sir Edward Grey 615

MAPS

IN COLOR

Europe in 1789 . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Europe in 1740 1
Italy in the Eighteenth Century, 1770 8
The Growth of Prussia under Frederick the Great 14
Germany in 1789 18
The Partition of Poland 30
France before the Revolution 36
France by Departments 92
Northern Italy Illustrating Bonaparte's First Campaign 164
Europe in 1811 228
Europe in 1815 254
Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary 258
The German Confederation, 1815–1866 260
Italy, 1815–1859 266
The Unification of Italy 334
The Growth of Prussia since 1815 350
The German Empire, 1910 380
Colonial Possessions of the European Powers in 1815 488
Canada and Newfoundland 492
Africa. European Possessions in 1884 510
Africa, 1910 514
The Rise of the Balkan States 546
Asia in 1914 582
The Balkan States According to the Treaty of Bucharest 604
Colonial Possessions of the European Powers in 1910 608
Europe in 1912 612

IN BLACK

Egypt and Syria 171
Map Illustrating Campaigns of Napoleon 225
Australia and New Zealand 496

EUROPE
IN 1740
House of Bourbon
House of Hapsburg-Lorraine
House of Savoy
Kingdom of Prussia
BRITISH ISLES
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Aberdeen
Dundee
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Sunderland
Dublin
Liverpool
Leeds
Hull
Manchester
Nottingham
Worcester
Norwich
Amsterdam
Cambridge
Oxford
Bristol
LONDON
Dover
Plymouth
Portsmouth
English Channel
Calais
Brussels
Cologne
Cherbourg
Le Havre
Amiens
Caen
Reims
Brittany
Rennes
PARIS
Nantes
Loire R.
Orleans
Mulhausen
KINGDOM OF
Vendée
Rochefort
Lyons
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Camisards
Savoy
Turin
Corunna
Bayonne
Avignon
Toulouse
Marseilles
Toulon
Oporto
Burgos
Ebro R.
Roussillon
Duero R.
Saragossa
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
MADRID
Catalonia
Barcelona
LISBON
Tagus R.
Ocana
Guadiana R.
Valencia
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
SPAIN
Seville
Guadalquiver R.
Cartagena
Granada
Malaga
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Algiers
FEZ AND MOROCCO
ALGERIA
20
15
10
5
0
5
50
45
40
35
10
5
0
5

20
25
30
35
40
45
55
50
45
40
35
15
20
25
30
Finland
SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF
Kronstadt
ST. PETERSBURG
Ladoga L.
Volga R.
Aland Is.
Gulf of Finland
Ingria
Novgorod
Govt of Novgorod
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
STOCKHOLM
Dagö
Esthonia
Pskov
Moscow
Govt of Moscow
Gothland
Livonia
Riga
Govt of Smolensk
Oka R.
Tula
Öland
D. OF COURLAND
Polish Livonia
Duna R.
Smolensk
BALTIC SEA
Niemen
Vilna
Govt of Voronezh
Bornholm
Königsberg
Lithuania
Minsk
Dwina R.
Don R.
Bielgorod
Thorn
KINGDOM OF
Pinsk
Pripet
Great Poland
Posen
Praga
Brest
POLAND
Govt of Kiev
Donetz R.
Cossacks of the Don
WARSAW
Volhynia
Kiev
Poltava
Silesia
Breslau
Lublin
Vistula R.
Little Poland
Ukraine
Dnieper R.
Zaporogian Cossacks
Olmütz
Lemberg
Podolia
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Moravia
Brünn
Czernowitz
Yedisan
SEA OF AZOF
AUSTRIA
Presburg
Moldavia
Jassy
Pruth R.
VIENNA
Buda
Pest
Gr. P. of Transylvania
Bessarabia
Crimea
Grätz
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Nish
Bulgaria
Sofia
Herzegovina
Philippopolis
Montenegro
Scutari
REP. OF RAGUSA
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
Scutari
Angora
Rumelia
Salonika
Albania
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Corfu
Smyrna
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Levadia
Athens
Cephalonia
Morea
Messina
Catania
Candia
Crete
Malta
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE

Anyone who seeks to understand the stirring period in which we are w living becomes quickly aware that he must first know the history of e French Revolution, a movement that inaugurated a new era, not ly for France but for the world. The years from 1789 1815, the years of the Revolution and of Napoleon, ected one of the greatest and most difficult transitions of nich history bears record, and to gain any proper sense of its signifi- nce one must have some glimpse of the background, some conception what Europe was like in 1789. That background can only be sketched re in a few broad strokes, far from adequate to a satisfactory appre- tion, but at least indicating the point of departure.

Importance of the French Revolution

What was Europe in 1789? One thing, at least, it was not: it was t a unity. There were states of every size and shape and with every m of government. The States of the Church were theo- atic; capricious and cruel despotism prevailed in Turkey; solute monarchy in Russia, Austria, France, Prussia; constitutional narchy in England; while there were various kinds of so-called re- blics — federal republics in Holland and Switzerland, a republic whose ad was an elective king in Poland, aristocratic republics in Venice and noa and in the free cities of the Holy Roman Empire.

Europe in 1789

Of these states the one that was to be the most persistent enemy France and of French ideas throughout the period we are about to scribe was England, a commercial and colonial empire of the first portance. This empire, of long, slow growth, had passed rough many highly significant experiences during the hteenth century. Indeed that century is one of the most mentous in English history, rendered forever memorable three great series of events which in important respects transformed national life of England and her international relations, giving them

A momentous century in English history

the character and tendency which have been theirs ever since. These three streams of tendency or lines of evolution out of which the modern power of Britain has emerged were: the acquisition of what are still the most valuable parts of her colonial empire, Canada and India; the establishment of the parliamentary system of government, that is, government of the nation by its representatives, not by its royal house, the undoubted supremacy of Parliament over the Crown; and the beginnings of what is called the Industrial Revolution, that is, of the modern factory system of production on a vast scale which during the course of the nineteenth century made England easily the chief industrial nation of the world.

Accession of the House of Hanover

The evolution of the parliamentary system of government had, of course, been long in progress but was immensely furthered by the advent in 1714 of a new royal dynasty, the House of Hanover, still at this hour the reigning family. The struggle between Crown and Parliament, which had been long proceeding and had become tense and violent in the seventeenth century in connection with the attempts of the Stuart kings to make the monarchy all-powerful and supreme, ended finally in the eighteenth century with the victory of Parliament, and the monarch ceased to be, what he remained in the rest of Europe, the dominant element in the state.

In 1701 Parliament, by mere legislative act, altered the line of succession by passing over the direct, legitimate claimant because he was a Catholic, and by calling to the throne George, Elector of Hanover, because he was a Protestant. Thus the older branch of the royal family was set aside and a younger or collateral branch was put in its place. This was a plain defiance of the ordinary rules of descent which generally underlie the monarchical system everywhere. It showed that the will of Parliament was superior to the monarchical principle, that, in a way, the monarchy was elective. Still other important consequences followed from this act.

The early Hanoverians

George I, at the time of his accession to the English throne in 1714 fifty-four years of age, was a German. He continued to be a German prince, more concerned with his electorate of Hanover than with his new kingdom. He did not understand a word of English and, as his ministers were similarly ignorant of German, he was compelled to resort to a dubious Latin when he wished to communicate with them. He was king from 1714 to 1727, and was followed by his son, George II, who ruled from 1727 to 1760 and who, though he knew

nglish, spoke it badly and was far more interested in his petty German incipality than in imperial Britain.

The first two Georges, whose chief interest in England was the money ey could get out of it, therefore allowed their ministers to carry on the vernment and they did not even attend the meetings of e ministers where questions of policy were decided. For rty-six years this royal abstention continued. The result as the establishment of a régime never seen before in any country. ne royal power was no longer exercised by the king, but was exercised his ministers, who, moreover, were members of Parliament. In other rds, to use a phrase that has become famous, the king reigns but does t govern. Parliament really governs, through a committee of its embers, the ministers.

Development of Cabinet Government

The ministers must have the support of the majority party in Parliament, and during all this period they, as a matter of fact, relied upon e party of the Whigs. It had been the Whigs who had rried through the revolution of 1688 and who were committed to the principle of the limitation of the royal power in favor of e sovereignty of Parliament. As George I and George II owed their rone to this party, and as the adherents of the other great party, the ories, were long supposed to be supporters of the discarded Stuarts, ngland entered upon a period of Whig rule, which steadily undermined ie authority of the monarch. The Hanoverian kings owed their position as kings to the Whigs. They paid for their right to reign by the bandonment of the powers that had hitherto inhered in the monarch.

The Whigs in power

The change that had come over their position did not escape the tention of the monarchs concerned. George II, compelled to accept inisters he detested, considered himself "a prisoner upon the rone." "Your ministers, Sire," said one of them to him, "are but ie instruments of your government." George smiled and replied, "In is country the ministers are king."

Besides the introduction of this unique form of government the her great achievement of the Whigs during this period was an extraordinary increase in the colonial possessions of England, e real launching of Britain upon her career as a world wer, as a great imperial state. This sudden, tremenus expansion was a result of the Seven Years' War, which raged from 56 to 1763 in every part of the world, in Europe, in America, in Asia,

Growth of the British Empire

and on the sea. Many nations were involved and the struggle was highly complicated, but two phases of it stand out particularly and in high relief, the struggle between England and France, and the struggle between Prussia on the one hand and Austria, France, and Russia on the other. The Seven Years' War remains a mighty landmark in the history of England and of Prussia, its two conspicuous beneficiaries.

England found in William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham, an incomparable leader, a great orator of a declamatory and theatrical type, an incorruptible statesman, a passionate patriot, a man instinct with energy, aglow with pride and confidence in the splendor of the destinies reserved for his country. Pitt infused his own energy, his irresistible driving power into every branch of the public service. Head of the ministry from 1757 to 1761, he aroused the national sentiment to such a pitch, he directed the national efforts with such contagious and imperious confidence, that he turned a war that had begun badly into the most glorious and successful that England had ever fought. On the sea, in India, and in America, victory after victory over the French rewarded the nation's extraordinary efforts. Pitt boasted that he alone could save the country. Save it he surely did. He was the greatest of war ministers, imparting his indomitable resolution to multitudes of others. No one, it was said, ever entered his office without coming out a braver man. His triumph was complete when Wolfe defeated Montcalm upon the Plains of Abraham.

William Pitt

By the Peace of Paris, which closed this epochal struggle, England acquired from France disputed areas of Nova Scotia, all of Canada, and the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, and also acquired Florida from Spain. From France, too, she snatched at the same time supremacy in India. Thus England had become a veritable world-empire under the inspiring leadership of the "Great Commoner." Her horizons, her interests, had grown vastly more spacious by this rapid increase in military renown, in power, in territory. She had mounted to higher influence in the world, and that, too, at the expense of her old historic enemy, just across the Channel.

Peace of Paris

But all this prestige and greatness were imperiled and gravely compromised by the reign that had just begun. George III had, in 1760, come to the throne which he was not to leave until claimed by death sixty years later. "The name of George III," writes one English historian, "cannot be penned without a pang, can

Accession of George III

ardly be penned without a curse, such mischief was he fated to do ne country." Unlike his two predecessors, he was not a German, ut was a son of England, had grown up in England and had been ducated there, and on his accession, at the age of twenty-two, had nounced in his most famous utterance that he "gloried in the name Briton." But wisdom is no birthright, and George III was not desned to show forth in his life the saving grace of that quality. With any personal virtues, he was one of the least wise of monarchs and ne of the most obstinate.

His mother, a German princess, attached to all the despotic notions her native land, had frequently said to him, "George, be a king." his maternal advice, that he should not follow the example the first two Georges but should mix actively in public ffairs, fell upon fruitful soil. George was resolved not only o reign but to govern in the good old monarchical way. his determination brought him into a sharp and momentous clash with ne tendency and the desire of his age. The historical significance of eorge III lies in the fact that he was resolved to be the chief directing ower in the state, that he challenged the system of government which ave that position to Parliament and its ministers, that he threw himelf directly athwart the recent constitutional development, that he ntended to break up the practices followed during the last two reigns nd to rule personally as did the other sovereigns of the world. As the ew system was insecurely established, his vigorous intervention brought n a crisis in which it nearly perished.

Opposition of George III to the cabinet system

George III, bent upon being king in fact as well as in name, did not ormally oppose the cabinet system of government, but sought to make ne cabinet a mere tool of his will, filling it with men who ould take orders from him, and aiding them in controlling arliament by the use of various forms of bribery and inuence. It took several years to effect this real perversion of the cabi-t system, but in the end the King absolutely controlled the ministry nd the two chambers of Parliament. The Whigs, who since 1688 had ominated the monarch and had successfully asserted the predominance Parliament, were gradually disrupted by the insidious royal policy, nd were supplanted by the Tories, who were always favorable to a strong ingship and who now entered upon a period of supremacy which was last until well into the nineteenth century.

Political methods of George III

After ten years of this mining and sapping the King's ideas triumphed in the creation of a ministry which was completely submissive to his will.

The ministry of Lord North

This ministry, of which Lord North was the leading member, lasted twelve years, from 1770 to 1782. Lord North was a minister after the King's own heart. He never pretended to be the head of the government, but accepted and executed the King's wishes with the ready obedience of a lackey. The royal autocracy was scarcely veiled by the mere continuance of the outer forms of a free government.

Having thus secured entire control of ministry and Parliament, George III proceeded to lead the British Empire straight toward destruction, to what Goldwin Smith has called "the most tragical disaster in English history." The King and his tools initiated a policy which led swiftly and inevitably to civil war. For the American Revolution was a civil war within the British Empire. The King had his supporters both in England and in America; he had opponents both in America and England. Party divisions were much the same in the mother country and in the colonies, Whigs versus Tories, the upholders of the principle of self-government against the upholders of the principle of the royal prerogative. In this appalling crisis, not only was the independence of America involved, but parliamentary government as worked out in England was also at stake. Had George III triumphed not only would colonial liberties have disappeared, but the right of Parliament to be predominant in the state at home would have vanished. The Whigs of England knew this well and their leaders, Pitt, Fox, Burke, gloried in the victories of the rebellious colonists.

American Revolution

The struggle for the fundamental rights of free men, for that was what the American Revolution signified for both America and England, was long doubtful. France now took her revenge for the humiliations of the Seven Years' War by aiding the thirteen colonies, hoping thus to humble her arrogant neighbor, grown so great at her expense. It was the disasters of the American War that saved the parliamentary system of government for England by rendering the King unpopular, because disgracefully unsuccessful. In 1782 Lord North and all his colleagues resigned. This was the first time that an entire ministry had been overthrown.

Fall of Lord North

George the Third's attempt to be master in the state had failed and

though the full consequences of his defeat did not appear for some me, nevertheless they were decisive for the future of England. The ng might henceforth reign but he was not to govern. o get this cardinal principle of free government under narchical forms established, an empire was disrupted. rom that disruption flowed two mighty consequences. ne principles of republican government gained a field for development the New World, and those of constitutional or limited monarchy a ld in one of the famous countries of the Old. These two types of vernment have since exerted a powerful and an increasing influence oon other peoples desirous of controlling their own destinies. Their portance as models worthy of imitation has not yet been exhausted.

Significance of the American Revolution

But the disaster of the American War was so great that the immedi- e effect was a decided impairment of England's prestige. It is a curi- s fact that after that she was considered by most of the lers of Europe a decaying nation. She had lost her most luable colonies in America. The notion was prevalent at her successes in the Seven Years' War had not been due to her own ility but to the incapacity of Louis XV, whereas they had been due both. The idea that it was possible to destroy England was current France, the idea that her empire was really a phantom empire which uld disappear at the first hostile touch, that India could be detached r more easily than the thirteen colonies had been. It was considered at as she had grown rich she had lost her virility and energy and as undermined by luxury and sloth. At the same time, although in agrant contradiction to the sentiments just described, there was a ague yet genuine fear of her. Though she had received so many ows, yet she had herself in the past given so many to her rivals and pecially to France that they did well to have a lurking suspicion ter all as to her entire decadence. The rivalry, centuries old, of rance and England, was one of the chief elements of the general uropean situation. It had shown no signs of abating. The issues the Revolution were to cause it to flame up porten- usly. It dominated the whole period down to Water- o. In England the French Revolution was destined to d its most redoubtable and resolute enemy.

England's loss of prestige

England and the French Revolution

In Italy, on the other hand, it was to find, partly a receptive pupil, rtly an easy prey. The most important thing about Italy was that

it was unimportant. Indeed there was no Italy, no united, single country, but only a collection of petty states, generally backward in their political and economic development. Once masters in their own house, the Italians had long ago fallen from their high estate and had for centuries been in more or less subjection to foreigners, to Spaniards, to Austrians, sometimes to the French. This had reacted unfavorably upon their characters, and had made them timid, time-serving, self-indulgent, pessimistic. They had no great attachment to their governments, save possibly in Piedmont and in the republics of Venice and Genoa, and there was no reason why they should have. Several of the governments were importations from abroad, or rather impositions, which had never struck root in the minds or interests of the people. The political atmosphere was one of indifference, weariness, disillusionment. However, toward the end of the eighteenth century there were signs of an awakening. The Italians could never long be unmindful of the glories of their past. They had their haunting traditions which would never allow them to forget or renounce their rights, however oppressed they might be. They were a people of imagination and of fire, though they long appeared to foreigners quite the reverse, as in fact the very stuff of which willing slaves are made, a view which was seriously erroneous. It cannot be said that there was in the eighteenth century any movement aiming at making Italy a nation, but there were poets and historians who flashed out, now and then, with some patriotic phrase or figure that revealed vividly a shining goal on the distant horizon toward which all Italians ought to press. "The day will come," said Alfieri, "when the Italians will be born again, audacious on the field of battle." Humanity was not meant to be shut in by such narrow horizons as those presented by these petty states, but was entitled to more spacious destinies. This longing for national unity was as yet the passion of only a few, of men of imagination who had a lively sense of Italy's great past and who also possessed an instinct for the future. A French writer expressed a mood quite general with cultivated people when she said: "The Italians are far more remarkable because of what they have been and because of what they might be than because of what they now are." Seeds of a new Italy were already germinating. They were not, however, to yield their fruit until well into the nineteenth century.

Italy a collection of petty states

Weakness of the governments

Aspirations for unity

ITALY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
1770
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
Tyrol
Bellino
Trieste
Pirano
Venice
ISTRIA
Rovigno
Padua
Verona
Mantua
Milan
Bergamo
REP. OF VENICE
Novara
Vercelli
Turin
Piacenza
DUCHY OF PARMA
Modena
Ferrara
Bologna
Ravenna
ROMAGNA
Genoa
Lucca
Pisa
Leghorn
Arno
Florence
GR.D. OF TUSCANY
Siena
Pesaro
Ancona
THE MARCHES
Elba
Piombino
Orbetello
UMBRIA
Corsica
Ajaccio
Ceded to France 1768
THE PAPAL STATES
Rome
Chieti
Gaeta
Naples
Benevento
Bari
Brindisi
Taranto
KINGDOM
Salerno
Ischia I.
Gulf of Taranto
SARDINIA
Cagliari
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Milazzo
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
TWO SICILIES
SICILY
Catania
C. Passaro
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Cattaro
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
PIEDMONT
SAVOY
FRANCE
Rhone
Annecy
Monaco
Nice
Pinerolo
Saluzzo
Alessandria
Genoa
Milan
Mantua
Verona
Adige
Brenta
Po
Arno
Tiber
Liri
Volturno
Ofanto
Sele
Garigliano
Aterno
Tronto
Metauro
Foglia
Marecchia
Reno
Adda
Ticino
Dora
Sesia
Stura
Tanaro
Scrivia
Trebbia
Taro
Enza
Secchia
Panaro
Lamone
Montone
Savio
Rubicon
Metauro
Esino
Pescara
Sangro
Trigno
Fortore
Biferno
Calore
Sarno
Crati
Neto
Tronto
Tagliamento
Piave
Brenta
Adige
Mincio
Oglio
Serio
Adda
Ticino
Dora
Sesia
Stura
Tanaro
Scrivia
Trebbia
Taro
Enza
Secchia
Panaro
Lamone
Montone
Savio
Rubicon
Metauro
Esino
Pescara
Sangro
Trigno
Fortore
Biferno
Calore
Sarno
Crati
Neto
25 0 25 50 75 100 125 Miles
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
Long. East 12 of Greenwich
46
44
42
40
38
36

Turning to the east of France we find Germany, the country that as to be the chief battlefield of Europe for many long years, and that as to undergo the most surprising transformations. Germany, like Italy, was a collection of small states, only these ates were far more numerous than in the peninsula to the uth. Germany had a form of unity, at least it pretended have, in the so-called Holy Roman Empire. How many states were cluded in it, it is difficult to say; at least 360, if in the reckoning are cluded all the nobles who recognized no superior save the mperor, who held their power directly from him and were bject to no one else. There were more than fifty free or mperial cities, holding directly from the emperor and managing their vn affairs; and numerous ecclesiastical states, all independent of her. Then there were small states like Baden and Würtemberg and avaria and many others. In all this empire there were only two ates of any importance in the general affairs of Europe, Prussia and ustria.

Germany the battlefield of Europe

The Holy Roman Empire

This empire with its high-sounding names, "Holy" and "Roman," as incredibly weak and inefficient. Its emperor, not hereditary but ective, was nothing but a pompous, solemn pretense. He nd no real authority, could give no orders, could create no mies, could follow out no policies, good or bad, for the erman princes had during the course of the centuries robbed him of all ie usual and necessary attributes of power. He was little more than a rgeous figure in a pageant. There were, in addition, an imperial diet national assembly, and an imperial tribunal, but they were as palsied s was the emperor.

The phantom emperor

What was important in Germany was not the empire, which was werless for defense, useless for any serious purpose, but the separate ates that composed it, and indeed only a few of these ad any significance. All these petty German princelings sponded to two emotions. All were jealous of their dependence and all were eager to annex each other's territory. hey never thought of the interests of Germany, of the empire, of e Fatherland. What power they had they had largely secured by spoiling the empire. Patriotism was not one of their weaknesses. ach was looking out emphatically for himself. To make a strong, nited nation out of such mutually repellent atoms would be nothing

The petty German states

less than magical. The material was most unpromising. Nevertheless the feat has been accomplished, as we shall see, although, as in the case of Italy, not until well on into the nineteenth century.

The individual states were everything, the empire was nothing, and with it the French Revolutionists and Napoleon were destined to play great havoc. Two states, as has been said, counted particularly, Austria and Prussia, enemies generally, rivals always, allies sometimes. Austria was old and famous, Prussia really quite new but rapidly acquiring a formidable reputation. Then, as now, the former was ruled by the House of Hapsburg, the latter by the House of Hohenzollern. There was no Austrian nation, but there was the most extraordinary jumble of states and races and languages to be found in Europe, whose sole bond of union was loyalty to the reigning house. The Hapsburg dominions were widely, loosely scattered, though the main bulk of them was in the Danube valley. There was no common Austrian patriotism; there were Bohemians, Hungarians, Milanese, Netherlanders, Austrians proper, each with a certain sense of unity, a certain self-consciousness, but there was no single nation comprehending, fusing all these elements. Austria was not like France or England. Nevertheless there were twenty-four millions of people under the direction of one man, and therefore they were an important factor in the politics of Europe.

Austria and Prussia the only important states in Germany

The lands of the Hapsburgs

In the case of Prussia, however, we have a real though still rudimentary nation, hammered together by hard, repeated, well-directed blows delivered by a series of energetic, ambitious rulers. Prussia as a kingdom dated only from 1701, but the heart of this state was Brandenburg, and Brandenburg had begun a slow upward march as early as the fifteenth century, when the Hohenzollerns came from South Germany to take control of it. In the sixteenth century the possessions of this family were scattered from the region of the Rhine to the borders of Russia. How to make them into a single state, responsive to a single will, was the problem. In each section there were feudal estates, asserting their rights against their ruler. But the Hohenzollerns had a very clear notion of what they wanted. They wished and intended to increase their own power as rulers, to break down all opposition within, and without steadily to aggrandize their domains. In the realization of their program, to which

Prussia small but vigorous

The Hohenzollerns

hey adhered tenaciously from generation to generation, they were successful. Prussia grew larger and larger, the government became more nd more autocratic, and the emphasis in the state came to be more and nore placed upon the army. Mirabeau was quite correct when he said hat the great national industry of Prussia was war. Prussian rulers were ard-working, generally conceiving their mission soberly and seriously s one of service to the state, not at all as one inviting to personal elf-indulgence. They were hard-headed and intelligent in developing he economic resources of a country originally little favored by nature. hey were attentive to the opportunities afforded by German and uropean politics for the advancement of rulers who had the necessary ntelligence and audacity. In the long reign of Frederick II, called he Great (1740–1786), and unquestionably far and away the ablest of ll the rulers of the Hohenzollern dynasty, we see the brilliant and aithful expression of the most characteristic features, methods, and spirations of this vigorous royal house.

The successive monarchs of Prussia justified the extraordinary emhasis they put upon military force by pointing to the fact that their ountry had no natural boundaries but was simply an ndifferentiated part of the great sandy plain of North ermany, that no river or no mountain range gave protec- ion, that the way of the invader was easy. This was quite true, but it as also equally true that Prussia's neighbors had no greater protection rom her than she from them. As far as geography was concerned, inasion of Prussia was no easier than aggression from Prussia. At any ate every Prussian ruler felt himself first a general, head of an army hich it was his pride to increase. Thus the Great Elector, who had ruled rom 1640 to 1688, had inherited an army of less than 4,000 men, and had equeathed one of 24,000 to his successor. The father of Frederick II ad inherited one of 38,000 and had left one of 83,000. Thus Prussia ith a population of two and a half millions had an army of 83,000, hile Austria with a population of 24,000,000 had one of less than 50,000. With this force, highly drilled and amply provided with the news of war by the systematic and rigorous economies of his father, rederick was destined to go far. He is one of the few men who have hanged the face of Europe. By war, and the subsidiary arts that inister unto it, Frederick pushed his small state into the very foreont of European politics. Before his reign was half over he had

Importance of the army in Prussia

made it one of the Great Powers, everywhere reckoned as such, although in population, area, and wealth, compared with the other Great Powers, it was small indeed.

The youth of Frederick the Great

As a youth all of Frederick's tastes had been for letters, for art, for music, for philosophy and the sciences, for conversation, for the delicacies and elegancies of culture. The French language and French literature were his passion and remained his chief source of enjoyment all through his life. He wrote French verses, he hated military exercises, he played the flute, he detested tobacco, heavy eating and drinking, and the hunt, which appeared to his father as the natural manly and royal pleasures. The thought that this youth, so indifferent or hostile to the stern, bleak, serious ideals of duty incumbent upon the royal house for the welfare of Prussia, so interested in the frivolities and fripperies of life, so carelessly self-indulgent, would one day be king and would probably wreck the state by his incompetence and his levity, so enraged the father, Frederick William I, a rough, boorish, tyrannical, hard-working, and intensely patriotic man, that he subjected the Crown Prince to a Draconian discipline which at times attained a pitch of barbarity, caning him in the presence of the army, boxing his ears before the common people, compelling him from a prison window to witness the execution of his most intimate friend, who had tried to help him escape from this odious tyranny by attempted flight from the country. In such a furnace was the young prince's mettle steeled, his heart hardened. Frederick came out of this ordeal self-contained, cynical, crafty, but sobered and submissive to the fierce paternal will. He did not, according to his father's expression "kick or rear" again. For several years he buckled to the prosaic task of learning his future trade in the traditional Hohenzollern manner, discharging the duties of minor offices, familiarizing himself with the dry details of administration, and invested with larger responsibilities as his reformation seemed, in the eyes of his father, satisfactorily to progress.

Frederick becomes king

When he came to the throne in 1740 at the age of twenty-eight he came equipped with a free and keen intellect, with a character of iron, and with an ambition that was soon to set the world in flame. He ruled for forty-six years and before half his reign was over it was evident that he had no peer in Europe. It was thought that he would adopt a manner of life quite different from his father's. Instead, however, there was the same austerity, the same

mplicity, the same intense devotion to work, the same singleness of m, that aim being the exaltation of Prussia. The machinery of gov- mment was not altered but it was now driven at unprecedented speed by is vigorous, aggressive, supple personality. For Frederick possessed preme ability and displayed it from the day of his accession to the day his death. He was, as Lord Acton has said, "the most consummate actical genius that, in modern times, has inherited a throne."

His first important act revealed the character and the intentions of the ler. For this man who as a youth had loathed the life of a soldier and d shirked its obligations as long as he could was now to ove himself one of the great military commanders of the orld's history. He was the most successful of the robber rons in which the annals of Germany abounded, and he had the ethics the class. He invaded Silesia, a large and rich province belonging to ustria and recognized as hers by a peculiarly solemn treaty signed by russia. But Frederick wanted it and considered the moment oppor- ne as an inexperienced young woman, Maria Theresa, had just ascended e Austrian throne. "My soldiers were ready, my purse was full," said rederick concerning this famous raid. Of all the inheritance of Maria heresa "Silesia," said he, "was that part which was most useful to the ouse of Brandenburg." "Take what you can," he also remarked, you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back." n these utterances Frederick paints himself and his reign imperishable colors. Success of the most palpable sort as his reward. Neither plighted faith, nor chivalry toward a woman, or any sense of personal honor ever deterred him from any policy that ight promise gain to Prussia. One would scarcely suspect from such rdy sentiments that Frederick had as a young man written a treatise gainst the statecraft of Machiavelli. That eminent Florentine would, is safe to say, have been entirely content with the practical precepts cording to which his titled critic fashioned his actual conduct. The ue, authentic spirit of Machiavelli's political philosophy has never been pressed with greater brevity and precision than by Frederick. "If ere is anything to be gained by being honest, honest we will be; and it is necessary to deceive, let us be scoundrels."

Attacks Austria and seizes Silesia

Frederick's political principles

If there is any defense for Frederick's conduct to be found in the fact at his principles or his lack of them were shared by most of his crowned ntemporaries and by many other rulers before and since, he is entitled

to that defense. He himself, however, was never much concerned about this aspect of the matter. It was, in his opinion, frankly negligible.

Frederick seized Silesia with ease in 1740, so unexpected was the attack. He thus added to Prussia a territory larger than Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined, and a population of over a million and a quarter. But having seized it, he was forced to fight intermittently for twenty-three years before he could be sure of his ability to retain it. The first two Silesian wars (1740–1748) are best known in history as the wars of the Austrian Succession. The third was the Seven Years' War, a world conflict, as we have seen, involving most of the great states of Europe, but important to Frederick mainly because of its relation to his retention of Silesia.

The Silesian Wars

It was the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) that made the name and fame of Frederick ring throughout the world. But that deadly struggle several times seemed about to engulf him and his country in utter ruin. Had England not been his ally, aiding with her subsidies and with her campaigns against France, in Europe, Asia, America, and on the high seas, thus preventing that country from fully coöperating against Prussia, Frederick must have failed. The odds against him were stupendous. He, the ruler of a petty state with not more than 4,000,000 inhabitants, was confronted by a coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and many little German states, with a total population perhaps twenty times as large as Prussia's. This coalition had already arranged for the division of his kingdom. He was to be left only Brandenburg, the primitive core of the state, the original territory given to the House of Hohenzollern in 1415 by the emperor.

The Seven Years' War

Practically the entire continent was united against this little state which a short time before had hardly entered into the calculations of European politics. But Frederick was undaunted. He overran Saxony, a neutral country, seized its treasury because he needed it, and, by a flagrant breach of international usage, forced its citizens to fight in his armies, which were thus considerably increased. When reproached for this unprecedented act he laconically replied that he rather prided himself on being original.

Conquest of Saxony

The war thus begun had its violent ups and downs. Attacked from the south by the Austrians, from the east by the Russians, and always outnumbered, Frederick, fighting a defensive war, owed his salvation to

NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
SLESWICK
HOLSTEIN
Rostock
Stralsund
Kolberg
POMERANIA
Danzig
Bütow
Marienburg
Elbing
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
Tilsit
R. Niemen
Gross Jagersdorf
Lübeck
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
Schwerin
Stettin
New Strelitz
Marienwerder
WEST PRUSSIA
Kulm
Thorn
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
Oldenburg
Bremen
HANOVER
Elbe R.
Angermünde
Ems R.
Weser R.
Aller R.
Salzwedel
BRANDENBURG
Spandau
Zorndorf
Küstrin
R. Warthe
Posen
R. Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
Linge
Minden
Hanover
Brandenb.
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Oder R.
Cleve
Münster
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Luckenwalde
Halberstadt
Wittenberg
Bautzen
Glogau
SILESIA
Liegnitz
Breslau
Leuthen
Oder R.
Hohenfriedberg
Mollwitz
Neisse
Glatz
Beuthen
Ratibor
Cracow
Lobositz
BOHEMIA
Prague
Kolin
Chotusitz
Dresden
Gorlitz
SAXONY
Leipsic
Hubertusburg
Rossbach
Weimar
Gotha
Erfurt
Cassel
HOHNSTEIN
Nordhausen
Halle
Dessau
Roßlau
MANSFELD
Paderborn
Essen
Grefeld
Rhine R.
Coldgne
CLEVE
GUELDERS
MARK
RAVENSBERG
Bielefeld
THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA
UNDER FREDERICK THE GREAT
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick the Great in 1740
Territory added by Frederick the Great, 1740 - 1786.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles
26
30
34
38
50
54

e rapidity of his manoeuvres, to the slowness of those of his enemies, his generally superior tactics, and to the fact that there was an entire k of coördination among his adversaries. He won the ttle of Rossbach in 1757, his most brilliant victory, whose me has not yet died away. With an army of only 20,000 defeated a combined French and German army of 55,000 an engagement that lasted only an hour and a half, took 16,000 pris-ers, seventy-two cannon, and sustained a loss of less than a thousand en himself. Immense was the enthusiasm evoked by this Prussian iumph over what was reputed to be the finest army in Europe. It attered little that the majority of the conquered army were Germans. he victory was popularly considered one of Germans over French, and ch has remained its reputation ever since in the German national con-iousness, thus greatly stirred and vivified.

Battle of Rossbach, November 5, 1757

Two years later Frederick suffered an almost equally disastrous feat at the hands of the Austrians and Russians at Kunersdorf. I have had two horses killed under me," he wrote the ght after this battle, "and it is my misfortune that I still e myself. . . . Of an army of 48,000 men I have only 000 left. . . . I have no more resources and, not to lie out it, I think everything is lost."

Battle of Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759

Later, after another disaster, he wrote: "I should like to hang myself, t we must act the play to the end." In this temper he fought on, year ter year, through elation, through depression, with defeat hind him and defeat staring him in the face, relieved by casional successes, saved by the incompetence and folly his enemies, then plunged in gloom again, but always fighting for me and for some lucky stroke of fortune, such as the death of a hostile vereign with its attendant interruption or change of policy. The story too crowded, too replete with incident, to be condensed here. Only the neral impression of a prolonged, racking, desperate struggle can be dicated. Gritty, cool, alert, and agile, Frederick managed to hold on til his enemies were willing to make peace.

Desperate character of the war

He came out of this war with his territories intact but not increased. lesia he retained, but Saxony he was forced to relinquish. e came out of it, also, prematurely old, hard, bitter, mis-thropic, but he had made upon the world an indelible im-ression of his genius. His people had been decimated and appallingly

End of the Seven Years' War

impoverished; nevertheless he was the victor and great was his renown. Frederick had conquered Silesia in a month and had then spent many years fighting to retain it. All that he had won was fame, but that he enjoyed in full and overflowing measure.

Frederick lived twenty-three years longer, years of unremitting and very fruitful toil. In a hundred ways he sought to hasten the recuperation and the development of his sorely visited land, draining marshes, clearing forests, encouraging industries, opening schools, welcoming and favoring immigrants from other countries. Indeed over 300,000 of these responded to the various inducements offered, and Frederick founded more than 800 villages. He reorganized the army, replenished the public treasury, remodeled the legal code. In religious affairs he was the most tolerant ruler in Europe, giving refuge to the Jesuits when they were driven out of Catholic countries — France, Portugal, Spain — and when their order was abolished by the Pope himself. "In Prussia," said he, "every one has the right to win salvation in his own way."

Frederick in time of peace

FREDERICK THE GREAT
From an engraving by Cunejo, after the painting by Cunningham.

In practice this was about the only indubitable right the individual possessed, for Frederick's government was unlimited, although frequently enlightened, despotism. His was an absolute monarchy, surrounded by a privileged nobility resting upon an impotent mass of peasantry. His was a militarist state and only nobles could become general officers. Laborі-

Despotic character of his government

s, rising at three in summer, at four in the winter, and holding himself htly to his mission as "first servant to the King of Prussia," Fred- ck knew more drudgery than pleasure. But he was a tyrant to his ger tips, and we do not find in the Prussia of his day any room made · that spirit of freedom which was destined in the immediate future to estle in Europe with this outworn system of autocracy.

In 1772 the conqueror of Silesia proceeded to gather new laurels of a nilar kind. In conjunction with the monarchs of Russia and Austria partially dismembered Poland, a crime of which the rld has not yet heard the last. The task was easy of complishment, as Poland was defenseless. Frederick nkly admitted that the act was that of brigands, and his opinion s been ratified by the general agreement of posterity.

The first partition of Poland

When Frederick died in 1786, at the age of seventy-four, he left his ngdom nearly doubled in size and with a population more than doubled. all his actions he thought, not of Germany, but of ussia, always Prussia. Germany was an abstraction at had no hold upon his practical mind. He considered e German language boorish, "a jargon, devoid of every grace," and was sure that Germany had no literature worthy of the name. Never- eless, he was regarded throughout German lands, beyond Prussia, as national hero, and he filled the national thought and imagination as other German had done since Luther. His personality, his ideas, d his methods became an enduring and potent factor in the develop- ent of Germany.

Frederick the Great and Germany

But the trouble with despotism as a form of government is that a ong or enlightened despot may so easily be succeeded by a feeble foolish one, as proved to be the case when Frederick d and was succeeded in 1786 by Frederick William II, der whom and under whose successor came evil days, ntrasting most unpleasantly with the brilliant ones that d gone before.

A weak despot succeeds a strong one

Lying beyond Austria and Prussia, stretching away indefinitely o the east, was the other remaining great power in ropean politics, Russia.

Russia

Though the largest state on the continent, Russia did not enter on the scene of European politics as a factor of importance until very e, indeed until the eighteenth century. During that century she took

her place among the great European powers and her influence in the world has gone on increasing down to the present moment. Her previous history had been peculiar, differing in many and fundamental respects from that of her western neighbors. She had lived apart, unnoticed and unknown. She was connected with Europe by two ties, those of race and religion. The Russians were a Slavic people, related to the Poles, the Bohemians, the Serbs, and the other branches of that great family which spreads over Eastern Europe. And as early as the tenth century they had been converted to Christianity not to that form that prevailed in the West, but to the Orthodox Greek form, which had its seat in Constantinople. The missionaries who had brought religion and at the same time the beginnings of civilization had come from that city. After the conquest of Constantinople by the infidel Turks in 1453 the Russians considered themselves its legitimate heirs, the representatives of its ideas and traditions. Constantinople and the Eastern Empire of which it had been the capital exercised over their imaginations a spell that has only increased with time.

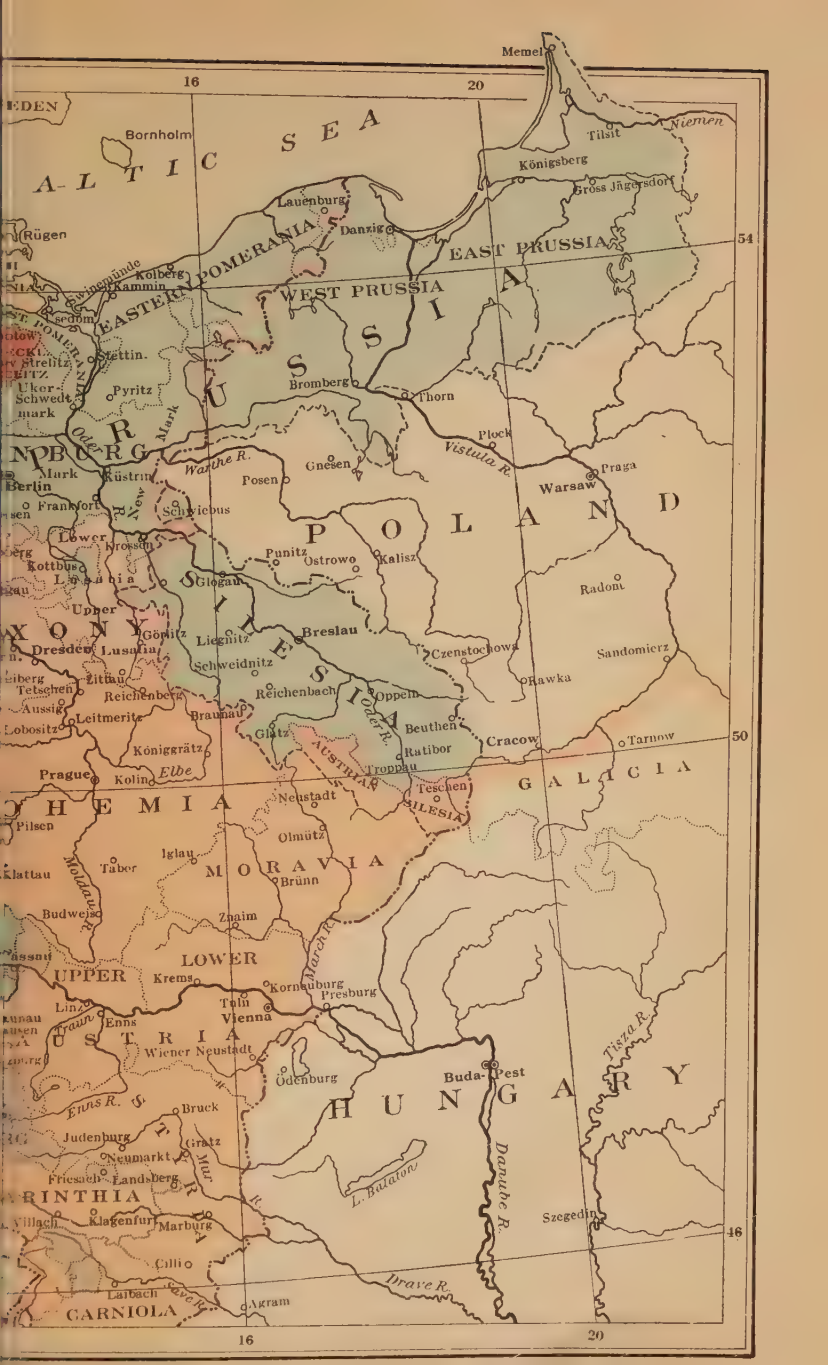
Race and Religion

But the great central fact of Russian history for hundreds of years was not her connection with Europe, which, after all, was slight, but her connection with Asia, which was close and profound in its effects. The Principality of Muscovy, as Russia was then called from its capital Moscow, was conquered by the Mongols, barbarians from Asia, in the thirteenth century and for nearly three hundred years Russian princes paid tribute and made occasional visits of submission to the far-off Great Khan. Though constantly resenting this subjection, they did not escape its effects. They themselves became half-Asiatic. The men of Russia dressed in Oriental fashion, wearing the long robes with long sleeves, the turbans and slippers of the East. They wore their hair and beards long. The women were kept secluded and were heavily veiled when in public. A young girl saw her husband for the first time the day of her marriage. There was no such thing as society as we understand the term. The government was an Oriental tyranny, unrestrained, regardless of human life. In addressing the ruler a person must completely prostrate himself, his forehead touching the floor; a difficult as well as a degrading attitude for one human being to assume toward another.

Russia invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes

In time the Russians threw off the Mongol domination, after terrible struggles, and themselves in turn conquered northern Asia, tha

GERMANY IN 1789
Hohenzollern Lands
Prussia
Franconian line
Oldenburg Lands
Denmark
Holstein and Oldenburg
Wettin Lands
Albertine
Ernestine
Wittelsbach Lands
Bavaria
Palatinate
Hapsburg Lands
Imperial Cities
Ecclesiastical States
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
Scale of Miles
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Cuxhaven
Emden
Groningen
Bremen
Hamburg
Lübeck
Kiel
Rendsburg
Flensburg
Schleswig
Oldenburg
MÜNSTER
HANOVER
Osnabrück
Minden
Hanover
Celle
Lüneburg
Verden
Münster
Lippe
Paderborn
Brunswick
Goslar
Hildesheim
Wolfenbuttel
Hameln
Göttingen
Northausen
Cassel
Münhausen
HESSE
CASSEL
Eisenach
Gotha
Erfurt
Amöneburg
Marburg
Hesse
Giessen
Fulda
FULDA
Rudolstadt
Coburg
Schweinfurt
Würzburg
Bamberg
Nuremberg
Ansbach
Heidelberg
Wimpfen
Heilbron
Hall
Ellwangen
Nördlingen
Esslingen
Stuttgart
WÜRTEMBERG
Reutlingen
Ulm
Augsburg
Biberach
Memmingen
Kempten
Lindau
Constance
Basel
Zurich
Bregenz
Innsbruck
Landeck
Merano
Trent
Mülhausen
Rottweil
Rastatt
Carlsruhe
Weissenburg
Strasburg
Saarwerden
Saarbrücken
Metz
Verdun
Toul
Saline
Trier
Luxemburg
Frankfort
Darmstadt
Worms
Mainz
Spires
Manheim
Pfalzbaiern
Rhenish
Hesse Darmstadt
Wetzlar
Ems
Coblentz
Boon
Aachen
Liege
Namur
Mons
Lille
Arras
Amiens
Calais
Ypres
Boulogne
Dunkirk
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Louvain
Flushing
Breda
Gertruydenberg
Gelderland
Dortmund
Soest
Paderborn
Arnheim
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Ryswick
Alkmaar
Nimwegen
Cleve
Julich
Cologne
Bonn
Deutz
Neuwied
Hohenlimburg
Elberfeld
Düsseldorf
Mark
Westphalia
Berg
Liege
Limburg
Meuse
Moselle
Rhine
Maine
Main
Neckar
Danube
Lech
Iller
Inn
Adige
Reuss
Aar
Limmat
Linth
Wesser
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Leine
Ems
Lippe
Ruhr
Saale
Loire
Seine
Marne
Aisne
Oise
Rhone
Saone
Neuchatel
Berne
Geneva
Lyons
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
UNITED NETHERLANDS
4
8
46
50
54


Memel
16
20
Bornholm
SEA
Tilsit
Niemen
Königsberg
Gross Jägersdorf
Lauenburg
Danzig
Rügen
EAST PRUSSIA
54
Kolberg
Kammin
EASTERN POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Stettin
Bromberg
Thorn
Pyritz
Ukermark
Mark
Oder R.
Plock
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
Gnesen
Posen
Praga
Warsaw
Berlin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
POLAND
Lower
Punitz
Ostrowo
Kalisz
Kottbus
Glogau
Radom
Upper
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Czenstochowa
Sandomierz
Dresden
Lusatia
Schweidnitz
Rawka
Zittau
Reichenberg
Reichenbach
Oppeln
Tetschen
Leitmeritz
Braunau
Glatz
Beuthen
Cracow
Tarnow
50
Königgrätz
Ratibor
Elbe
Prague
Kolin
Troppau
GALICIA
Neustadt
Teschen
Pilsen
Olmütz
Iglau
Moldau R.
Taber
MORAVIA
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
LOWER
UPPER
Krems
Kornneuburg
March R.
Presburg
Linz
Tulln
Vienna
Enns
Wiener Neustadt
Ödenburg
Buda-Pest
Tisza R.
Bruck
Judenburg
Grätz
Neumarkt
Mur R.
Friesach
Landsberg
L. Balaton
Danube R.
Villach
Klagenfurt
Marburg
Szegedin
46
Cilli
Laibach
Drave R.
Agram
CARNIOLA
16
20

, Siberia. A new royal house came to the throne in 1613, the House of omanoff, still the reigning family of Russia.

But the Russians continued to have only the feeblest connection with urope, knowing little of its civilization, caring less, content to vegetate n indolence and obscurity. Out of this dull and laggard ate they were destined to be roughly and emphatically oused by one of the most energetic rulers known to his- ory, Peter the Great, whose reign of thirty-six years (1689–1725) marks tremendous epoch, both by what it actually accomplished and by what indicated ought to be the goal of national endeavor.

Peter the Great, 1672–1725

As a boy Peter had been given no serious instruction, no training in elf-control, but had been allowed to run wild, and had picked up all orts of acquaintances and companions, many of them for- gners. It was the chance association with Europeans ving in the foreign quarter of Moscow that proved the decisive fact of is life, shaping his entire career. From them he got a most irregular, aphazard, but original education, learning a little German, a little utch, some snatches of science, arithmetic, geometry. His chief boy- h interest was in mechanics and its relation to the military art. With im playing soldier was more serious than with most boys. He used to uild wooden fortresses, surrounded with walls and moats and bastions. ome of his friends would defend the redoubt while he and the others tacked it. Sometimes lives were lost, always some were wounded. uch are the fortunes of war, though not usually of juvenile war. "The oy is amusing himself," was the comment of his sister, who was exer- sing the regency in his name. Passionately fond of military games, eter was also absorbingly interested in boats and ships, and eagerly arned all he could of navigation, which was not much, for the arts of ipbuilding and navigation were in their very infancy in Russia.

Peter's boyhood

Learning that his sister Sophia was planning to ignore his right to ie throne and to become ruler herself, he dropped his sham fights and s sailing, swept his sister aside into a nunnery, and assumed control of e state. Convinced that Europe was in every way supe- r to Russia, that Russia had everything to gain and thing to lose from a knowledge of the ways and institutions of the stern countries, Peter's policy from the beginning to the end of reign was to bring about the closest possible connection between backward country and the progressive and brilliant civilization

The accession of Peter

which had been built up in England, France, Holland, Italy, and Germany.

But even with the best intentions this was not an easy task. For Russia had no point of physical contact with the nations of Western Europe. She could not freely communicate with them, for between her and them was a wall consisting of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Russia was nearly a land-locked country. Sweden controlled all that coast line along the Baltic which is now Russian, Turkey controlled all the coast line of the Black Sea. The only port Russia possessed was far to the north, at Archangel, and this was frozen during nine months of the year. To communicate freely and easily with the West, Russia must "open a window" somewhere, as Peter expressed it. Then the light could stream in. He must have an ice-free port in European waters. To secure this he fought repeated campaigns against Turkey and Sweden. With the latter power there was intermittent war for twenty years, very successful in the end, though only after distressing reverses. He conquered the Baltic Provinces from Sweden, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, and thus secured a long coast line. Russia might now have a navy and a merchant fleet and seaborne commerce. "It is not land I want, but water," Peter had said. He now had enough, at least to begin with.

The policy of the "open window"

Meanwhile he had sent fifty young Russians of the best families to England, Holland, and Venice to learn the arts and sciences of the West, especially shipbuilding and fortifications. Later he had gone himself for the same purpose, to study on the spot the civilization whose superiority he recognized and intended to impose upon his own country, if that were possible. This was a famous voyage. Traveling under the strictest incognito, as "Peter Mikailovitch," he donned laborer's clothes and worked for months in the shipyards of Holland and England. He was interested in everything. He visited mills and factories of every kind, asking innumerable questions: "What is this for? How does that work?" He made a sheet of paper with his own hands. During his hours of recreation he visited museums, theaters, hospitals, galleries. He saw printing presses in operation, attended lectures on anatomy, studied surgery a little, and even acquired some proficiency in the humble and useful art of pulling teeth. He bought collections of laws, and models of all sorts of machines, and engaged many officers, mechanics, printers, architects, sailors, and work-

Peter's travels in the West

men of every kind, to go to Russia to engage in the task of imparting instruction to a nation which, in Peter's opinion, needed it and should receive it, willy-nilly.

Peter was called home suddenly by the news of a revolt among the imperial troops devoted to the old régime and apprehensive of the coming innovations. They were punished with every refinement of savage cruelty, their regiments disbanded, and a veritable reign of terror preceded the introduction of the new system.

Suppresses revolt at home

Then the Czar began with energy his transformation of Russia, as he described it. The process continued all through his reign. It was not an elaborate, systematic plan, deliberately worked out beforehand, but first this reform, then that, was adopted and enforced, and in the end the sum total of all these measures of detail touched the national life at nearly every point. Some of them concerned manners and customs, others economic matters, others matters purely political. Peter at once fell upon the long beards and Oriental costumes, which, in his opinion, symbolized the conservatism of Old Russia, which he was resolved to shatter. Arming himself with a pair of shears, he himself clipped the liberal beards and moustaches of many of his nobles, and cut their long coats at the knee. They must get the style and the style must be that of France and Germany. Having given this sensational exhibition of his imperial purpose, he then compromised somewhat, allowing men to wear their beards long, but only on condition of submitting to a graduated tax upon these ornaments. The approbation of the emperor, the compulsion of fashion, combined with considerations of economy, rapidly wrought a surprising change in the appearance of the manhood of Russia. Barbers and tailors were stationed at the entrances of towns to facilitate the process by slashing the offending members until they conformed to European standards. Women were forbidden to wear the veil and were released from the captivity of the harem, or terem, as it was called in Russia. Peter had attended the "assemblies" of France and England and had seen men and women dancing and conversing together in public. He now ordered the husbands and fathers of Russia to bring their wives and daughters to all social entertainments. The adjustments were awkward at first, the women frequently standing or sitting stiffly apart at one end of the room, the men smoking and drinking by themselves at the other. But finally

Peter's measures of reform

society as understood in Europe emerged from these temporary and amusing difficulties. Peter gave lessons in dancing to some of his nobles, having himself acquired that accomplishment while on his famous trip. They were expected, in turn, to pass the art on to others.

The organs of government, national and local, were remodeled by the adoption of forms and methods known to Sweden, Germany, and other countries, and the state became more efficient and at the same time more powerful. The army was enlarged, equipped, and trained mainly in imitation of Germany. A navy was created and the importance of the sea to the general life of the nation gradually dawned upon the popular intelligence. The economic development of the country was begun, factories were established, mines were opened, and canals were cut. The church was brought into closer subjection to the state. Measures were taken against vagabondage and robbery, widely prevalent evils. Education of a practical sort was encouraged. The Julian calendar was introduced and is still in force, though the other nations of Europe have since adopted another and more accurate chronology. Peter even undertook to reform the language of Russia, striking out eight of the more cumbersome letters of the alphabet and simplifying the form of some of the others.

Creation of an army and navy

All these changes encountered resistance, resistance born of indolence, of natural conservatism, of religious scruples — was it not impious for Holy Russia to abandon her native customs and to imitate the heretics of the West? But Peter went on smashing his way through as best he could, crushing opposition by fair means and by foul, for the quality of the means was a matter of indifference to him, if only they were successful. Here we have the spectacle of a man who, himself a semi-barbarian, was bent upon civilizing men more barbarous than he.

Resistance to these reforms

As the ancient capital, Moscow, was the stronghold of stiff conservatism, was wedded to the old ideas and customs, Peter resolved to build a new capital on the Baltic. There, on islands and marshes at the mouth of a river which frequently overflowed, he built at frightful cost in human life and suffering the city of St. Petersburg. Everything had to be created literally from the ground up. Forests of piles had to be driven into the slime to the solid earth beneath to furnish the secure foundations. Tens of thousands of soldiers and peasants were drafted for the work. At first they had no im-

The creation of Saint Petersburg

lements, but were forced to dig with sticks and carry the rubbish away n their coats. No adequate provisions were made for them; they slept nprotected in the open air, their food was insufficient, and they died by nousands, only to be replaced by other thousands. All through the eign the desperate, rough rocess went on. The will of ne autocrat, rich in expedi-nts, triumphed over all obsta-es. Every great landowner as required to build in the ty a residence of a certain ze and style. No ship might nter without bringing a cer-ain quantity of stone for uilding purposes. St. Peters-urg was cut by numerous anals, as were the cities of Holland. The Czar required ne nobles to possess boats. ome of them, not proficient n the handling of these novel raft, were drowned. Toward ne close of his reign Peter ransferred the government to is city which stood on the anks of the Neva, a monu-nent to his imagination, his energy, and his persistence, a city with no ampering traditions, with no past, but with only an untrammeled fu-ure, an appropriate expression of the spirit of the New Russia which eter was laboring to create.

PETER THE GREAT
From an engraving by Anderloni.

He was, indeed, a strange leader for a people which needed above l to shake itself free from what was raw and crude, he was himself so w and crude. A man of violent passions, capable and guilty of orgies of dissipation, of acts of savage cruelty, ard and fiendish in his treatment even of those nearest to him, his sister, is wife, and his son, using willingly as instruments of progress the atro-ous knout and wheel and stake, Peter was neither a model ruler, nor a odel man. Yet, with all these traits of primal barbarism in his nature,

Peter's character

he had many redeeming points. Good humored, frank, and companionable under ordinary circumstances, he was entirely natural, as loyal in his friendships as he was bitter in his enmities. Masterful, titanic, there was in him a wild vitality, an immense energy, and he was great in the singleness of his aim. He did not succeed in transforming Russia; that could not be accomplished in one generation or in two. But he left an army of 200,000 men, he connected Russia with the sea by the coast line of the Baltic, thus opening a contact with countries that were more advanced, intellectually and socially, and he raised a standard and started a tradition.

Then followed upon his death, a series of mediocre rulers, under whom it seemed likely that the ground gained might be lost. But under Elizabeth (1741–1762) Russia played an important part in the Seven Years' War, thus showing her altered position in Europe, and with the advent of Catherine II (1762–1796) the process of Europeanizing Russia and of expanding her territories and magnifying her position in international politics was resumed with vigor and carried out with success.

Peter's successors

Catherine was a German princess, the wife of the Czar Peter III, who, proving a worthless ruler, was deposed, after a reign of a few months, then done to death, probably with the connivance of his wife. Catherine became empress, and for thirty-four years ruled Russia with an iron hand. Fond of pleasure, fond of work, a woman of intellectual tastes or at least pretensions, which she satisfied by intimate correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot, and other French philosophers of the day, being rewarded for her condescension and her favors by their enthusiastic praise of her as the "Semiramis of the North," Catherine passes as one of the enlightened despots of her century. Being of western birth, she naturally sympathized with the policy of introducing western civilization into Russia, and gave that policy her vigorous support.

Accession of Catherine the Great

But her chief significance in history is her foreign policy. Three countries, we have seen, stood between Russia and the countries of Western Europe, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Peter had conquered the first and secured the water route by the Baltic. Catherine devoted her entire reign to conquering the other two. The former she accomplished by infamous means and with rare completeness. By the end of her reign Poland had been utterly

Catherine's foreign policy

estroyed and Russia had pushed her boundaries far westward until they ouched those of Prussia and Austria. Catherine was not able to dis- ember Turkey as Poland was dismembered, but she gained from her he Crimea and the northern hores of the Black Sea from he Caucasus to the Dniester. he had even dreamed of driv- g the Turk entirely from urope and of extending her wn influence down to the Mediterranean by the estab- shment of a Byzantine em- ire that should be dependent pon Russia. But any dream f getting to Constantinople as a dream indeed, as the roubled history of a subse- uent century was to show. Henceforth, however, Europe ould count on one thing with ertainty, namely, that Russia ould be a factor to be consid- ed in any rearrangement of he map of the Balkan peninsula, in any determination of the Eastern uestion.

CATHERINE II
After the portrait by Shebanoff.

This rise of Russia, like the rise of Prussia, to a position of command- ng importance in European politics, was the work of the eighteenth entury. Both were characteristic products of that age.

The more one examines in general the governments of Europe in the ighteenth century, and the policies which they followed or attempted o follow, the less is one impressed with either their wisdom r their morality. The control was everywhere in the nds of the few and was everywhere directed to the ad- antage of the few. The idea that it was the first duty of the state to ssure, if possible, the welfare of the great majority of the eople was not the idea recognized in actual practice. The rst duty of the state was to increase its dominions by ook or crook, and to provide for the satisfaction of the rulers and the

Low tone of European politics

The spirit of aggrandizement

privileged classes. One could find in all Europe hardly a trace of what we call democracy. Europe was organized aristocratically, and for the benefit of aristocracies. This was true even in such a country as England, which had a parliament and established liberties; even in republics, like Venice or Genoa or the cantons of Switzerland.

Aristocracies everywhere in power

The condition of the vast mass of the people in every country was the thing least considered. It was everywhere deplorable, though varying more or less in different countries. The masses, who were peasants, were weighed down and hemmed in by laws and institutions and customs that took no account of their well-being. In one way or another they were outrageously taxed, so that but a small fraction of what they earned went for their own support. Throughout most of Europe they did not possess what we regard as the mere beginnings of personal liberty, for, except in England and France, serfdom, with all its paralyzing restrictions, was in force. No one dreamed that the people were entitled to education so that they might be better equipped for life. The great substructure of European society was an unhappy, unfree, unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom opportunity for growth and improvement was closed on every side.

Deplorable condition of the masses

Serfdom widely prevalent

If the governments of Europe did not seriously consider the interest of the most numerous and weakest class, on whose well-being depended absolutely the ultimate well-being of the nations, did they discharge their other obligations with any greater understanding or sense of justice? It cannot be said that they did. The distempers in every state were numerous and alarming. The writings of contemporaries abound in gloomy prophecies. There was a widespread feeling that revolutions, catastrophes, ruin were impending, that the body politic was nowhere in sound condition. Excessive expenditures for the maintenance of extravagant courts, for sumptuous buildings, for favorites of every stripe and feather, excessive expenditures for armies and for wars, which were frequent, resulted in increasing disorder in the finances of the various nations. States resorted more and more to loans with the result that the income had to go for the payment of the interest. Deficits were chronic, and no country except England had a budget, or public and official statement of expenditures and receipts. Taxes

A gloomy outlook

State finance grossly mismanaged

re increasing and were detestably distributed. Everywhere in Europe e richer a man was the less he paid proportionately. new taxes were imposed, exemptions, complete or par- l, went with them, and the exemptions were for the bility and, in part, for the middle classes, where such existed. Crush- g therefore was the burden of the lower orders. It was truly a vicious cle.

Crushing taxation of the masses

These evils were so apparent that now and then they prompted the verning authorities to attempt reform. Several rulers in various coun- es made earnest efforts to improve conditions. These re the "benevolent despots" of the eighteenth century o tried reform from above before the French tried it from below. On e whole they had no great or permanent success, and the need of roughgoing changes remained to trouble the future.

Benevolent despotism

Not only were the governments of Europe generally inefficient in all at concerned the full, symmetrical development of the economic, in- llectual, and moral resources of the people, not only re they generally repressive and oppressive, allowing le scope to the principle of liberty, but they were, in eir relations to each other, unprincipled, unscrupulous. e state was conceived as force, not at all as a moral being, subject to oral obligations and restraints. The glory of rulers consisted in extend- the boundaries of their states, regardless of the rights of ner peoples, regardless even of the rights of other rulers. e code that governed their relations with each other s primitive indeed. Any means were legitimate, success s the only standard of right or wrong. "He who gains nothing, loses," ote Catherine of Russia, one of the "enlightened" despots. The domi- nt idea in all government circles was that the greatness of the state s in proportion to its territorial extent, not in proportion to the free- m, the prosperity, the education of its people. The prevalence of this a brought it about that every nation sought to be ready to take ad- ntage of any weakness or distress that might appear in situation of its neighbors. Armies must be constantly hand and diplomacy must be ready for any scurvy trick infamous crime that might promise hope of gain. It followed that aties were to be broken whenever there was any advantage in break- them. "It is a mistake to break your word without reason," said

Character of the governments of Europe

Material success the only standard of conduct

The faithlessness of monarchs

Frederick II, "for thus you gain the reputation of being light and fickle." To keep faith with each other was no duty of rulers. There was consequently no certainty in international agreements.

This indifference to solemn promises was nothing new. The eighteenth century was full of flagrant violations of most explicit international agreements. There was no honor among nations. No state had any rights which any other state was bound to respect. These monarchs, "enlightened" and "benevolent" or not, as the case might be, all agreed that they ruled by divine right, by the will of God. Yet this decidedly imposing origin of their authority gave them no sense of security in their relations with each other, nor did it give to their reigns any exceptional purity or unworldly character. The maxims of statecraft which they followed were of the earth, earthy. While bent upon increasing their own power they did not neglect the study of the art of undermining each other's power, however divinely buttressed in theory it might be. Monarchs were dethroned, states were extinguished, boundaries were changed and changed again, as the result of aggressive wars, during the eighteenth century. Moreover, the wars of that time were famous for the exactions of the victors and for the scandalous fortunes made by some of the commanders. It was not the French Revolutionists nor was it Napoleon who introduced these customs into Europe. They could not, had they tried, have lowered the tone of war or statecraft in Europe. At the worst they might only imitate their predecessors.

The insecurity of states

Wars of aggression numerous

The Old Régime in Europe was to be brought tumbling down in unutterable confusion as a result of the storm which was brewing in France and which we are now to study. But that régime had been undermined, the props that supported it had been destroyed, by its own official beneficiaries and defenders. The Old Régime was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested, respect for the established order, for what was old and traditional, for what had come down from the past, regard for legality, for engagements, loyalty to those in authority. How little regard the monarchs of Europe themselves had for principles which they were accustomed to pronounce sacred for principles in which alone lay their own safety, was shown by the part they played in the great events of the eighteenth century already alluded to, the war of the Austrian Succession, and the Partition o

The Old Régime everywhere in danger

No honor among monarchs

oland. By the first the ruler of Austria, Maria Theresa, was robbed the large and valuable province of Silesia by Prussia, aided by France,

MARIA THERESA
rom a pastel in the possession of the Grand Duke Frederick, Vienna.

both of which states had recently signed a peculiarly solemn treaty called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which her rights had been explicitly and emphatically recognized. Frederick II, however, wanted the province, took it, and kept it. This case shows how lightly monarchs regarded legal obligations, when they conflicted with their ambitions.

Prussia grabs Silesia

The other case, the Partition of Poland, was the most iniquitous act of the century. Poland was in geographical extent the largest state in Europe, next to Russia. Its history ran far back. But its government was utterly weak. Therefore in 1772 Prussia, Austria, and Russia attacked it for no cause save their own cupidity, and tore great fragments away, annexing them to their own territories. Twenty years later they completed the process in two additional partitions, in 1793 and 1795, thus entirely annihilating an ancient state. This shows how much regard the monarchs of Europe had for established institutions, for established authorities.

The extinction of Poland

Two things only counted in Old Europe — force and will, the will of the sovereign. But force and will may be used quite as easily for revolution, for the overthrow of what is old and sacred, as for its preservation. There need be no surprise at anything that we may find Napoleon doing. He had a sufficient pattern and exemplar in Frederick the Great and in Catherine of Russia, only recently deceased when his meteoric career began.

Force, the order of the day

The crash of the Old Régime in Europe

The eighteenth century attained its legitimate climax in its closing decade, a memorable period in the history of the world. The Old Régime in Europe was rudely shattered by the overthrow of the Old Régime in France, which country, by its astonishing actions, was to dominate the next quarter of a century.

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St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Gotland
Gulf of Riga
Riga
COURLAND
Libau
Milau
R. Duna
To Russia in 1772
SAMOGITIA
Tilsit
R. Niemen
To Russia in 1795
Smolensk
Konigsberg
LITHUANIA
Vilna
Danzig
To Prussia in 1772
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Marienburgh
EAST PRUSSIA
To Prussia in 1795
PODLACHIA
Grodno
WHITE RUSSIA
R. Dwina
To Russia in 1772
Thorn
R. Vistula
MASOVIA
BLACK RUSSIA
Posen
Gnesen
GREAT POLAND
Warsaw
To Prussia in 1793
PODOLESIA
To Russia in 1793
R. Brestau
R. Oder
SILESIA
To Austria in 1795
LITTLE POLAND
RED RUSSIA
Lublin
Vladimir
VOLHYNIA
LITTLE RUSSIA
Kiev
Ratibor
Tarnow
AUSTRIA
LUDOMERIA
To Austria in 1772
Lemberg
UKRAINE
Brinn
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
GALICIA
PODOLIA
R. Dniester
Vienna
Buda
Pest
R. Theiss
HUNGARY
R. Danube
Odessa
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
THE PARTITION OF POLAND
50 0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles.
Territories taken by Russia
Territories taken by Austria
Territories taken by Prussia
BLACK SEA
R. Danube
20
Long. East 24 of Greenwich
28
32

CHAPTEK II

THE OLD RÉGIME IN FRANCE

The French Revolution brought with it a new conception of the state, w principles of politics and of society, a new outlook upon life, a new ith which seized the imagination of multitudes, inspiring em with intense enthusiasm, arousing boundless hopes, d precipitating a long and passionate struggle with all those who ared or hated innovation, who were satisfied with things as they were, no found their own conditions of life comfortable and d not wish to be disturbed. Soon France and Europe re divided into two camps, the reformers and the con-rvatives, those believing in radical changes along many lines and those o believed in preserving what was old and tried, either because they ofited by it or because they felt that men were happier d more prosperous in living under conditions and with titutions to which they were accustomed than under those that might ideally more perfect but would at any rate be strange and novel and certain.

The French Revolution

Attracts liberals everywhere

and repels conservatives

In order to understand the French Revolution it is necessary to exine the conditions and institutions of France out of which it grew; in er words, the Old Régime. Only thus can we get our se of perspective, our standard of values and of criticism. e Revolution accomplished a sweeping transformation in life of France. Putting it in a single phrase it accomshed the transition from the feudal system of the preceding centuries the democratic system of the modern world. The entire structure of French state and of French society was remodeled and planted on and far-reaching principles.

The Revolution a transition from feudalism to democracy

The essence of the feudal system was class divisions and acknowledged ileges for all classes above the lowest. The essence of new system is the removal of class distinctions, the lition of privileges, the introduction of the principle of equality of men, wherever possible.

Nature of the feudal system

What strikes one most in contemplating the Old Régime is the prevalence and the oppressiveness of the privileges that various classes enjoyed. Society was simply honeycombed with them. They affected life constantly and at every point. It is not an easy society to describe in a few words, for the variations were almost endless. But, broadly speaking, and leaving details aside, French society was graded from top to bottom, and each grade differed, in legal rights, in opportunities for enjoyment and development, in power.

The Old Régime based on privilege

The system culminated in the monarch, the lofty and glittering head of the state, the embodiment of the might and the majesty of the nation. The king claimed to rule by the will of God, that is, by divine right, not at all by the consent of the people. He was responsible to no one but God. Consequently in the actual conduct of his office he was subject to no control. He was an absolute monarch. He could do as he chose. It was for the nation to obey. The will of the king and that alone was, in theory, the only thing that counted. It determined what the law should be that should govern twenty-five million Frenchmen in their daily lives. "This thing is legal because I wish it," said Louis XVI, thus stating in a single phrase the nature of the monarchy, the theory, and the practice also, if the monarch happened to be a strong man. The king made the laws, he levied the taxes, he spent them as he saw fit, he declared wars, made peace, contracted alliances according to his own inclination. There was in theory no restriction upon his power, and all his subjects lay in the hollow of his hand. He could seize their property; he could imprison them by a mere order, a *lettre de cachet*, without trial, and for such a period as he desired; he could control, if not their thoughts, at least the expression of them, for his censorship of the press, whether employed in the publication of books or newspapers, could muzzle them absolutely.

Divine right monarchy

The monarch absolute in power

So commanding a figure required a broad and ample stage for the part he was to play, a rich and spacious background. Never was a being more sumptuously housed. While Paris was the capital of France, the king resided twelve miles away amid the splendors of Versailles. There he lived and moved and had his being in a palace that was the envy of every other king in Christendom, a monumental pile, with its hundreds of rooms, its chapel, theatre

The splendor of his residence

THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES
After an engraving by J. Rigaud.

dining halls, salons, and endless suites of apartments for its distinguishe occupants, the royal family, its hundreds of servants, and its guest This mammoth residence had been built a century before at an expens of about a hundred million dollars in terms of our money to-day, an im posing setting for a most brilliant and numerous court, lending itsel with its miles of corridors, of walks through endless formal garde

The Court of Versailles

studded with statues, fountains, and artificial lakes, to a the pomp and pageantry of power. For the court which s dazzled Europe was composed of 18,000 people, perhaps 16,000 of who were attached to the personal service of the king and his family, 2,0 being courtiers, the favored guests of the house, nobles who were e gaged in a perpetual round of pleasures and who were also busily feathe ing their own nests by soliciting, of course in polished and subtle way the favors that streamed from a lavish throne. Luxury was everywhe the prevailing note. Well may the occupants of the palace have co sidered themselves, in spirit and in truth, the darlings of the gods, f earth had not anything to show more costly. The king, the queen, t royal children, the king's brothers and sisters and aunts all had the separate establishments under the spacious roof. The queen alone ha 500 servants. The royal stables contained nearly 1,900 horses and mo

A most expensive luxury

than 200 carriages, and the annual cost of this service alo was the equivalent of $4,000,000. The king's table co more than a million and a half. As gaiety was unconfine so necessarily was the expediture that kept it going, for every one this household secured what, in the parlance of our vulgar democrac is called a handsome "rake-off." Thus ladies-in-waiting secured abo $30,000 each by the privilege they enjoyed of selling the candles th had once been lighted but not used up. Queen Marie Antoinette h four pairs of shoes a week, which constituted a profitable business f somebody. In 1789 the total cost of all this riot of extravagan amounted to not far from $20,000,000. No wonder that men spoke the court as the veritable nation's grave.

Not only were the king's household expenses pitched to this exalt scale, but, in addition, he gave money or appointments or pensions free

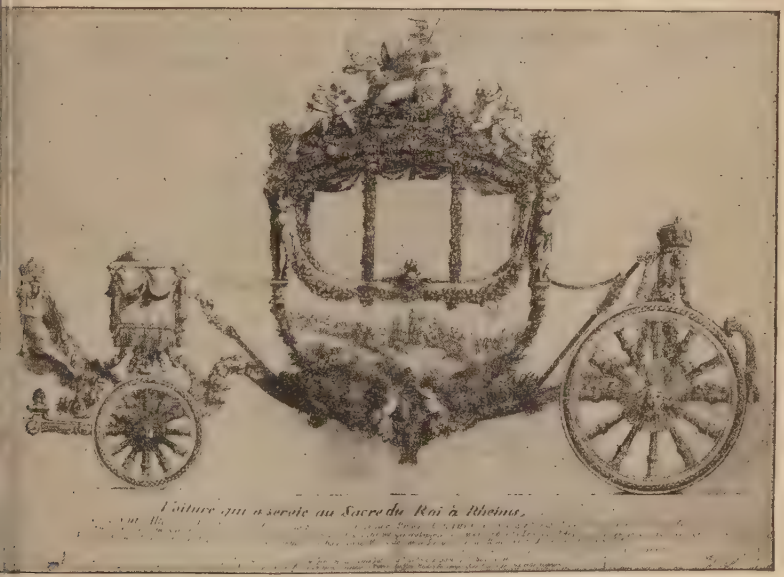
The King a real Lord Bountiful

as to the manner born, to those who gained his favor. has been estimated that in the fifteen years between 17 when Louis XVI came to the throne, and 1789, when t whirlwind began, the King thus presented to favorites the equivale

f more than a hundred million dollars of our money. For those who asked in such sunshine it was unquestionably a golden age.

Such was the dazzling apex of a state edifice that was rickety in the xtreme. For the government of France was ill-constructed and the mes were decidedly out of joint. That government was ot a miracle of design, but of the lack of it. Complicated, l-adjusted, the various branches dimly defined or over-pping, it was thoroughly unscientific and inefficient. The king was as-

Defective organization of the state



THE COACH ORNAMENTED WITH SYMBOLS IN WHICH LOUIS XVI WENT TO HIS CORONATION IN 1774

From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution.*

sted by five councils which framed the laws, issued the orders, conducted ie business of the state, domestic and foreign, at the capital. Then for irposes of local government France was split up into visions, but, unfortunately, not into a single, simple set. here were forty "governments," so called, thirty-two of which cor-sponded closely to the old provinces of France, the outcome of her idal history. But those forty "governments" belied their name. ey did little governing, but they furnished many lucrative offices for

The provinces

the higher nobility who were appointed "governors" and who resided generally in Versailles, contributing their part to the magnificent ceremonial of that showy parade ground.

The real, prosaic work was done in the thirty-six "generalities," as another set of divisions was called. Over each of these was an intendant who was generally of the middle or bourgeois class, accustomed to work. These intendants were appointed by the king to carry on the royal government, each in his own district. They generally did not originate much, but they carried out the orders that came from the capital and made their reports to it. Their power was practically unrestricted. Upon them depended in large measure the happiness or the misery of the provinces. Judging from the fact that most of them were very unpopular, it must be admitted that this, the real working part of the national government, did not contribute to the welfare of the people. The intendants were rather the docile tools of the misgovernment which issued from the five councils which were the five fingers of the king. As the head is, so are the members, and the officials under the intendants for the smaller local areas enjoyed the disesteem evoked by the oppressive or unjust policies of their superiors.

The intendants

Speaking broadly, local self-government did not exist in France, but the local, like the national, government was directed and determined in Versailles. Were a bridge to be repaired over some little stream hundreds of miles from Paris, were a new roof required for a village church, the matter was regulated from Paris, after exasperating delay. It was the reign of the red tape in every sense of the word. The people stood like dumb, driven cattle before this monstrous system. The only danger lay in the chance that they might not always remain dumb. Here obviously was no school for popular political education — a fact which explains many of the mistakes and failures of the people when, in the Revolution, they themselves undertook to rule, the monarchy having failed egregiously to discharge its functions efficiently or beneficently.

No local self-government

Let no one suppose that because France was a highly centralized monarchy, culminating in the person of the king, that therefore the French government was a real unity. Nothing could be further from the truth. To study in detail the various aspects of the royal government, its divisions and subdivisions, its standards, its agents, its methods of procedure, is to ente

France centralized but not unified

FRANCE
BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

lane where the mind quickly becomes hopelessly bewildered, so great was the diversity in the machinery employed, so varied were the terms in use. Uniformity was nowhere to be seen. There was unity in the person of the king, necessarily, and there only. Everywhere else disunity, diversity, variety, without rhyme or reason. It would take a volume or many volumes to make this clear — even then the reader would be driven to despair in attempting to form a true mental picture of the situation. The institutions of France were a hodge-podge — chaos erected into a system, with no loss of the chaotic, and with no system. Nowadays the same laws, the same taxes, the same weights and measures prevail throughout the length and breadth of the land. But in 1789 no such simplicity or equality prevailed. Weights and measures had different names and different values as one moved from province to province, sometimes as one moved from village to village. In some provinces taxes were, not determined, but at least apportioned, by certain people of the province. In other cases this apportionment was effected directly by the agents of the king, that is, by the central government. In some parts of France the civil laws, that is, the laws that regulated the relations of individuals with each other, not with the state, were of Roman origin or character. There the written law prevailed. In other sections, however, mainly in the north, one changed laws, Voltaire said, as one changed post-horses. In such sections the laws were not written but were *customary*, that is, feudal in origin and in spirit. There were indeed 285 different codes of customary laws in force, that is 285 different ways of regulating legally the personal relations of men with men, within the confines of France.

Ill-constructed machinery of government

Various systems of law

Again the same diversity in another sphere. Thirteen of the provinces of central France enjoyed free trade, that is, merchandise could move freely from one end of that area to the other without restriction. But the other nineteen provinces were separated from each other, just as nations are, by tariff boundaries, and when goods passed from one such province to another, they passed through custom-houses and duties were paid on them, as on goods that come from Europe to the United States.

Provincial tariff boundaries

All these diversities in laws, all these tariff boundaries, are easily explained. They were historical survivals, troublesome and irritating reminders of the Middle Ages. As the kings of France had during the

ages annexed this province and then that, they had, more or less, allowed the local customs and institutions to remain undisturbed. Hence this amazing patchwork which baffles description.

One consequence of all this was the persistence in France of that feeling which in American history is known as the states-rights feeling. While all admitted that they were Frenchmen, provincial feeling was strong and frequently assertive. Men thought of themselves as Bretons, as Normans, were attached to the things that differentiated them, were inflexible or stubborn opponents of all attempts at amalgamation. Before France could be considered strongly united, fusion on a grand scale had to be accomplished. This was to be one of the memorable and durable achievements of the Revolution.

The states-rights feeling

The financial condition of this extravagant and inefficient state was deplorable and dangerous. Almost half of the national income was devoted to the payment of interest on the national debt. Expenditures were always larger than receipts, with the result that there was an annual deficit which had to be met by contracting a new loan, thus enlarging the debt and the interest charges. It appeared to be the principle of state finance, not that expenditures should be determined by income, but that income should be determined by expenditures. The debt therefore constantly increased, and to meet the chronic deficit the government had recourse to well-known methods which only aggravated the evil — the sale of offices, new loans. During twelve years of the reign of Louis XVI, from 1776 to 1788, the debt increased nearly $600,000,000. People became unwilling to loan to the state, and it was practically impossible to increase the taxes. The national finances were in a highly critical condition. Bankruptcy impended, and bankruptcy can only be avoided in two ways, either by increasing receipts or by reducing expenditures, or both. Attempts were made in the one direction and in the other, but were ineffectual.

Critical condition of the national finances

The receipts, of course, came from the taxes, and the taxes were already very burdensome, at least for those who paid them. They were of two kinds, the direct and the indirect. The direct taxes were those on real estate, on personal property, and on income. From some of these the nobles and the clergy were entirely exempt and they therefore fell all the more heavily upon the class that remained, the third estate. From others the

The system of taxation honeycombed with favoritism

nobles, though not legally exempted, were in practice largely freed, because the authorities did not assess noble property nearly as high as they did the property of commoners. Tax assessors stood in awe of the great. Thus the royal princes who were subject to the income tax and who ought to have paid nearly two and a half million francs, as a matter of fact paid less than two hundred thousand. Again, a marquis who ought to have paid a property tax of 2,500 francs paid 400 and a bourgeois in the same province who ought to have paid 70 in reality paid 760. Such crass favoritism, which always worked in favor of the nobles, never in favor of members of the third estate, naturally served only deeply to embitter the latter class. Those who were the wealthiest and therefore the best able to support the state were the very ones who paid the least, thus conforming to the principle that to those that have shall be given and from those that have not shall be taken away even that which they have. It has been estimated that the state took from the middle classes, and from the workingmen and peasants, half their annual earnings in the form of these direct taxes.

There was another branch of the system of taxation which was oppressive and offensive for other reasons. There were certain indirect taxes which were collected, not by state officials, but by private individuals or companies, the farmers of taxes, as they were called, who paid a lump sum to the state and then themselves collected the taxes, seeking of course to extract as much as possible from the people. Not only has this system of tax-collecting always proved most hateful, both in ancient and modern times, as the tax-farmers have always, in order to make as much as possible, applied the screws with pitiless severity, thus generating a maximum of odium and hatred; but in this particular case several of the indirect taxes would have been unjust and oppressive, even if collected with leniency, a thing never heard of. There was, for instance, the salt-tax, or *gabelle*, which came home, in stark odiousness, to every one. The trade in salt was not open to any one who might wish to engage in it, but was a monopoly of a company that bought the privilege from the state, and that company was most astoundingly favored by the law. For every person above seven years of age was required to buy at least seven pounds of salt annually whether he wished it or not. Even the utterly poor, who had not money enough to buy bread, were severely punished if they refused or neglected to buy the stated amount of salt. Moreover

Unpopular taxes

The odious salt-tax

the tax-collectors had the right to search all houses from top to bottom to see that there was no evasion. Illicit trade in this necessary commodity was incessantly tracked down and severely punished. On the very eve of the Revolution it was officially estimated that 20,000 persons were annually imprisoned and over 500 annually condemned to death, or to service in the galleys, which was hardly preferable, for engaging in the illegal trade in salt. Moreover by an extra refinement in the art of oppression the seven pounds that all must buy could be used only for cooking or on the table. If one desired to salt down fish or meats for preservation, one must not use this particular salt for that purpose, but must buy an additional amount.

There was another equally intolerable tax, the excise on wine. The making of wine was a great national industry which had existed for centuries, but if ever there was a system calculated to depress it, it was the one in vogue in France. Wine was taxed all along the line from the producer to the consumer. Taxed at the moment of manufacture, taxed at the moment of sale by the producer, it was also taxed repeatedly in transportation, — thirty-five or forty times for instance, between the south of France and Paris, so that the combined taxes amounted in the end to nearly as much as the cost of the original production. A trade exposed to such constant and heavy impositions could not greatly flourish.

The excise tax on wine

Again the taxes both on salt and on wine were not uniform, but varied from region to region, so that the sense of unjust treatment was kept alive every day in the ordinary course of business, and smuggling was in many cases extremely profitable. This in turn led to savage punishments, which only augmented the universal discontent and entered like iron into the souls of men. In the system of taxation, as in the political structure, we find everywhere inequality of treatment, privileges, arbitrary and tyrannical regulations, coupled with uncertainty from year to year, for the regulations were not infrequently changed. No wonder that men, even nobles, criticized this fiscal system as shockingly unjust and scandalously oppressive.

The system of taxation unfair and arbitrary

The social organization of France, also, was far from satisfactory. On even the most cursory view many notorious abuses, many intolerable grievances, many irritating or harmful maladjustments stood forth, condemned by reason or the interest of large sections of the population.

forms outworn, and institutions from which the life had departed, but whence issued a benumbing influence, hampered development in many directions. French society was frankly based upon the principle of inequality. There were three classes or orders, the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. Not only were the two former classes privileged, that is, placed upon a better footing than the last, but it is curious to observe how the pervasive principle of unequal rights broke up even the formal unity of each of these classes. There was inequality of classes and there was also inequality between sections of the same class. The two privileged orders were favored in many ways, such as complete or partial exemption from taxes, or the right themselves to tax — the clergy through its right to tithes, the nobility through its right to exact feudal dues. Even some of the members of the third estate enjoyed privileges denied the rest. There were classes within classes. Of the 25,000,000 of Frenchmen the clergy numbered about 130,000, the nobility 140,000, while possibly about as many bourgeois as these two combined enjoyed privileges that separated them from the mass of their class. Thus the privileged as a whole numbered less than 500,000, while the unprivileged numbered well over 24,000,000. One man in forty therefore belonged to the favored minority whose lot was differentiated from that of their fellowmen by artificial advantages and distinctions.

The three classes of French society

Inequality between and within these classes

The privileged classes a small minority

The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church formed the first order in the state. It was rich and powerful. It owned probably a fifth of the land of France. This land yielded a large revenue, and, in addition, the clergy exacted tithes on all the agricultural products of the realm. This was in reality a form of national taxation, with this difference from the other forms, that the proceeds went, not to the nation, but to the Church. The Church had still another source of income, the dues which it exacted as feudal landlord from those to whom it stood in that relation. The total income of this corporation was approximately $100,000,000 of our money. Out of this it was the duty of the Church to maintain religious offices and services, to support many hospitals and schools, to relieve personal distress by charity, for there was no such thing in France as organized poor relief by the state or municipality. Thus the

The Church

Its income and the services it rendered

Church was a state within the state, performing several functions which in most modern societies are performed by the secular authority. This rich corporation was relieved from taxation. Although from time to time it paid certain lump sums to the national treasury, these were far smaller than they would have been had the Church been taxed on its property and on its income in the same proportion as were the commoners.

An income so large, had it been wisely and justly expended, might have aroused no criticism, for many of the services performed by this organization were essential to the well-being of France. But here as elsewhere in the institutions of the country we find gross favoritism and wanton extravagance, which shocked the moral sense of the nation and aroused its indignation, because they belied so completely pretensions to a peculiar sanctity on which the Church based its claims to its privileged position. For the organization did not treat its own staff with any sense of fair play. Much the larger part of the income went to the higher clergy, that is, to the 134 bishops and archbishops, and to a small number of abbots, canons, and other dignitaries — in all probably not more than 5,000 or 6,000 ecclesiastics. These highly lucrative positions were monopolized by the younger sons of the nobility, who were eager to accept the salaries but not disposed to perform the duties. Many of them resided at court and lived the gay and worldly life, with scarcely anything, save some slight peculiarity of dress, to indicate their ecclesiastical character. The morals of many were scandalous and their intellectual ability was frequently mediocre. They did not consider themselves men set apart for a high and noble calling, they did not take their duties seriously — of course there were honorable exceptions, yet they were exceptions — but their aims were distinctly finite and they conducted themselves as typical men of the world, attentive to the problem of self-advancement, devoted to all the pleasures, dissipations, and intrigues of Versailles. Some held several offices at once, discharging the obligations of none, and enjoying princely revenues. The archbishop of Strassburg had an income of $300,000 a year and held high court in a splendid palace, entertaining 200 guests at a time. Even the saucepans of his kitchens were of silver. A hundred and eighty horses were in his stables, awaiting the pleasure of the guests.

Favoritism within the Church

The worldliness of the higher clergy

A few of the bishops received small incomes, but the average among them was over $50,000 a year. They were in the main absentees, resid-

g, not in their dioceses, but in Versailles, where further plums were to e picked up by the lucky, and where at any rate life was gay. Some of ne bishoprics had even become the hereditary possessions of certain milies, passing from uncle to nephew, as in the secular sphere many fices passed from father to son.

On the other hand, the lower clergy, the thousands of parish priests, ho did the real work of spiritual consolation and instruction, who bored faithfully in the vineyard, were wretchedly recom- nsed. They were sons of the third estate, while their roud and prosperous superiors were sons of the nobility, nd they were treated as plebeians. With wretched incomes of few hundred francs, they had difficulty in keeping body and soul gether. No wonder they were discontented and indignant, exclaiming at their lot "made the very stones and beams of their miserable wellings cry aloud." No wonder they were bitter against their supe- ors, who neglected and exploited them with equal indifference. The ivileged order of the clergy is thus seen to be divided into two asses, widely dissimilar in position, in origin, and in outlook upon e. The parish priests came from the people, experienced the hard- ips and sufferings of the people, saw the injustice of the existing stem, and sympathized with plans for its reform. The iumph of the popular cause in the Revolution was owerfully aided by the lower clergy, who at critical oments threw in their lot with the third estate and ainst their clerical superiors who rallied to the support of the abso- te monarchy which had been so indulgent and so lavish to them. A use divided against itself, however, cannot permanently stand.

The poverty of the lower clergy

The clergy divided against itself

Somewhat similar was the situation of the second order, the nobility. s in the case of the clergy, there was here also great variety of con- tion among the members of this order, although all were privileged. ere were several subdivisions, clearly enough marked. There were two in classes, the nobility of the sword and the nobility of robe, that is, the old military nobility of feudal origin l the new judicial nobility, which secured its rank from judicial offices its members held. The nobility of the sword consisted the nobles of the court and of the nobles of the provinces. The former re few in number, perhaps a thousand, but they shone with peculiar lliancy, for they were the ones who lived in Versailles, danced attend-

The nobility and its subdivisions

ance upon the king, vied with each other in an eager competition for appointments in the army and navy and diplomatic service, for pensions and largesses from the royal bounty. These they needed, as they lived in a luxurious splendor that taxed their incomes and overtaxed them. Residing at court, they allowed their estates to be administered by bailiffs or stewards, who exacted all that they could get from the peasantry who cultivated them. Everybody was jealous of the nobles of this class, for they were the favored few, who practically monopolized all the pleasant places in the sun.

The court nobles

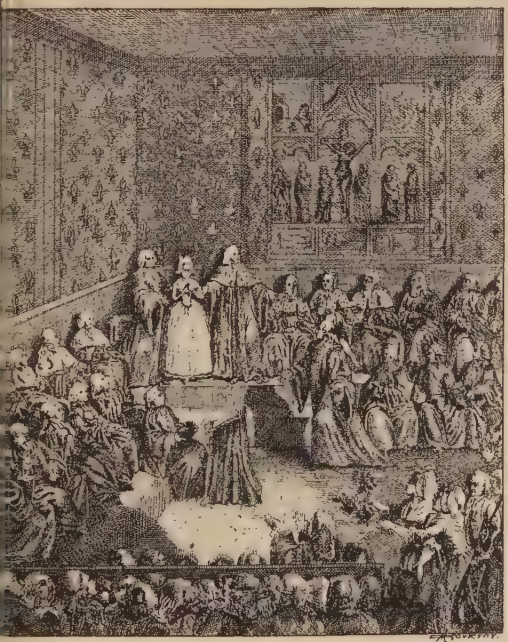
The contrast was striking between them and the hundred thousand provincial nobles who for various reasons did not live at court, were not known to the king, received no favors, and who yet were conscious that in purity of blood, in honorableness of descent and tradition, they were the equals or superiors of those who crowded about the monarch's person. Many of them had small incomes, some pitifully small. They could cut no figure in the world of society, they had few chances to increase their prosperity, which, in fact, tended steadily to decrease. Their sons were trained for the army the only noble profession, but could never hope to rise very high because all the major appointments went to the assiduous suitors of the clique at court. They resided among the peasants and in some cases were hardly distinguishable from them, except that they insisted upon maintaining the tradition of their class, their badge of superiority, a life of leisure. To work was to lose caste. This obliged many of them to insist rigorously upon the payment of the various feudal dues owed them by the peasantry, some of which were burdensome, most of which were irritating. In some parts of France, however, as in the Vendée and in Brittany they were sympathetic and helpful in their relations with the peasants and were in turn respected by them.

The provincial nobles

The nobility as a whole enjoyed one privilege that was a serious and unnecessary injury to the peasants, making harder the conditions of their lives, always hard enough, namely the exclusive right of hunting, considered the chief noble sport. This meant in actual practice that the peasants might not disturb the game, although the game was destroying their crops. This was an unmitigated abuse, universally execrated by them.

The odium that came to be attached in men's minds to the nobility was chiefly felt only for the selfish and greedy minority. The provincial

bility, like the lower clergy, were themselves discontented with the isting order, for abundant reasons. They might not wish a sweeping ansformation of society, but they were disposed to favor political forms that would at least give all within the order an approximately ual chance. They were devoted to the king, but they experienced in their own persons the evils of an arbitrary and capricious government which was highly partial in its favors.



THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS
After a drawing by Binet.

There was yet another section of the nobility whose status and whose outlook were different still. Many offices in France could be bought. They and their perquisites became the property of those who purchased them and who could transmit them to their children, and one of the perquisites that such offices carried was a patent of nobility. This was the created nobility, the nobility of the

The nobility of the robe

pe, so called because its most conspicuous members were the judges, or mbers of the higher tribunals or *parlements*. These judges appeared, one aspect, as liberals in that as lawyers they opposed certain unpopu- innovations attempted by the king. But in reality as soon as their n privileges were threatened they became the stiffest of defenders of ny of the most odious abuses of the Old Régime. In the opening vs of the Revolution the third estate found no more bitter opponents an these ennobled judges.

Such were the two privileged orders. The rest of the population

comprising the vast majority of the people, was called the third estate.

The Third Estate

Differing from the others in that it was unprivileged, it resembled them in that it illustrated the principle of inequality, as did they. There were the widest extremes in social and economic conditions. Every one who was not a noble or a clergyman was a member of the third estate, the richest banker, the most illustrious man of letters, the poorest peasant, the beggar in the streets. Not at all homogeneous, the three chief divisions of this immense mass were the *bourgeoisie*, the artisans, and the peasants.

The bourgeoisie, or upper middle class, comprised all those who were not manual laborers. Thus lawyers, physicians, teachers, literary men

The bourgeoisie

were bourgeois: also merchants, bankers, manufacturers. Despite great national reverses, the bourgeoisie had grown richer during the past century as commerce had greatly increased. This economic growth had benefited the bourgeosie almost exclusively and many large fortunes had been built up and the general level of material welfare had been distinctly raised. These were the practical business men who loaned money to the state and who were frequently appointed to offices where business ability was required. Intelligent, energetic

Dissatisfied with the existing system

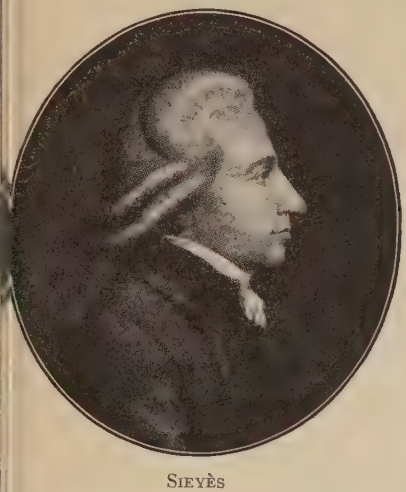
educated, and well-to-do, this class resented most keenly the existing system. For they were made to feel in numerous galling ways their social inferiority, and, conscious that they were quite as well educated, quite as well mannered as the nobles, they returned the disdain of the latter with envy and hatred. Having loaned immense sums to the state, they were increasingly apprehensive, as they saw it verging rapidly toward bankruptcy because their interests were greatly imperiled. They favored therefore a political reorganization which should enable them to participate in

Desires political and social reforms

the government, to control its expenditures, to assure its solvency, that thus they might be certain of their interest and principal, that thus abuses which impeded or injured business might be redressed, and that the precariousness of their position might be remedied.

They wished also a social revolution. Well educated, saturated with the literature of the period, which they read with avidity, their minds fermented with the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and the economists. Personally, man for man, they were as cultivated as the nobles. They wished social equality, they wished the laws to recogniz

what they felt the facts proved, that the bourgeois was the equal of the noble. They chafed under pretensions which they felt unjustified by any real superiority. Their mood was brilliantly expressed by a pamphlet written by one of their members, the Abbé Sieyès, which circulated enormously on the eve of the Revolution. "What is the Third Estate?" asked Sieyès. "Everything. What has it been in politics until now? Nothing. What does it desire? To become something."



SIEYÈS
From an engraving by Fiesinger, after a drawing by J. Guérin.

Belonging to this estate but beneath the bourgeoisie were the artisans — perhaps two million and a half, living in the towns and cities. **The artisans** They were a comparatively small class because the industrial life of France was not yet highly developed. They were generally organized in guilds which had their rules and privileges that gave rise to bickerings galore and that were generally condemned as preventing the free and full expansion of industry and as artificially restricting the right to work.

The other large division of the third estate was the peasantry. This was by far the largest section. Indeed it was the nation. France was an agricultural country, more than nine-tenths of the population were peasants, more than 20,000,000. About a million of them were serfs, the rest were free men, yet their lot was an unhappy one. The burdens of society fell with crushing weight upon them. They paid fifty-five per cent of what they were able to earn to the state, according to the sober estimate of Turgot. They paid tithes to the clergy and numerous and vexatious feudal dues to the nobles. The peasant paid tolls to the seigneur for the use of the roads and bridges. When he sold his land he paid a fee to the former seigneur. He was compelled to use the seigneur's wine press in making his wine, the seigneur's mill, the seigneur's oven, always paying for the service. The loss of money was one aspect of the business, the loss of time another. In **The peasantry**

some cases, for instance, the mill was four or five hours distant, and dozen or more rivers and rivulets had to be crossed. In summer, even the water was too low to turn the wheel, nevertheless the peasant wa obliged to bring his grain to be ground, must wait perhaps three days must pay a fee for permission to have the grain groun elsewhere. Adding what he paid to the king, the Churc and the seigneur, and the salt and excise duties, the tot was often not far from four-fifths of his earnings. With th remaining one-fifth he had to support himself and family.

Oppressed by various and heavy taxes

The inevitable consequence was that he lived on the verge of disaste Bad weather at a critical moment supervening, he faced dire want, eve starvation. It happened that the harvest was bad in 1788 and that th following winter was cruelly severe. According to a foreign ambassad water froze almost in front of the fireplace. It need occasion no surpri that owing to such conditions hundreds of thousands of men becam beggars or brigands, driven to frenzy by hunger. It has been estimate that in Paris alone, with a population of 650,000, there were near 120,000 paupers. No wonder there were abundant recruits for riots an deeds of violence. The 20,000,000 peasants, who knew nothing of stat craft, who were ignorant of the destructive and subversiv theories of Voltaire and Rousseau, were daily and hourl impressed with the imperative necessity of reforms by th hard circumstances of their lives. They knew that the feudal dues woul have to be abolished, that the excessive exactions of the state woul have to be reduced before their lives could become tolerable. The reasons for desiring change were different from those of the other classe but it is evident that they were more than sufficient.

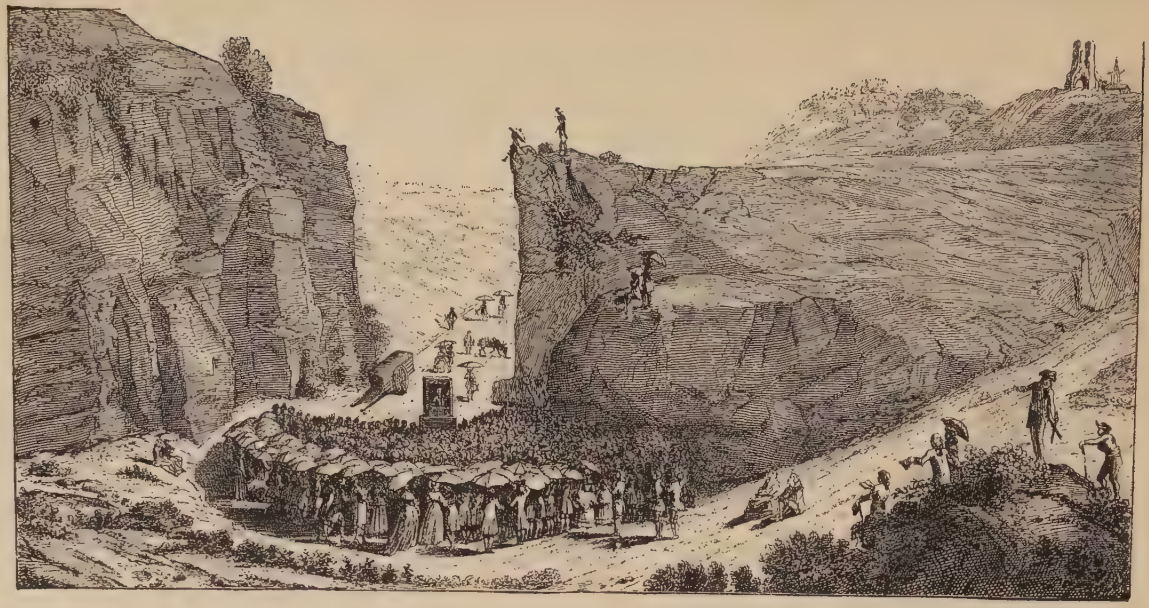
A profoundly discontented class

The combined demand for reform increased as time went on an swelled in volume and in intensity. The voice of the people spoke wit no uncertain sound.

Such was the situation. On the eve of the Revolution Frenchme enjoyed no equality of status or opportunity but privileges of the mos varied kinds divided them from each other.

They also enjoyed no liberty. Religious liberty was lacking. Sinc the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Protestan ism had been outlawed. It was a crime punishable wit hard labor to practise that religion. Under Louis XVI th persecution of Protestants was in fact suspended, but it might be resume

Restrictions upon religious liberty



PROTESTANT WORSHIP IN THE WILDERNESS
After an anonymous engraving.

at any moment. Protestant preaching was forbidden and consequently could occur only in secret or in lonely places. Jews were considered foreigners and as such were tolerated, but their position was humiliating. Catholics were required by law to observe the requirements and usages of their religion, communion, fast days, Lent. The Church was absolutely opposed to toleration and because of this incurred the animosity of Voltaire.

There was no liberty of thought, or at least, of the expression of it. Every book, every newspaper article must be submitted to the censor for approval before publication, and no printer might print without permission. Even when published in conformity with these conditions books might be seized and burned by the police, editions destroyed when possible, and publishers, authors, readers might be prosecuted and fined or imprisoned. Let no one think that the mere fact that Rousseau, Voltaire, and the other authors of the day were able to get their thoughts before the public proves that liberty existed in practice, even if not in theory. Voltaire knew imprisonment for what he wrote and was virtually exiled during long years of his life. The censorship was applied capriciously but it was applied sufficiently often, and prosecutions were sufficiently numerous to justify the statement that liberty was lacking in this sphere of life.

Restrictions upon intellectual liberty

There was no individual liberty. The authorities might arrest any one whom they wished and keep him in prison as long as they chose without assigning reasons and without giving the victim any chance to prove his innocence. There was no such thing as a Habeas Corpus law. There was a large number of state prisons, the most famous being the Bastille, and many of their occupants were there by reason of the *lettres de cachet*, or order for arbitrary arrest, one of the most odious and hated features of the Old Régime. Ministers and their subordinate officials used these letters freely. Nobles easily obtained them, sometimes the place for the name being left blank for them to fill in. Sometimes, even, they were sold. Thus there was abundant opportunity to use them to pay off merely personal grudges. Malesherbes once said to Louis XV "No citizen of your realm is sure of not seeing his liberty sacrificed to private spite, the spirit of revenge: for no one is so great as to be safe from the hatred of a minister, so little as to be unworthy of that

Restrictions upon civil liberty

clerk." *Lettres de cachet* were also used as a measure of family discipline, to buttress the authority of the head of the family, which was quite as absolute as it is in the Orient. A father could have his wife imprisoned or his children, even though they were adults. Mirabeau had this experience even when he was already widely known as a writer on public affairs.

Nor was there political liberty. The French did not have the right to hold public meetings or to form associations or societies. And of course, as we have seen, they did not elect any assemblies to control the royal government. Liberties which had been in vogue in England for centuries, which were the priceless heritage of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic, were unknown in France.

Political liberty lacking

In view of all these facts it is not strange that Liberty and Equality became the battle cry of the Revolution, embodying the deepest aspirations of the nation.

The French Revolution has been frequently ascribed to the influence of the "philosophers" or writers of the eighteenth century. This is putting the cart before the horse, not the usual or efficient way of insuring progress. The manifold ills from which the nation suffered only too palpably were the primary cause of the demand for a cure.

Nevertheless it was a fact of great importance that all the conditions described above, and many others, were criticised through the century by a group of brilliant writers, whose exposition and denunciation gave vocal expression on a vast scale to the discontent, the indignation, and the longing of the age. Literature was a lusty and passionate champion of reform, and through it a flood of new ideas swept over France. Many of these ideas were of foreign origin, German, American, above all English; many were of native growth. Literature was political, and never was there such a raking criticism, from every angle, of prevalent ideas. It was skeptical and expressed the greatest contempt for the traditional — that is, for the very basis on which France had easily rested. It was analytical, and ideas and institutions and methods were subjected to the most minute and exhaustive examination. No cranny of sequestered abuse or folly was left unexplored by these eager and inquisitive and irreverent minds, on whom the past hung lightly. Literature was optimistic, and never did a nation witness so luxuriant or tropical a growth

Influence of literary men

The critical philosophy of the eighteenth century

of Utopias and dreams. Rarely has any body of writing been so charged and surcharged with freshness and boldness and reckless confidence. Appealing to reason, appealing to the emotions, it ran up and down the gamut of human nature, playing with ease and fervor upon the minds and hearts of men, in every tone, with every accent. It was a literature of criticism, of denunciation, of ingenious or futile suggestions for a fairer future. Sparkling, vehement, satirical, scientific in form, it breathed revolt, detestation, but it breathed also an abounding faith in the infinite perfectibility of man and his institutions. It was destructive, as has often been said. It was constructive, too, a characteristic which has not so often been noted. These books, which issued in great profusion from the facile pens and teeming brains of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Quesnay, and many others, stirred the intellectual world to its depths. They accelerated the circulation of multifarious ideas on politics, religion, society, business. They constituted great historic acts. They crystallized in brilliant and sometimes blinding formulas and theorems whole philosophies of the state and of society. In such compact and manageable form they made the tour of France and began the tour of Europe.

Both destructive and constructive in its effects

The volume of this inflammable literature was large, its impetus tremendous. It exhaled the love of liberty, the craving for justice. Liberal ideas penetrated more and more deeply into the public mind. A vast fermentation, an incessant and fearless discussion of existing evils and their remedies prepared the way for coming events which were to prove of momentous character.

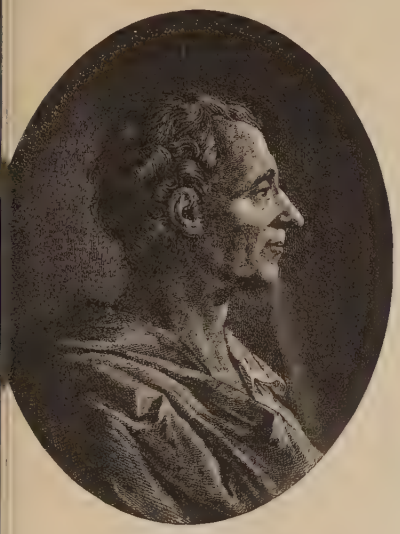
For three generations the fire of criticism and satire rained upon the foundations of the French monarchy. The campaign was opened by Montesquieu, a member of the nobility of the robe, a lawyer of eminence, a judge of the Parlement of Bordeaux. His great work, the product of twenty years of labor, was his *Spirit of Laws*, published in 1748. It had an immediate and immense success. Twenty-two editions issued from the press in eighteen months. It was a study in political philosophy, an analysis of the various forms of government known to men, a cold and balanced judgment of their various peculiarities, merits, and defects. Tearing aside the veil of mystery which men had thrown about their institutions, disregarding contemptuously the claim of a divine origin, of a sacrosanct and inviolable qual-

Montesquieu (1689–1755)

y inherent in their very nature, Montesquieu examined the various rpes with the same detachment and objectivity which a botanist shows the study of his specimens. Two or three leading ideas nerged from the process. One was that the English gov- nment was on the whole the best, since it guaranteed personal liberty to all citizens. It was a monarchy which was limited in power, and controlled by an assembly which represented the people of England — in other words what, in the language of modern political science, is called a constitutional monarchy. Montesquieu also emphasized the necessity in any well-regulated state of separating carefully the three powers of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. In the French monarchy all were blended and fused in the single person of the king, and were subject to no earthly control — and, as a matter of fact, to no divine control that was perceptible. These conceptions of a constitu- onal as preferable to an absolute monarchy, and of the cessity of providing for a separation of the three powers, ve dominated all the constitutions France has had since 1789 and have erted an influence far beyond the boundaries of that country. Pro- unded by a studious judge, in language that was both grave and ele- nt, Montesquieu's masterpiece was a storehouse of wisdom, destined be provocative of much thought, discussion, and action, both in France d elsewhere.

"The Spirit of Laws"

Praises constitutional monarchy



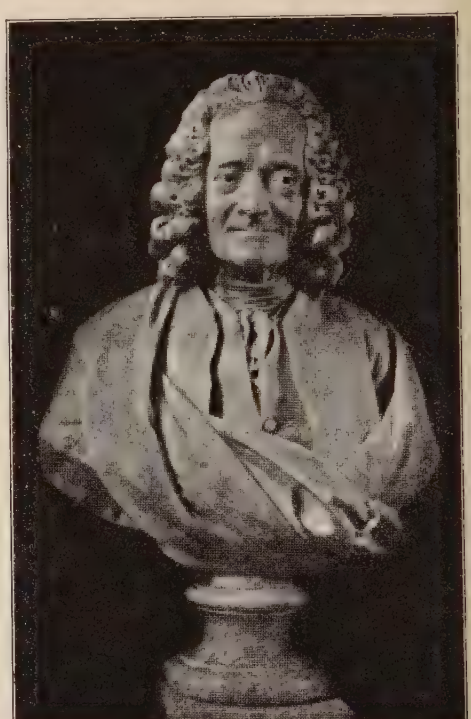
MONTESQUIEU

rom the engraving by B. L. Henriquez after the picture at the Académie Française.

Very different, but even more memorable, was the work of Voltaire, of the master minds of European history, whose name has become name of an era. We speak of the Age of Voltaire as speak of the Age of Luther and of Erasmus. Voltaire nds for the emancipation of the intellect. His significance to his

Voltaire (1694–1788)

times is shown in the title men gave him — King Voltaire. The world has not often seen a freer or more intrepid spirit. Supremely gifted for a life of letters, Voltaire proved himself an accomplished poet, historian, dramatist, even scientist, for he was not a specialist, but versatility was his forte. Well known at the age of twenty-three, he died at the age of eighty-four in a veritable delirium of applause, for his exit from the world was an amazing apotheosis. World-renowned he melted into world history.



VOLTAIRE
From the bust by Houdon.

An impassioned champion of freedom

He had not trod the primrose path of dalliance but had been a warrior all his life, for multifarious and generally honorable causes. With many weaknesses of character, of which excessive vanity was one, he was a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night for all who enlisted in the fight for the liberation of mankind. He had personally experienced the oppression of the Old Régime and he hated it with a deep and abiding hatred. He had more than once been thrown into prison by the odious arbitrary *lettres de cachet* because he had incurred the enmity of the great. A large part of his life had been spent in exile because he was not safe in France. By his prodigious intellectual activity he had amassed a large fortune and had become one of the powers of Europe. Show him a case of arbitrary injustice, a case of religious persecution hounding an innocent man to an awful death — and there were such cases — and you would see him taking the field,

His hatred of every form of tyranny

flame with wrath against the authors of the monstrous deed. It was terally true in the age of Voltaire that the pen was far mightier than he sword. His style has been superlatively praised and cannot be raised too highly. Clear, pointed, supple, trenchant, it was a Damas- us blade. He was never tiresome, he was always interesting, and he as generally instructive. The buoyancy of his spirit was hown in everything he wrote. A master of biting satire nd of pulverizing invective, he singled out particularly for is attention the hypocrisies and cruelties and bigotries of his age and he aked them with a rapid and devastating fire. This brought him into onflict with the State and the Church. He denounced the abuses and niquities of the laws and the judicial system, of arbitrary imprison- nent, of torture. Voltaire was not a careful and sober student, like Montesquieu. In an age which had no journalism he was the most rilliant and mordant of journalists, writing as he listed, on the events r problems of his day. The variety and piquancy of his writings were stonishing.

His remarkable literary gifts

Voltaire was not primarily a political thinker. He attacked indi- idual abuses in the state and he undermined the respect for authority, ut he evidently was satisfied with monarchy as an institution. His ideal f government was a benevolent despotism. He was not a democrat. He would rather be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats, was the ay in which he expressed his preference.

The Church was his *bête noire*, as he considered it the gloomy fastness f moldering superstitions, the enemy of freedom of thought, the per- ecutor of innocent men who differed from it, as the seat of ntolerance, as the supporter of all kinds of narrow and igoted prejudices. Voltaire was not an atheist. He be- eved in God, but he did not believe in the Christian or in ne Hebrew God, and he hated the Roman Catholic Church and all its orks and dealt it many redoubtable blows. In eighteenth-century rance the Church, as we have seen, presented plenty of vulnerable les for his fiery shafts. Voltaire's work was not constructive but estructive. His religious faith was vague at best and not very vital. e scorned all formal creeds.

Voltaire's vehement attacks upon the Church

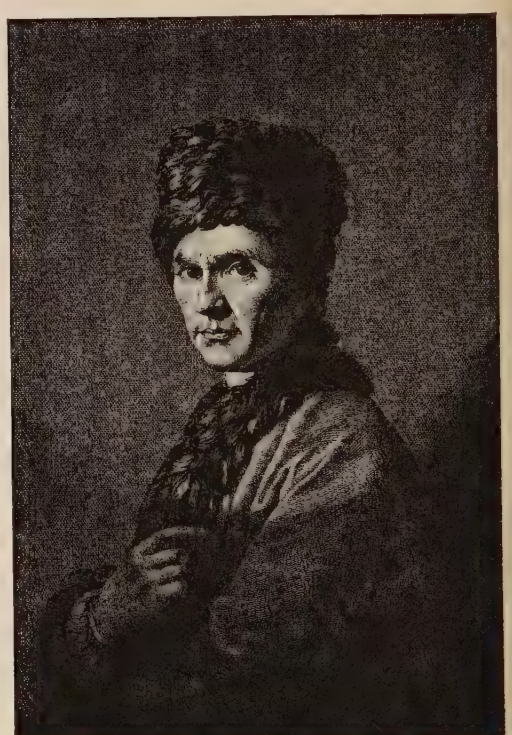
Very different in tone and tendency was the work of another author, an Jacques Rousseau. In Voltaire we have the dry, white light of eason thrown upon the dark places of the world. In Rousseau we have

reason, or rather logic, suffused and powerfully refracted with emotion. If the former was primarily engaged in the attempt to destroy, the latter was constructive, imaginative, prophetic. Rousseau was the creator of an entire political system; he was the confident theorist of a new organization of society. Montesquieu and Voltaire desired political reforms in the interest of individual liberty, desired the end of tyranny. But Rousseau swept far beyond them, wishing a total reorganization of society, because no amount of patching and renovating could make the present system tolerable, because nothing less would render liberty possible. He wrote a magic prose, rich, sonorous, full of melancholy, full of color, of musical cadences, of solemn and pensive eloquence. The past had no power over him; he lacked completely the historical sense. The past, indeed, he despised. It was to him the enemy *par excellence*, the cause of all the multiplied ills from which humanity was suffering and must free itself. Angry with the world as it was — his own life had been hard — he, the son of a Genevan watchmaker, had wandered here and there practising different trades, valet, music-teacher, tutor — he had known misery and had no personal reason for thinking well of the world and its boasted civilization. In his first work he propounded his fundamental thesis that man, naturally good and

Rousseau (1712–1778)

Rousseau's lack of the historical sense

Civilization the enemy



Jean Jacques Rousseau
From an engraving by J. E. Nochez after A. Ramsay.

ıst and happy, had been corrupted and degraded by the very thing e called civilization. Therefore sweep civilization aside, and on the round freed from its artificial and baneful conventions and institutions rect the idyllic state.

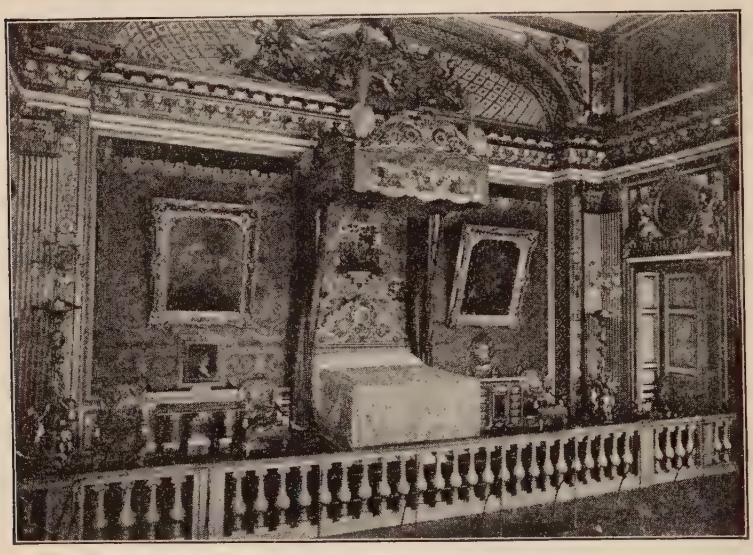
Rousseau's principal work was his *Social Contract*, one of the most amous and in its results one of the most influential books ever written. Opening with the startling statement that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," he proceeded to outline, by pure abstract reasoning, and with a lofty disregard of all that history ad to teach and all that psychology revealed of the nature of the human nind, a purely ideal state, which was in complete contrast to the one in which he lived. Society rests only upon an agreement of the persons who compose it. The people are sovereign, not any individual, nor any lass. All men are free and equal. The purpose of any government nould be to preserve the rights of each. Rousseau did not at all agree with Montesquieu, whose praise of the English form of government as insuring personal liberty he considered fallacious. "The English think themselves free," he said, "but they are mistaken, for they are free only at the moment in which they elect the members of Parliament." As soon as these are chosen, the people are slaves, they are nothing, since the members of Parliament are rulers, not the people. Only when the next election comes round will they be free again, and then only for another moment. Rousseau repudiated the representative system of government and demanded that the people make the laws themselves directly. Government must be government by majorities. The majority may make mistakes, nevertheless it is always right — a dark saying. Rousseau's state made no provision for safeguarding any rights of the minority which the majority might wish to infringe. The harmful feature of his system was that it rendered possible a tyranny by a majority over a minority quite as complete and odious and unrestrained as any tyranny of a king could be. But two of his ideas stood out in high relief — the sovereignty of the people and the political equality of all citizens, two democratic principles which were utterly subversive of the states of Europe as then constituted. These principles powerfully influenced the course of the Revolution and have been preached with fervor and denounced with passion by rival camps ever since. They have made notable progress in the world since

"The Social Contract"

Criticises the English form of government

Rousseau's extreme democratic principles

Rousseau gave them thrilling utterance, but they have still much ground to traverse before they gain the field, before the reign of democracy everywhere prevails.



THE KING'S BEDCHAMBER AT VERSAILLES

There were many other writers who, by attacking this abuse and that, contributed powerfully to the discrediting, the sapping of the Old Régime. A conspicuous group of them busied themselves with economic studies and theories, enunciating principles which, if applied, would revolutionize the industrial and commercial life of the nation by sweeping away the numerous and formidable restrictions which hampered it and which permeated it with favoritism and privilege, and by introducing the maximum of liberty in commerce, in industry, in agriculture, just as the writers whom we have described enunciated principles which would revolutionize France politically and socially.

Critics of the prevailing economic system

All this seed fell upon fruitful soil. Remarkable was to be the harvest as we shall shortly see.

The Revolution was not caused by the philosophers, but by the conditions and evils of the national life and by the mistakes of the govern-

ent. Nevertheless these writers were a factor in the Revolution, for ey educated a group of leaders, instilled into them certain decisive doctrines, furnished them with phrases, formulas, and arguments, gave a certain tone and cast to their minds, imparted to them certain powerful illusions, encouraged an excessive hopefulness which was characteristic of the movement. They did not cause the Revolution, but they exposed the uses brilliantly, focused attention upon them, compelled discussion, d aroused passion.

e influ-ce of the tters of eigh-nth cen-y

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CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION

Under Louis XVI the financial situation of France became more and more serious, until it could no longer be ignored. The cost of the participation in the American Revolution, added to the enormous debt inherited from the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV and to the excessive and unregulated expenditures of the state and the wastefulness of the court, completed the derangement of the national finances and foreshadowed bankruptcy. In the end this crisis forced the monarch to make an appeal to the people by summoning their representatives.

The critical condition of the national finances

But before taking so grave a step, the consequences of which were incalculable, the government tried various expedients less drastic, which, however, for various reasons, failed. Louis XVI was the unhappy monarch under whom these long accumulating ills culminated. The last of the rulers of the Old Régime, his reign covered the years from 1774 to 1792. It falls into three periods, a brief one of attempted reform (1774–1776) and then a relapse for the next twelve years into the traditional methods of the Bourbon monarchy, and after that the hurricane.

Louis XVI (1774–1793)

During his youth no one thought that Louis would ever be monarch so many other princes stood between him and the throne that his succession was only a remote contingency. But owing to an unprecedented number of deaths in the direct line this contingency became reality Louis mounted the throne, from which eighteen years later, by a strang concourse of events, he was hurled. He had never been molded for th high and dangerous office. He was but twenty years old and the Queen Marie Antoinette, but nineteen when they heard of the death of Loui XV, and instinctively both expressed the same thought, "How unhapp are we. We are too young to rule." The new King was entirely un trained in the arts of government. He was good, well-intentioned, h had a high standard of morality and duty, a genuine desire to serve h

LOUIS XVI
From the engraving by Nargeot, after the painting by Callet.

ple. But his mind lacked all distinction, his education had been r, his processes of thought were hesitating, slow, uncer- n. Awkward, timid, without elegancies or graces of mind body, no king could have been less to the manner born, none could

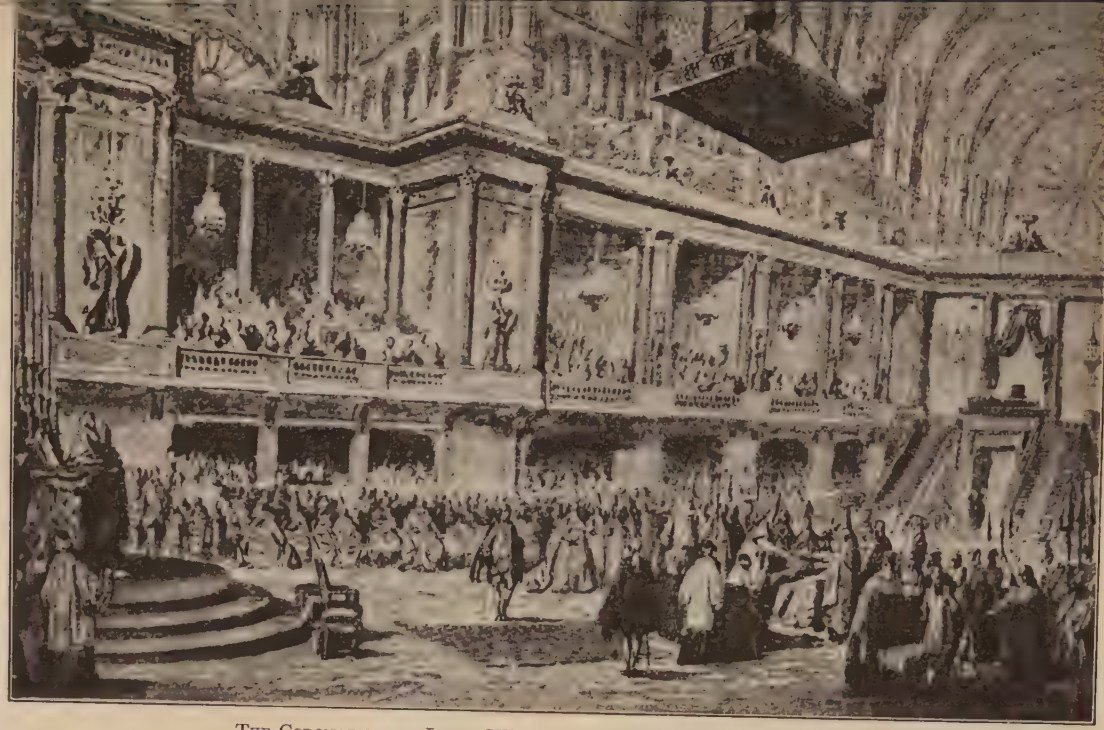
Character of Louis XVI

have seemed more out of place in the brilliant, polished, and heartless court of which he was the center. This he felt himself, as others felt it, and he often regretted, even before the Revolution, that he could not abdicate and pass into a private station which would have been far more to his taste. He was an excellent horseman, he was excessively fond of hunting, he practised with delight the craft of locksmith. He was ready to listen to the advice of wiser men, but, and this was his fatal defect, he was of feeble will. He had none of the masterful qualities necessary for leadership. He was quite unable to see where danger lay and where support was to be found. He was not unintelligent, but his intelligence was unequal to his task. He had no clear conception of either France or Europe. He was a poor judge of men, yet was greatly influenced by them. He gave way now to this influence, which might be good, now to that, which might be bad. He was, by nature, like other princes of his time, a reforming monarch, but his impulses in this direction were intermittent. Necker said on one occasion, "You may lend a man your ideas, you cannot lend him your strength of will." "Imagine," said another, "trying to keep a dozen oiled ivory balls touching. I think you couldn't do it." So it was with the King's ideas. At the beginning of his reign Louis XVI was subject to the influence of Turgot, one of the wisest of statesmen. Later he was subject to the influence of the Queen — to his own great misfortune and also to that of France.

His lack of qualities of leadership

The influence of women was always great in France under the Bourbon monarchy, and Marie Antoinette was no exception to the rule. Furthermore that influence was frequently disastrous and here again in the case of the last queen of the Old Régime there was no exception. If the King proved inferior to his position, the Queen proved no less inferior to hers. She was the daughter of the great Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and she had been married to Louis XVI in the hope that thus an alliance would be cemented between the two states which had so long been enemies. But as many Frenchmen disliked everything about this alliance, she was unpopular and exposed to much malevolent criticism from the moment she set foot in France. She was beautiful, gracious, and vivacious. She possessed in large measure some of the very qualities the King so conspicuously lacked. She had a strong will, power of rapid decision, a spirit of initiative, daring. But she was lacking in wisdom, in breadth of judg

Marie Antoinette (1755–1793)



THE CORONATION OF LOUIS XVI, IN THE CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS, 1775
After an engraving by Moreau.

ment; she did not understand the temperament of the French people or the spirit of the times. Born to the purple, her outlook upon life did not transcend that of the small and highly privileged class to which she belonged.

She had grown up in Vienna, one of the gayest capitals of Europe. Her education was woefully defective. When she came to France to become the wife of Louis XVI, she hardly knew how to write. She had had tutors in everything, but they had availed her little. She was willful and proud, unthinking and extravagant, intolerant of disagreeable facts, frivolous, impatient of all restraint, fond of pleasure, and of those who ministered unto it. She committed many indiscretions both in her conduct and in the kind of people she chose to have about her. Because of these she was grossly calumniated and misjudged.

Her defective education

Her indiscretion and her unpopularity

Marie Antoinette was the center of a group of rapacious people who benefited by existing abuses, who were opposed to all reform. Quite unconsciously she helped to aggravate the financial situation and thus to hasten the catastrophe.

At the beginning of his reign Louis intrusted the management of finances to a man of rare ability and courage, Turgot. Turgot had been intendant of one of the poorest provinces of France. By applying there the principles of the most advanced economists, which may be summed up as demanding the utmost liberty for industry and trade, the abolition of all artificial restrictions and all minute and vexatious governmental regulations, he had made his province prosperous. He now had to face the problem of the large annual deficit. The continuance of annual deficits could mean nothing else than ultimate bankruptcy. Turgot announced his program to the King in the words, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." He hoped to extricate the national finances by two processes, by effecting economies in expenditures, and by developing public wealth so that the receipts would be larger. The latter object would be achieved by introducing the régime of liberty into agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Turgot, controller of finance (1774–1776)

Turgot's financial policy

Turgot was easily able to save many millions by suppressing useless expenditures, but in so doing he offended all who enjoyed those sinecures and they flew to arms. The trade in foodstuffs was hopelessly and dangerously hampered up by all sorts of artificial and pernicious legislation

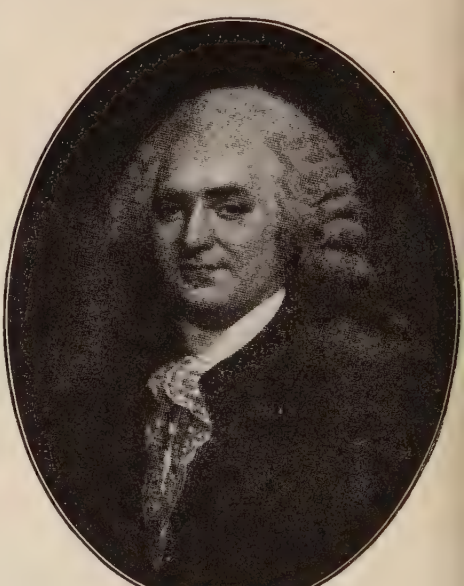
MARIE ANTOINETTE
From the engraving by Geile after the painting by Vigée le Brun.

interference by the state. All this he swept aside, introducing free
e in grain. A powerful class of speculators was thus
ded. He abolished the trade guilds, which restricted
uction by limiting the number of workers in each line,
by guarding jealously the narrow, inelastic monopolies they had

Turgot's economic reforms

established. Their abolition was desirable, but all the masters of the guilds and corporations became his bitter enemies. Turgot abolished an odious tax, the royal *corvée*, which required the peasants to work without pay on the public roads. Instead, he provided that all such work should be paid for and that a tax to that end should be levied upon all landowners, whether belonging to the privileged or the unprivileged classes. The former were resolved that this should not be, this odious equality of all before the tax-collector. Thus all those who battened and fattened off the old system combined in merciless opposition to Turgot and, reinforced by the *parlements* particularly, and by Marie Antoinette, they brought great pressure upon the King to dismiss the obnoxious minister. Louis yielded to the vehement importunities of the Queen and dismissed the ablest supporter the throne had. Both monarchs wer grievously at fault, the King for his lack of will, the Queen for her will fulness. "M. Turgot and I are the only persons who love the people, said Louis XVI, but he did not prove his love by his acts. A few day earlier Turgot had written him, "Never forget, your Majesty, that was weakness which brought Charles I to the block."

His enemies force his dismissal



TURGOT
After a pastel by Joseph Ducreux.

This incident threw a flood of light upon the nature of the Old Régim All reformers were given warning by the fall of Turgo No changes that should affect the privileged classes! A the national finances could be made sound only by reform which would affect those classes, there was no way ou Reform was blocked. Necker, a Genevan banker, succeeded Turgo

Necker, director of the finances (1776–1781)

e was a man who had risen by his own efforts from poverty to great ealth. He, too, encountered opposition the instant he proposed econ- nies. He took a step which infuriated the members of the court. He ublished a financial report, showing the income and the expenditures of e state. This had never been ne before, secrecy having therto prevailed in such mat- rs. The court was indignant at such high mysteries should revealed to the masses, par- ularly as the report showed st how much went annually pensions to the courtiers, as e gifts for which they ren- red no services whatever. r such unconscionable au- city Necker was overthrown, e King weakly yielding once re to pressure.

NECKER
After the drawing by J. S. Duplessis.

This time the court took no nces, but secured a minister ite according to the heart's sire, in Calonne. No minis- of finance could be more agreeable. Calonne's purpose was to please, l please he did, for a while. The wand of Prospero was not more felic- us in its enchantments. The members of the court had only to make ir wishes known to have them gratified.

Calonne, a man of charm, of wit, of graceful address, had also a phi- phy of the gentle art of spending which was highly appreciated by se about him. "A man who wishes to borrow must ar to be rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by ding freely." Money flowed like water during these yon times. In three years, in a time of profound e, Calonne borrowed nearly $300,000,000.

Calonne, controller general (1783–1787)

It seemed too good to be true, and it was, by far. The evil days drew for an accounting. It was found in August, 1786, that the treasury empty and that there were no more fools willing to loan to the state. was a rude awakening from a blissful dream. But Calonne now

showed, what he had not shown before, some sense. He proposed a general tax which should fall upon the nobles as well as upon the commoners. It was therefore his turn to meet the same opposition from the privileged classes which Turgot and Necker had met. He, too, was balked, and resigned.

His successor, Loménie de Brienne, encountered a similar fate. As there was nothing to do but to propose new taxes, he proposed them. The *parlement* of Paris immediately protested and demanded the convocation of the States-General, asserting the far-reaching principle that taxes can only be imposed by those who are to pay them. The King attempted to overawe the *parlement*, which, in turn, defied the King.

Summoning of the States-General

All this, however, was no way to fill an empty treasury. Finally the government yielded and summoned the States-General to meet in Versailles on May 1, 1789. A new chapter, of incalculable possibilities, was opened in the history of France. Necker was recalled to head the ministry, and preparations for the coming meeting were made.

The States-General, or assembly representing the three estates of the realm, the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners, was an old institution in France, but one that had never developed as had the parliament of England. The last meeting, indeed, had been held 175 years before. The institution might have been considered dead. Now, in a great national crisis, it was revived, in the hope that it might pull the state

The States-General a feudal institution

out of the deplorable situation into which the Bourbon monarchy had plunged it. But the States-General was a thoroughly feudal institution and France was tired of feudalism. Its organization no longer conformed to the wishes or needs of the nation. Previously each one of the three estates had had an equal number of delegates, and the delegates of each estate had met separately. It was a three-chambered body, with two of the chambers consisting entirely of the privileged classes. There was objection to this now, since, with two against one, it left the nation exactly

Method of voting in the States-General

where it had been, in the power of the privileged classes. They could veto anything that the third estate alone wanted; they could impose anything they chose upon the third estate, by their vote of two to one. In other words if organized as hitherto, they could prevent all reform which in any way affected themselves, and yet such reform was an absolute necessity. Con

ed on this problem the *parlement* of Paris pronounced in favor of the tomary organization; in other words, itself a privileged body, it stood privilege. The *parlement* immediately became as unpopular as it had viously been popular, when opposing the monarch.

Necker, now showing one of his chief characteristics which was to ke him impossible as a leader in the new era, half settled the question l left it half unsettled. He, like the King, lacked the power of deci-n. He was a banker, not a statesman. It was announced that the rd estate should have as many members as the two er orders combined. Whether the three bodies should l meet and vote separately was not decided, but was undetermined. But of what avail would be the double mbership of the third estate — representing more than nine-tenths the population — unless all three met together, unless the vote was individuals, not by chambers; by head, as the phrase ran, and not order. In dodging this question Necker was merely showing his own apacity for strong leadership and was laying up abundant trouble for immediate future.

The third estate given double membership

The States-General met on May 5, 1789. There were about 1,200 mbers, of whom over 600 were members of the third estate. In lity, however, that class of the population had a much ger representation as, of the 300 representatives elected the clergy, over 200 were parish priests or monks, all nmoners by origin and, to a considerable extent, in sym-hy. Each of the three orders had elected its own members. At the ne time the voters, and the vote was nearly universal, were asked to w up a formal statement of their grievances and of the reforms they ored. Fifty or sixty thousand of these *cahiers* have ne down to us and present a vivid and instructive criti-m of the Old Régime, and a statement of the wishes of h order. On certain points there was practical unanimity on the part clergy, nobles, and commoners. All ascribed the ills from which the ntry suffered to arbitrary, uncontrolled government, all talked of the ssity of confining the government within just limits by blishing a *constitution* which should define the rights of king and of the people, and which should henceforth be ling upon all. Such a constitution must guarantee in-dual liberty, the right to think and speak and write, — henceforth

The opening of the States-General, May 5, 1789

The cahiers or memorials of grievances

The cahiers express the desire of the nation for a constitution

no *lettres de cachet* nor censorship. In the future the States-General should meet regularly at stated times, and should share the law-making power and alone should vote the taxes, and taxes should henceforth be paid by all. The clergy and nobility almost unanimously agreed in their *cahiers* to relinquish their exemptions, for which they had fought so resolutely only two years before. On the other hand, the third estate was willing to see the continuance of the nobility with its rights and honors. The third estate demanded the suppression of feudal dues. There was in their *cahiers* no hint of a desire for a violent revolution. They all expressed a deep affection for the King, gratitude for his summoning of the States-General, faith that the worst was over, that now, in a union of all hearts, a way would easily be discovered out of the unhappy plight in which the nation found itself.

General optimism of the people

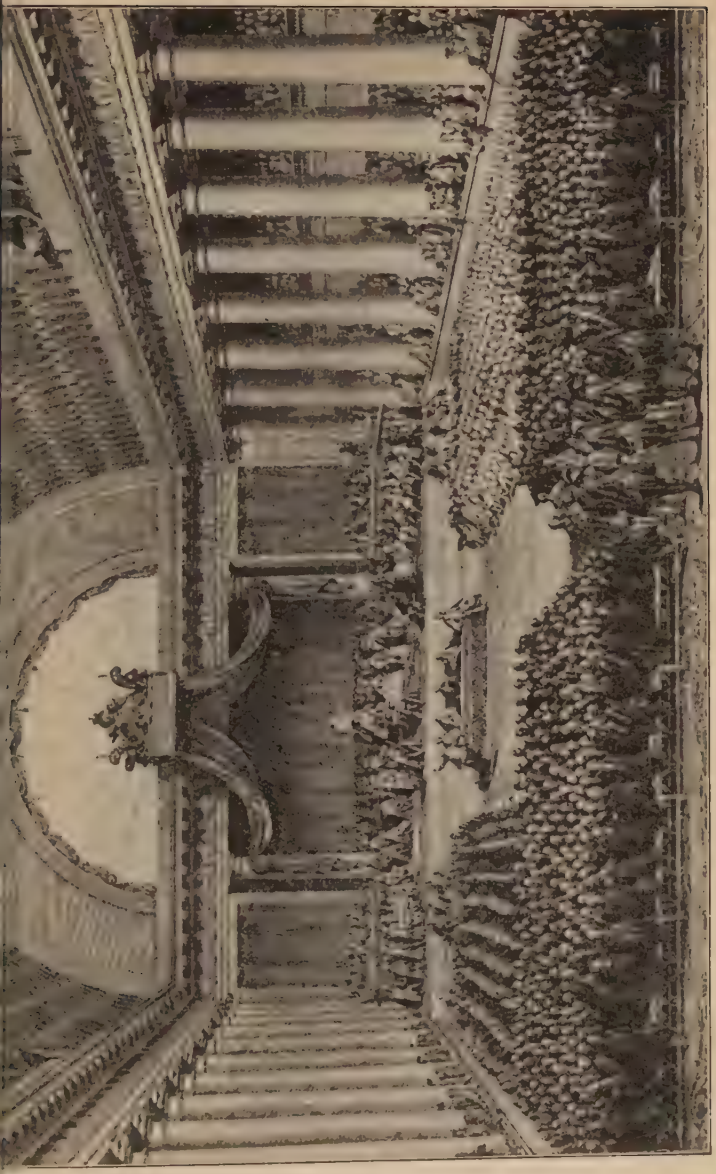
An immense wave of hopefulness swept over the land. This optimism was based on the fact that the King, when consenting to call the States-General, had at the same time announced his acceptance of several important reforms, such as the periodical meeting of the States-General, its control of the national finances, and guarantees for the freedom of the individual. But the King's chief characteristic, as we have seen, was his feebleness of will, his vacillation. And from the day the deputies arrived in Versailles to the day of his violent overthrow this was a fatal factor in the history of the times. In his speech opening the States-General on May 5, the King said not a word about the thought that was in every one's mind, the making of a constitution. He merely announced that it had been called together to bring order into the distracted finances of the country.

The indecision of the King

Necker's speech was no more promising. The government, moreover, said nothing about whether the estates should vote by order or by head. The crux of the whole matter lay there, for on the manner of organization and procedure depended entirely the outcome. The government did not come forward with any programme, even in details. It shirked its responsibility and lost its opportunity.

Struggle over the question of organization

A needless but very serious crisis was the result. The public was disappointed and apprehensive. Evidently the recent liberalism of the King had evaporated or he was under a pressure which he had no strength to withstand. A conflict between the orders began on May 6 which lasted until the end of June and which ended in embittering relations which at the out-



THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL
After an engraving by Moreau.

set had seemed likely to be cordial. Should the voting be by order or by member, should the assembly consist of three chambers or of one? The difficulty arose in the need of verifying the credentials of the members. The nobles proceeded to verify as a separate chamber, by a vote of 188 to 47; the clergy did the same, but by a smaller majority, 133 to 114.

Costumes of the Three Orders

But the third estate refused to verify until it should be decided that the three orders were to meet together in one indivisible assembly. This was a matter of life or death with it, or at least of power or impotence. Both sides stood firm, the government allowed things to drift, angry passions began to develop. Until organized the States-General could do no business, and no organization could be effected until this crucial question was settled. Week after week went by and the dangerous deadlock continued. Verification in common would mean the abandonment of the class system, voting by member and not by order, and the consequent preponderance of the third estate, which considered that it had the right to preponderate as representing over nine-tenths of the population. Fruitless attempts to win the two upper orders by inviting them to join the third estate were repeatedly made. Finally the third estate announced that

Shall there be three chambers or only one?

June 11 it would begin verification and the other orders were invited the last time. Then the parish priests began to come over, sym-hizing with the commoners rather than with the privileged class of ir own order. Finally on June 17 the third estate took the momentous p of declaring itself the National Assembly, a distinctly revolutionary oceeding.

The King now, under pressure from the court, made a decision, highly wise in itself and foolishly executed. When, on June 20, the members the third estate went to their usual meeting place they found the rance blocked by soldiers. They were told that there was to be a cial royal session later and that the hall was closed in order that cessary arrangements might be made for it, a pretext as miserable as was vain. What did this action mean? No one knew, but every one s apprehensive that it meant that the assembly itself, in which such nest hopes had centered, was to be brought to an untimely end and e country plunged into greater misery than ever by the failure of the at experiment. For a moment the members were dismayed and erly distracted. Then, as by a common impulse, they rushed to a ghboring building in a side street, which served as a tennis court. ere a memorable session occurred, in the large, unfinished hall. Lift-g their president, the distinguished astronomer, Bailly, to a table, the mbers surged about him, ready, it seemed, for extreme measures. ere they took the famous Tennis Court Oath. All the puties present, with one single exception, voted "never separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances shall require til the constitution of the kingdom shall be established."

The Tennis Court Oath

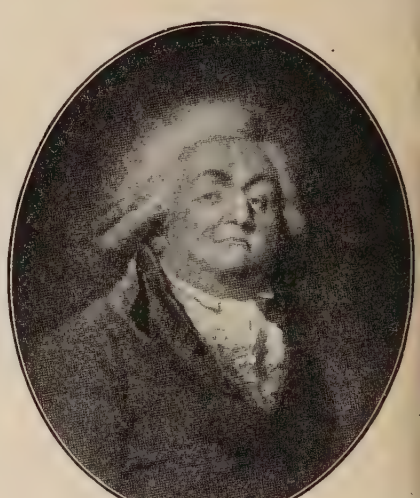
On the 23d occurred the royal session on which the privileged classes unted. The King pronounced the recent acts of the third estate illegal d unconstitutional, and declared that the three orders uld meet separately and verify their credentials. He e and left the hall while outside the bugles sounded und his coach. The nobility, triumphant, withdrew from the hall; clergy also. But in the center of the great chamber the third estate ained, in gloomy silence. This was one of the solemn, critical mo-nts of history. Suddenly the master of ceremonies advanced, resplen-t in his official costume. "You have heard the King's orders," he d. "His Majesty requests the deputies of the third estate to with-w." Behind the grand master, at the door, soldiers were seen. Were

The royal session of June 23

they there to clear the hall? The King had given his orders. To leave the hall meant abandonment of all that the third estate stood for; to remain meant disobedience to the express commands of the King and probably severe punishment.

The occasion brought forth its man. Mirabeau, a noble whom his fellow nobles had refused to elect to the States-General and who had then been chosen by the third estate, now arose and advanced impetuously and imperiously toward the master of ceremonies, de Brézé, and with thunderous voice exclaimed, "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of the bayonet." Then on motion of Mirabeau it was voted that all persons who should lay violent hands on any members of the National Assembly would be "infamous and traitors to the nation and guilty of capital crime." De Brézé reported the defiant eloquence to the King. All eyes were fixed upon the latter. Not knowing what to do he made a motion indicating weariness, then said: "They wish to remain, do they? Well, let them."

Defiance of the King expressed by Mirabeau



MIRABEAU
From an engraving by Fiesinger after a drawing by J. Guérin.

Two days later a majority of the clergy and a minority of the nobility came over to the Assembly. On June 27 the King commanded the nobility and clergy to sit with the third estate in a single assembly. Thus the question was finally settled, which should have been settled before the first meeting in May. The National Assembly was now complete. It immediately appointed a committee on the constitution. The National Assembly, accomplished by this fusion of the three estates, adopted the title Constituent Assembly because of the character of the work it had to do.

The King yields

No sooner was this crisis over than another began to develop. A

THE TENNIS COURT OATH
After the painting by David.

second attempt was made by the King, again inspired by the court, to suppress the Assembly or effectively to intimidate it, to regain the ground that had been lost. Considerable bodies of soldiers began to appear near Versailles and Paris. They were chiefly the foreign mercenaries, or the troops from frontier stations, supposedly less responsive to the popular emotions. On July 11 Necker and his colleagues, favorable to reform, were suddenly dismissed and Necker was ordered to leave the country immediately. What could all this mean but that reaction and repression were coming and that things were to be put back where they had been? The Assembly was in great danger, yet it possessed no physical force. What could it do if troops were sent against it?

The existence of the Assembly threatened

The violent intervention of the city of Paris saved the day and gave the protection which the nation's representatives lacked, assuring their continuance. The storming of the Bastille was an incident which seized instantly the imagination of the world, and which was disfigured and transfigured by a mass of legends that sprang up on the very morrow of the event. The Bastille was a fortress commanding the eastern section of Paris. It was used as a state prison and had had many distinguished occupants, among others Voltaire and Mirabeau, thrown into it by *lettres de cachet*. It was an odious symbol of arbitrary government and it was also a strong fortress which these newly arriving troops might use. There was a large discontented and miserable class in Paris; also a lively band of radical or liberal men who were in favor of reform and were alarmed and indignant at every rumor that the Assembly on which such hopes were pinned was in danger. Paris was on the side of the Assembly, and when the news of the dismissal of Necker arrived it took fire. Rumors of the most alarming character spread rapidly. Popular meetings were addressed by impromptu and impassioned orators. The people began to pillage the shops where arms were to be found. Finally they attacked the Bastille and after a confused and bloody battle of several hours the fortress was in their hands. They had lost about 200 men, killed or wounded. The crowd savagely murdered the commander of the fortress and several of the Swiss Guard. Though characterized by these and other acts of barbarism, nevertheless the seizure of the Bastille was everywhere regarded in France and abroad as the triumph of liberty. Enthusiasm was widespread. The Fourteenth of

Paris comes to the rescue

The storming of the Bastille, July 14

THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789
Drawing by Prieur, engraved by Berthault.

July was declared the national holiday and a new flag, the tricolor, the red, white, and blue, was adopted in place of the old white banner of the Bourbons, studded with the fleur-de-lis. At the same time, quite spontaneously, Paris gave itself a new form of municipal government, superseding the old royal form, and organized a new military force, the National Guard, which was destined to become famous. Three days later Louis XVI came to the capital and formally ratified these changes.

Meanwhile similar changes were made all over France. Municipal governments on an elective basis and national guards were created everywhere in imitation of Paris. The movement extended to rural France.

Popular outbreaks against feudalism

There the peasants, impatient that the Assembly had let two months go by without suppressing the feudal dues, took things into their own hands. They turned upon their oppressors and made a violent "war upon the châteaux," destroying the records of feudal dues if they could find them or if the owners gave them up; if not, frequently burning the châteaux themselves in order to burn the odious documents. Day after day in the closing week of July, 1789, the destructive and incendiary process went on amid inevitable excesses and disorders. In this method feudalism was abolished — not legally but practically. It remained to be seen what the effect of this victory of the people would be upon the National Assembly.

Its effect was immediate and sensational. On the 4th of August, a committee on the state of the nation made a report, describing the incidents which were occurring throughout the length and breadth of the land, châteaux burning, unpopular tax-collectors assaulted, millers hanged, lawlessness triumphant. It was night before the stupefying report was finished. Suddenly at eight o'clock in the evening, as the session was about to close, a nobleman, the Viscount of Noailles, rushed to the platform. The only reason, he said, why the people had devastated the châteaux was the heavy burden of the seignorial dues, odious reminders of feudalism. These must be swept away. He so moved and instantly another noble, the Duke d'Aiguillon, next to the King the greatest feudal lord in France, seconded the motion. A frenzy of generosity seized the Assembly.

The night session of August 4

Privilege laid low

Noble vied with noble in the enthusiasm of renunciation. The Bishop of Nancy renounced the privileges of his order. Parish priests renounced their fees. Judges discarded their distinctions. Rights of chase, rights of tithes went by the board. Representatives

THE SESSION OF AUGUST 4
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

of the cities and provinces gave up their privileges, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Languedoc. A veritable delirium of joy swept in wave after wave over the Assembly. All night long the excitement continued amid tears, embraces, rapturous applause, a very ecstasy of patriotic abandonment, and by eight in the morning thirty decrees, more or less, had been passed and the most extraordinary social revolution that any nation has known had been voted. The feudal dues were dead. Tithes were abandoned; the guilds, with their narrow restrictions, were swept away; no longer were offices to be purchasable, but henceforth all Frenchmen were to be equally eligible to all public positions; justice was to be free; provinces and individuals were all to be on the same plane. Distinctions of class were abolished. The principle of equality was henceforth to be the basis of the state.

A social revolution

Years later participants in this memorable session, in which a social revolution was accomplished or at least promised, spoke of it with excitement and enthusiasm. The astonishing session was closed with a Te Deum in the chapel of the royal palace, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Paris, and Louis XVI, who had had no more to do with all this than you or I, was officially proclaimed by the Assembly the "Restorer of French Liberty."

Louis XVI proclaimed the "Restorer of French liberty"

Thus was the dead weight of an oppressive, unjust past lifted from the nation's shoulders. Grievances, centuries old, vanished into the night. That it needed time to work out all these tumultuous and rapturous resolutions into clear and just laws was a fact ignored by the people, who regarded them as real legislation, not as a programme merely sketched, to be filled in slowly in detail. Hence when men awoke to the fact that not everything was what it seemed, that before the actual application of all these changes many adjustments must or should be made, there was some friction, some disappointment, some impatience. The clouds speedily gathered again. Because a number of nobles and bishops had in an outburst of generosity relinquished all their privileges, it was not at all certain that their action would be ratified by even the majority of their orders and it was indeed likely that the contrary would prove true. The contagion might not extend beyond the walls of the assembly hall. And many even of those who had shared the fine enthusiasm of that stirring session might feel differently on the morrow. This proved to be the case, and

Reaction threatened once more

on two parties appeared, sharply differentiated, the upholders of the volution thus far accomplished and those who wished to undo it and recover their lost advantages. The latter were called counter-revolu-onaries. From this time on they were a factor, frequently highly sig-ficant, in the history of modern France. Although after the Fourteenth July the more stiff-necked and angry of the courtiers, led by the Count Artois, brother of the King, had left the country and had begun that emigration" which was to do much to embroil France with Europe, t many courtiers still remained and, with the powerful l of Marie Antoinette, played upon the feeble monarch. ne Queen, victim of slanders and insults, was tempera-entally and intellectually incapable of understanding or sympathizing th the reform movement. She stiffened under the attacks, her pride s fired, and she did what she could to turn back the tide, with results ghly disastrous to herself and to the monarchy. Another feature of e situation was the subterranean intriguing, none the less real because ficult accurately to describe, of certain individuals who thought they d much to gain by troubling the waters, such as the Duke of Orleans, usin of the King, immensely wealthy and equally unscrupulous, who urished the scurvy ambition of overthrowing Louis XVI and of putting e House of Orleans in place of the House of Bourbon. l through the Revolution we find such elements of per-nal ambition or malevolence, anxious to profit by foment-g the general unrest. At every stage in this strange, eventful history observe the mixture of the mean with the generous, the insincere with e candid, the hypocritical and the oblique with the honest and the triotic. It was a web woven of mingled yarn.

Renewed intrigues of the court

Intrigues of the Duke of Orleans

Such were some of the possible seeds of future trouble. In addition, creasing the general sense of anxiety and insecurity, was the fact that o months went by and yet the King did not ratify or cept the decrees of August 4, which, without his accept-ce, lacked legal force. Certain articles of the constitu-n had been already drafted, and these, too, had not yet ceived the royal sanction. Was the King plotting something, or were plotters about him getting control of him once more? The people d in an atmosphere of suspicion; also thousands and thousands of m were on the point of starvation, and the terror of famine reinforced terror of suspicion.

The attitude of Louis XVI inspires alarm

Out of this wretched condition of discontent and alarm was born another of the famous incidents of the Revolution. Early in October rumors reached Paris that at a banquet offered at Versailles to some of the crack regiments which had been summoned there the tricolor had been stamped upon, that threats had been made against the Assembly, and that the Queen, by her presence, had sanctioned these outrages.

Popular suspicion aroused

THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN TO VERSAILLES, OCTOBER 5, 1789
After an anonymous water-color.

On October 5 several thousand women of the people, set in motion in some obscure way, started to march to Versailles, drawing cannon with them. It was said they were going to demand the reduction of the price of bread and at the same time to see that those who had insulted the national flag should be punished. They were followed by thousands of men, out of work, and by many doubtful characters. Lafayette, hastily gathering some of the Guards, started after them. That evening the motley and sinister crowd reached Versailles and bivouacked in the streets and in the vast court of the royal palace. All night long obscure preparations as for a battle went on. On the morning of the 6th the crowd forced the gates, killed several of the guards, and invaded the palace, even reaching the entrance to the Queen's apartments. The Queen fled to the apartments of the King for safety. The King finally appeared on a balcony, surrounded by members of his family, addressed the crowd, and promised

The march of the women to Versailles

THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES ON OCTOBER 6, 1789
Drawing by Prieur, engraved by Berthault.

them food. The outcome of this extraordinary and humiliating day was that the King was persuaded to leave the proud palace of Versailles and go to Paris to live in the midst of his so-called subjects. At two o'clock the grim procession began. The entire royal family, eight persons, packed into a single carriage, started for Paris, drawn at a walk, surrounded by the women, and by bandits who carried on pikes the heads of the guards who had been killed at the entrance to the palace. "We are bringing back the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's son!" shouted the women. At eleven o'clock that night Louis XVI was in the Tuileries.

The royal family forced to leave Versailles

Ten days later the Assembly followed. The King and the Assembly were now under the daily supervision of the people of Paris. In reality they were prisoners. Versailles was definitely abandoned. From this moment dates the great influence of the capital. A single city was henceforth always in position to dominate the Assembly. The people could easily bring their pressure to bear for they were admitted to the thousand or more seats in the gallery of the Assembly's hall of meeting and they considered that they had the freedom of the place, hissing unpopular speakers, vociferating their wishes. Those who could not get in congregated outside, arguing violently the measures that were being discussed within. Now and then some one would announce to them from the windows how matters were proceeding in the hall. Shouts of approval or disapproval thus reached the members from the vehement audience outside.

The government removed to Paris

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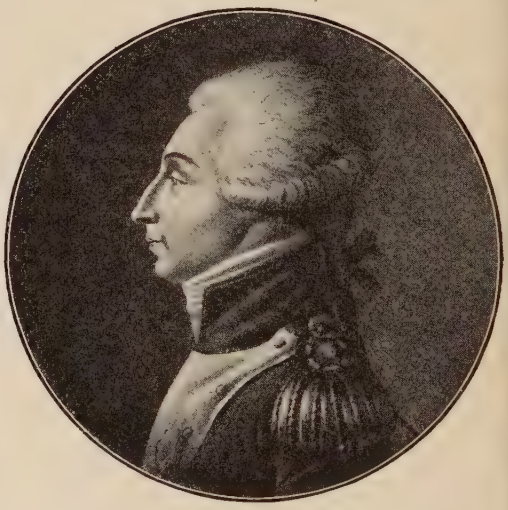
CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

The States-General which met in May, 1789, had in June adopted the name National Assembly. This body is also known as the Constituent Assembly, as its chief work was the making of a constitution. It had begun work upon the constitution while still in Versailles and the first fruit of its labors was the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a statement of the rights which belong to men because they are human beings, which are not the gift of any government. The Declaration was drawn up in imitation of American usage. Lafayette, a hero of the American Revolution, and now a prominent figure in the French, brought forward a draft of a declaration just before the storming of the Bastille. He urged two chief reasons for its adoption; first it would present the people with a clear conception of the elements of liberty, which, once understanding, they would insist upon possessing; and, secondly, it would be an invaluable guide for the Assembly in its work of elaborating the constitution. All propositions could be tested by comparison with its carefully defined principles. It would be a guarantee against mistakes or errors by the Assembly

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

Proposed by Lafayette



LAFAYETTE
From an engraving by Lavachez, after Duplessis-Bertaux

self. Another orator paid a tribute to America, explaining why "the noble idea of this declaration, conceived in another hemisphere" ought to be transplanted to France. Opponents of the proposal declared it useless and harmful because bound to distract the members from important labors, as tending to waste time on doubtful generalizations, as leading to hair-splitting and endless debate, when the Assembly's attention ought to be focused on the pressing problems of legislation and administration. The Assembly took the side of Lafayette and, after intermittent discussion, composed the notable document in August, 1789. As a result of the events of October 5, described above, the King accepted it. The Declaration, which has been called "the most remarkable fact in the history of the growth of democratic and republican ideas" in France, as "the gospel of modern times," was not the work of any single mind, nor of any committee or group of leaders. Its collaborators were very numerous. The political discussions of the eighteenth century furnished many of the ideas and even some of the phrases. English and American example counted for much. The necessities of the national situation were factors of importance.

Discussion concerning the Declaration

The Declaration a composite product

The National Assembly has often been severely criticised for devoting time, in a period of crisis, to a Declaration which the critics in the same breath pronounce a tissue of abstractions, of doubtful philosophical theories, topics for everlasting discussion. "A tourney of metaphysical speculations" is what one writer calls it. But a study of the situation shows that the idea of a declaration and the idea of a constitution were indissolubly connected. The one was essential to the other in a country which had no historic principles of freedom. French liberty could not from the nature of the case, like English liberty, slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent. It must begin abruptly and with a distinct formulation. After the enunciation of the principles would naturally come their conversion into fact.

Necessity of the Declaration

The Declaration of the Rights of Man laid down the principles of modern governments. The men who drew up that document believed these principles to be universally true and everywhere applicable. They did not establish rights — they merely declared them. Frenchmen well knew that they were composing a purely dogmatic text. But that such a text was extremely useful they believed. And the reason why they believed this was that they had a profound faith in the power of truth, of

reason. This was, as Michelet pointed out long ago, the essential originality of the Constituent Assembly, this "singular faith in the power of ideas," this firm belief that "once formed and formulated in law the truth was invincible." These political dogmas seemed to the members of the Assembly so true that they thought they had only to proclaim them to insure their efficiency in the actual conduct of governments. These men believed that they were inaugurating a new phase in the history of humanity, that, by solemnly formulating the creed of the future, they were rendering an inestimable service, not to France alone but to the world. Though America had set an example, it was felt that France could "perfect" it for the other hemisphere and that the new declaration might perhaps have the advantage over the other of making "a loftier appeal to reason and of clothing her in a purer language."

Importance attached to the Declaration by the National Assembly

The seventeen articles of this creed asserted that men are free and equal, that the people are sovereign, that law is an expression of the popular will, and that in the making of it the people may participate, either directly, or indirectly through their representatives, and that all officials possess only that authority which has been definitely given them by law. All those liberties of the person, of free speech, free assembly, justice administered by one's peers, which had been worked out in England and America were asserted. These principles were the opposite of those of the Old Régime. If incorporated in laws and institutions they meant the permanent abolition of that system.

Contents of the Declaration

As a matter of fact the expectation that the Declaration would constitute a new evangel for the world has not proved so great an exaggeration as the optimism of its authors and the pessimism of its critics would prompt one to think. When men wish anywhere to recall the rights of man it is this French document that they have in mind. The Declaration long ago passed beyond the frontiers of France. It has been studied, copied, or denounced nearly everywhere. It has been an indisputable factor in the political and social evolution of modern Europe. During the past century, whenever a nation has aspired to liberty, it has sought its principles in the Declaration. "It has found there," says a recent writer, "five or six formulas as trenchant as mathematical propositions, true as the truth itself, intoxicating as a vision of the absolute."

Widespread influence of the Declaration

The Declaration was, of course, only an ideal, a goal toward which society should aim, not a fulfilment. It was a list of principles, not the realization of those principles. It was a declaration of rights, not a guarantee of rights. The problem of how to guarantee what was so succinctly declared has filled more than a century of French history, and is still incompletely solved. We shall now see how far the Assembly which drafted this Declaration was willing or able to go in applying its principles in the constitution, of which it was the preamble.

The constitution was only slowly elaborated. Some of its more fundamental articles were adopted in 1789. But numerous laws were passed in 1790 and 1791, which were really parts of the constitution. Thus it grew piece by piece. Finally all this legislation was revised, retouched, and codified into a single document, which was accepted by the King in 1791. Though sometimes called the Constitution of 1789, it is more generally and more correctly known as the Constitution of 1791. It was the first written constitution France had ever had. Framed under very different conditions from those under which the constitution of the United States had been framed only a short time before, it resembled the work of the Philadelphia Convention in that it was conspicuously the product of the spirit of compromise. With the exception of the vigorous assertions of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was prefixed to it, the document was marked by as great a moderation as was consistent with the comprehensive changes that were demanded by the overwhelming public opinion, as represented in the *cahiers*. It is permeated through and through with two principles, the sovereignty of the people, all governmental powers issuing from their consent and will, and the separation of the powers sharply from each other, of the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches, a division greatly emphasized by Montesquieu as the sole method of insuring liberty.

The new Constitution

The fundamental principles

The form of government was to be monarchical. This was in conformity with the wishes of the people as expressed in the *cahiers*, and with the feelings of the Constituent Assembly. But whereas formerly the king had been an absolute, henceforth he was to be limited, a constitutional ruler. Indicative of the profound difference between these two conceptions, his former title, King of France and of Navarre, now gave way to that of King of the French. Whereas formerly he had taken what he chose out of

Establishes a constitutional monarchy

the national treasury for his personal use, now he was to receive a salary or civil list of the definite amount — and no more — of 25,000,000 francs. He was to appoint the ministers or heads of the cabinet departments, but he was forbidden to select members of the legislature for such positions. The English system of parliamentary government was deliberately avoided because it was believed to be vicious in that ministers could bribe or influence the members of Parliament to do their will, which might not at all be the will of the people. Ministers were not even to be permitted to come before the legislature to defend or explain their policies.

The powers of the King

A departure from the principle of the separation of powers, in general so closely followed, was shown in the granting of the veto power to the king. The king, who had hitherto made the laws, was now deprived of the law-making power, but he could prevent the immediate enforcement of an act passed by the legislature. There was much discussion over this subject in the Assembly. Some were opposed to any kind of a veto; others wanted one that should be absolute and final. The Assembly compromised and granted the king a suspensive veto, that is, he might prevent the application of a law voted by two successive legislatures, namely, for a possible period of four years. If the third legislature should indicate its approval of the law in question, then it was to be put into operation whether the king assented or not.

The question of the veto

The king was to retain the conduct of foreign affairs. He was to appoint and receive ambassadors, was to be the head of the navy and army, and was to appoint to higher offices. The Assembly at first thought of leaving him the right to make peace and war, then, fearing that he might drag the nation into a war for personal or dynastic and not national purposes, it decided that he might propose peace or war, but that the legislature should decide upon it.

The legislative power was given by the Constitution of 1791 to a single assembly of 745 members, to be elected for a term of two years. Several of the deputies desired a legislature of two chambers, and cited the example of England and America. But the second chamber in England was the House of Lords, and the French, who had abolished the nobility, had no desire to establish an hereditary chamber. Moreover the English system was based on the principle of inequality. The French were founding their

The constitution creates a Legislature

ew system upon the principle of equality. Even among the nobles nemselves there was opposition to a second chamber — the provincial obility fearing that only the court nobles would be members of it. On ne other hand, the Senate of the United States was a concession to ne states-rights feeling, a feeling which the French wished o destroy by abolishing the provinces and the local pro- ncial patriotism, by thoroughly unifying France. Thus ne plan of dividing the legislature into two chambers was eliberately rejected, for what seemed good and sufficient reasons.

The Legislature to consist of a single chamber

How was this legislature to be chosen? Here we find a decided eparture from the spirit and the letter of the Declaration, which had sserted that all men are equal in rights. Did not this mean uniersal suffrage? Such at least was not the opinion of the Constituent ssembly, which now made a distinction between citizens, eclaring some *active*, some *passive*. To be considered an *tive* citizen one must be at least twenty-five years of age nd must pay annually in direct taxes the equivalent of nree days' wages. This excluded the poor from this class, and the umber was large. It has been estimated that there were somewhat wer 4,000,000 *active* citizens and about 3,000,000 *passive*.

Citizens active and citizens passive

The active citizens alone had the right to vote. But even they did ot vote directly for the members of the legislature. They chose electors t the ratio of one for every 100 active citizens. These electors must neet a much higher property qualification, the equivalent f from 150 to 200 days' wages in direct taxes. As a matter f fact this resulted in rendering eligible as electors only bout 43,000 individuals. These electors chose the mem- ers of the legislature, the deputies. They also chose the judges under ne new system. Thus the Constituent Assembly, so zealous in abolishng old privileges, was, in defiance of its own principles, establishing new ies. Political rights in the new state were made the monopoly of hose who possessed a certain amount of property. There was no roperty qualification required for deputies. Any active citizen was ligible, but as the deputies were elected by the propertied men, they ould in all probability choose only propertied men — the electors ould choose from their own class.

The legislature elected indirectly by the voters

The judicial power was completely revolutionized. Hitherto judges id bought their positions, which carried with them titles and privileges

and which they might pass on to their sons. Henceforth all judges, of whatever rank in the hierarchy, were to be elected by the electors described above. Their terms were to range from two to four years. The jury, something hitherto absolutely unknown to modern France, was now introduced for criminal cases. Hitherto the judge had decided all cases.

An elective judiciary

For purposes of administration and local government a new system was established. The old thirty-two provinces were abolished and France was divided into eighty-three departments of nearly uniform size. The departments were divided into arrondissements, these into cantons, and these into municipalities or communes. These are terms which have ever since been in vogue.

France divided into departments

France, from being a highly centralized state, became one highly decentralized. Whereas formerly the central government was represented in each province by its own agents or office-holders the intendants and their subordinates, in the departments of the future the central government was to have no representatives. The electors, described above, were to choose the local departmental officials. It would be the business of these officials to carry out the decrees of the central government. But what if they should disobey? The central government would have no control over them, as it would not appoint them and could neither remove nor discipline them.

France decentralized

The Constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French government; yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first experiment in the art of self-government it had its value, but it revealed inexperience and poor judgment in several points which prepared trouble for the future. The executive and the legislature were so sharply separated that communication between them was difficult and suspicion was consequently easily fostered. The king might not select his ministers from the legislature, he might not, in case of a difference of opinion with the legislature, dissolve the latter, as the English king could do, thus allowing the voters to decide between them. The king's veto was not a weapon strong enough to protect him from the attacks of the legislature, yet it was enough to irritate the legislature, if used. The distinction between active and passive citizens was in plain and flagrant defiance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and inevitably created a discontented class. The administrative

Defects of the Constitution

FRANCE
BY
DEPARTMENTS

SCALE OF MILES

20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180

lecentralization was so complete that the efficiency of the national gov-rnment was gone. France was split up into eighty-three ragments and the coördination of all these units, their irection toward great national ends in response to the will f the nation as a whole, was rendered extremely difficult, and in certain rises impossible.

Weakness of the central government

The work of reform carried out by the Constituent Assembly was on n enormous scale, immensely more extensive than that of our Federal onvention. We search history in vain for any compan- n piece. It is unique. Its destructive work proved dur- le and most important. Much of its constructive work, owever, proved very fragile. Mirabeau expressed his inion in saying that "The disorganization of the kingdom could not e better worked out."

The work of Constituent Assembly very extensive

There were other dangerous features of the situation which inspired arm and seemed to keep open and to embitter the relations of various asses and to foster opportunities for the discontented and e ambitious. The legislation concerning the Church oved highly divisive in its effects. It began with the nfiscation of its property; it was continued in the attempt ofoundly to alter its organization.

Its legislation concerning the Church

The States-General had been summoned to provide for the finances the country. As the problem grew daily more pressing, as various tempts to meet it proved futile, as bankruptcy was imminent, the ssembly finally decided to sell for the state the vast properties of the hurch. The argument was that the Church was not the owner but was erely the administrator, enjoying only the use of the vast wealth hich had been bestowed upon it by the faithful, but bestowed for blic, national purposes, namely, the maintenance of houses of wor-ip, schools, hospitals; and that if the state would otherwise provide r the carrying out of the intentions of these numerous benefactors, it ght apply the property, which was the property of the nation, not of e Church as a corporation, to whatever uses it might see

The lands of the Church declared national property

Acting on this theory a decree was passed by the embly declaring these lands *national*. They constituted haps a fourth or a fifth of the territory of France and resented immense wealth, amply sufficient, it was be- ed, to set the public finances right.

But such property could only be used if converted into money a that would be a slow process, running through years. The expedient v devised of issuing paper money, as the government need it, against this property as security. This paper mon bore the name of *assignats*. Persons receiving such *assign* could not demand gold for them, as in the case of most of our pa money, but could them in buying the lands. There was val therefore, behind the paper emissions. T danger in the use of pa money, however, alwa is the inclination, so ea to yield to, to issue more paper than the val of the property behind This proved a temptati which the revolutiona assemblies did not ha strength of mind or w to resist. At first t *assignats* were issued limited quantities as the state needed the money, and the public willing accepted them. But later larger and larger emissions were made, far o of proportion to the value of the national domains. T meant the rapid depreciation of the paper. People wou not accept it at its face value, as they had at first be willing to do. The value of the Church property was es mated in 1789 as 4,000,000,000 francs. Between 1789 and 1796 ov 45,000,000,000 of *assignats* were issued. In 1789 an *assignat* of 1 francs was accepted for 100 francs in coin. But by 1791 it had su from par to 82, and by 1796 to less than a franc. This w neither an honest nor an effective solution of the perplexi financial problem. It was evasion, it was in its essence pudiation. The Constituent Assembly did nothing towa solving the problem that had occasioned its meeting. left the national finances in a worse welter than it had found them in

The assignats or paper money

An Assignat
Redrawn from a photograph.

Rapid depreciation of the assignats

The Constituent Assembly fails to solve the financial problem

Another piece of legislation concerning the Church, much more serious in its effects upon the cause of reform, was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. By act of the Assembly the number of dioceses was reduced from 134 to 83, one for each department. The bishops and priests were thenceforth to be elected by the same persons who elected the departmental officials. Once elected, the bishops were to announce the fact to the Pope who was not to have the right to approve or disapprove but merely to confirm. He was, then, to recognize them. If he refused, the ordinary courts could be invoked. The clergy were to receive salaries from the state, were, in other words, to become state officials. The income of most of the bishops would be greatly reduced, that of the parish priests, on the other hand, would be considerably increased.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

This law was not acceptable to sincere Catholics, since it altered by act of politicians an organization that had hitherto been controlled absolutely from within. Bishops and priests were to be elected like other officials — that is Protestants, Jews, free thinkers might participate in choosing the religious functionaries of the Catholic Church. Judges, who might, perhaps, be infidels, might yet play a decisive part. The Pope was practically ignored. His nominal headship was not questioned. His real power was largely destroyed. He would be informed of what was happening; his approval would not be necessary.

Opposition to this Civil Constitution

The Assembly voted that all clergymen must take an oath to support this Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Only four of the 134 bishops consented to do so. Perhaps a third of the parish priests consented. Those who consented were called the juring, those who refused, the non-juring or refractory clergy. In due time elections were held as provided by the law and those elected were called the constitutional clergy. France witnessed the spectacle of two bodies of priests, the non-juring, chosen in the old way, the other elected by the voters directly. The scandal was great and the danger appalling, for religious discord was introduced into every city and hamlet. Faith supported the one body, the state supported the other — and the state embarked upon a long, gloomy, and unsuccessful struggle to impose its will in a sphere where it did not belong.

Religious discord

Most fatal were the consequences. One was that it made the position of Louis XVI, a sincere Catholic, far more difficult and exposed

him to the charge of being an enemy of the Revolution, if he hesitat in his support of measures which he could not and did not approv Another was that it provoked in various sections, notably in Vend the most passionate civil war France had ever know Multitudes of the lower clergy, who had favored and great helped the Revolution so far, now turned against it for co science' sake. We cannot trace in detail this lamentab chapter of history. Suffice it to say that the Constitue Assembly made no greater or more pernicious mistake. The Church ha as the issue proved, immense spiritual influence over the peasants, t vast bulk of the population. Henceforth there was a divided allegian — allegiance to the State, allegiance to the Church. Men had to ma an agonizing choice. The small counter-revolutionary party of t nobles, hitherto a staff of officers without an army, was now reinforc by thousands and millions of recruits, prepared to face a sacrifices. And worldly intriguers could draw on this fu of piety for purposes which were anything but pious. T heat generated by politics is sufficient. There was no ne of increasing the temperature by adding the heat of religious controver French Revolution or eternal damnation, such was the hard cho placed before the devout.

The non-juring clergy become enemies of the Revolution

The counter-revolutionary party immensely augmented

"I would rather be King of Metz than remain King of France in su a position," said Louis XVI, as he signed the decree requiring an oath the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, "but this will e soon." The meaning of which remark was that the Ki was now through with his scruples, that he was resolved call the monarchs of Europe to his aid, that he was determined to esca from this coil of untoward events which was binding him tighter a tighter, threatening soon to strangle him completely. The idea of royal flight was not new. Marie Antoinette had thoug of it long before. Mirabeau had counseled it under cert conditions which, however, were no longer possible. The nobles who h fled from France, some of them after the fall of the Bastille, more them after the war upon the châteaux, hung upon the fringes of kingdom, in Belgium, in Piedmont, and particularly in the petty G man states that lined the fabled banks of the Rhine, eager to have King come to them, eager to embroil Europe with France, that t they might return to Paris with the armies that would surely be eas

Lamentable effect upon Louis XVI

Shall the King flee?

ctorious, and set back the clock to where it stood in 1789, incidentally lebrating that happy occurrence by miscellaneous punishment of all the table revolutionists, so that henceforth imaginative spirits would hesi- e before again laying impious hands upon the Lord's anointed, upon gs by divine right, upon nobles reposing upon rights no less sacred, on the holy clergy. The Count of Artois, the proud and pty-headed brother of the King, one of the first to emi- ate, had said: "We shall return within three months." a matter of fact he was to return only after twenty- ee years, a considerable miscalculation, pardonable, no doubt, in that raordinary age in which every one miscalculated.

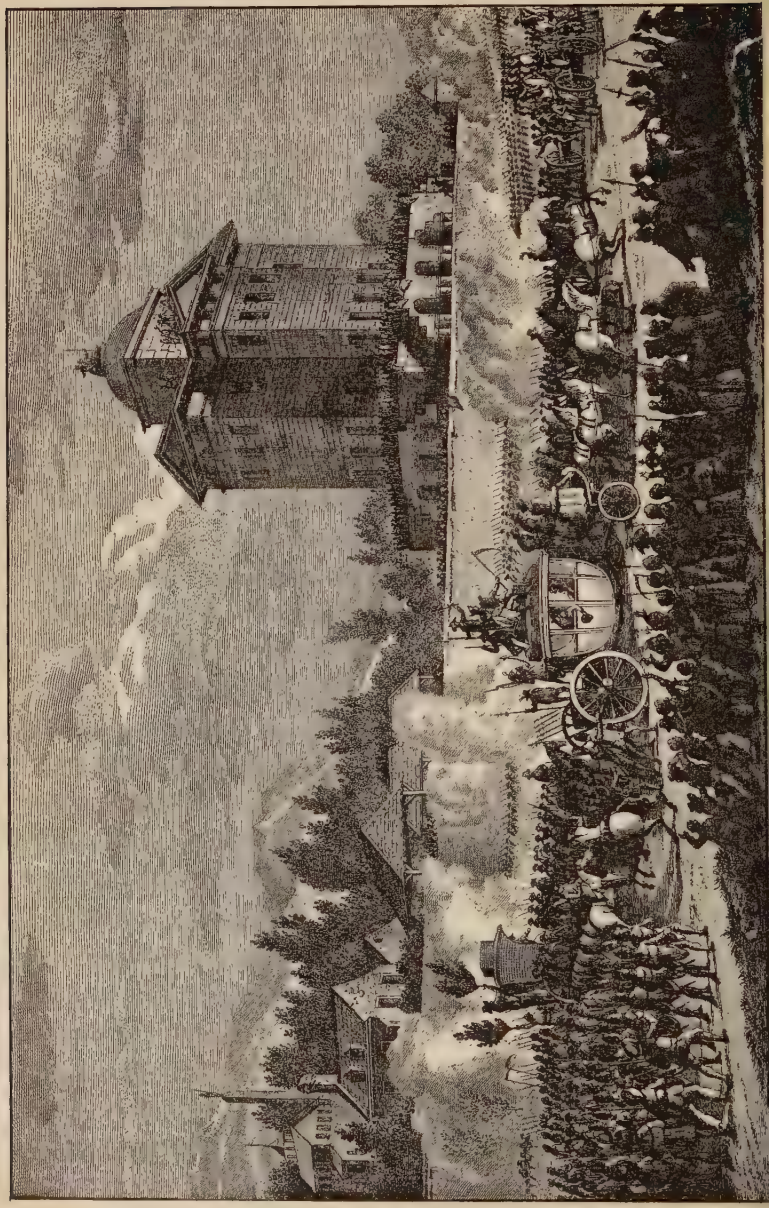
The court party plots vengeance and treason

Louis XVI, wounded in his conscience, now planned to escape from ris, to go to the eastern part of France, where there were French troops which he thought he could rely. Then, surrounded by faithful ad- ents, he could reassume the kingly rôle and come back to Paris, ster of the situation.

THE TUILERIES
After an engraving by J. Rigaud.

Disguised as a valet the King, accompanied by the Queen, disguised Russian lady, escaped from the Tuileries in the night of June 20, , in a clumsy coach. All the next day they rolled over the white ways of Champagne under a terrible sun, reaching at midnight the little village of Varennes, not far from frontier. There they were recognized and arrested. The National

The flight to Varennes



Assembly sent three commissioners to bring them back. The return was for these two descendants of long lines of kings a veritable ascent of Calvary. Outrages, insults, jokes, ignominies of every kind were hurled at them by the crowds that thronged about them in the villages through which they passed — a journey without rest, uninterrupted, under the annihilating heat, the suffocating dust of June. Reaching Paris they were no longer overwhelmed with insults, but were received in glacial silence by enormous throngs who stood with hats on, as the royal coach passed by. The King was impassive but "our poor Queen," so wrote a friend, "bowed her head almost to her knees." Rows of National Guards stood, arms grounded, as at funerals. At seven o'clock that night they were in the Tuileries once more. Marie Antoinette had in these few days of horror grown twenty years older. Her hair had turned quite white, like the hair of a woman of seventy."

The consequences of this woeful misadventure were extremely grave. Louis XVI had shown his real feelings. The fidelity of his people to him was not entirely destroyed but was irremediably shaken. They no longer believed in the sincerity of his utterances, his oaths to support the Constitution. The Queen was visited with contumely, being regarded as the arch-conspirator. The throne was undermined. A republican party appeared. Before this no one had considered a republic possible in so large a country as France. Republics were for small states like those of ancient Greece or medieval Italy. Even the most violent revolutionists, Robespierre, Danton, Marat, were, up to this time, monarchists. Now, however, France had a little object lesson. During the absence of the King, the government of the Assembly continued to work normally. In the period following, during which Louis XVI was suspended from the exercise of his powers, government went on without damage to the state. A king was evidently not indispensable. It has been correctly stated that the flight to Varennes created the republican party in France, a party that has had an eventful history since then, and has finally, after many vicissitudes, established its régime.

Effect of the King's flight

Creates a republican party

But this republican party was very small. The very idea of a republic frightened the Constituent Assembly, even after the revelation of the faithlessness of the King. Consequently, in a revulsion of feeling, the Assembly, after a little, restored Louis XVI to his position, finished the Constitution, accepted his oath to support it, and on

September 30, 1791, this memorable body declared its mission fulfille and its career at an end.

The National Assembly before adjournment committed a final ar unnecessary mistake. In a mood of fatal disinterestedness it voted th

A self-denying ordinance

none of its members should be eligible to the next legisl ture or to the ministry. Thus the experience of the pa two years was thrown away and the new constitution w intrusted to hands entirely different from those that had fashioned i

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CHAPTER V

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Constitution was now to be put into force. France was to make e experiment of a constitutional monarchy in place of the old absolute narchy, gone forever. In accordance with the provi-ns of the document a legislature was now chosen. Its st session was held October 1, 1791. Elected for a two-ar term, it served for less than a single year. Expected inaugurate an era of prosperity and happiness by apply-g the new principles of government in a time of peace, to nsolidate the monarchy on its new basis, it was destined to a stormy e and to witness the fall of the monarchy in irreparable ruin. A few ys before it met Paris, adept, as always, in the art of observing fit-gly great national occasions, had celebrated "the end of the Revolu-n." The Old Régime was buried. The new one was now to be stalled.

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791–September 20, 1792)

But the Revolution had not ended. Instead, it shortly entered on a far more critical state. The reasons for this unhappy turn were ve and numerous. They were inherent in the situation, both in France d in Europe. Would the King frankly accept his new position, with mental reservations, with no secret determinations, honestly, en-ely? If so, and if he would by his conduct convince his people of his alty to his word, of his intention to rule as a constitutional monarch, abide by the reforms thus far accomplished, with no thought of up-ting the new system, then there was an excellent chance t the future would be one of peaceful development, for nce was thoroughly monarchical in tradition, in feeling, in conviction. The Legislative Assembly was as monar-al in its sentiments as the Constituent had been. But if the King's duct should arouse the suspicion that he was intriguing to restore the Régime, that his oaths were insincere, then the people would turn inst him and the experiment of a constitutional monarchy would be

The Legislative Assembly favorable to the monarchy

hazarded. France had no desire to be a republic, but it had a fixed and resolute aversion to the Old Régime.

Inevitably, since the flight to Varennes, suspicion of Louis XVI was widespread. The suspicion was not dissipated by wise conduct on his part, but was increased in the following months to such a pitch that the revolutionary fever had no chance to subside but necessarily mounted steadily. The King's views were inevitably colored by his hereditary pretensions. Moreover, as we have seen, the religious question had been injected into the Revolution in so acute a form that his conscience as a Catholic was outraged. It was this that strained to the breaking point the relations of the Legislative Assembly and Louis XVI. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy gave rise to a bitter and distressing civil war. In the great province of Vendée several thousand peasants, led by the refractory or non-juring priests, rose against the elected, constitutional priests and drove them out of the pulpits and churches. When the National Guards were sent among them to enforce the law they flew to arms against them, and civil war began.

Growing distrust of Louis XVI

Rebellion in the Vendée

The Assembly forthwith passed a decree against the refractory priests, which only made a bad matter worse. They were required to take the oath to the Civil Constitution within a week. If they refused they would be considered "suspicious" characters, their pensions would be suppressed, and they would be subject to the watchful and hostile surveillance of the government. Louis XVI vetoed this decree, legitimately using the power given him by the Constitution. This veto, accompanied by others, offended public opinion, and weakened the King's hold upon France. It would have been better for Louis had he never been given the veto power, since every exercise of it placed him in opposition to the Assembly and inflamed party passions.

Decree against the non-juring priests

Louis XVI vetoes this decree

The other decrees which he vetoed concerned the royal princes and the nobles who had emigrated from France, either because they no longer felt safe there, or because they thought that by going to foreign countries they might induce their rulers to intervene in French affairs and restore the Old Régime. This was wanton playing with fire. For the effect on France might be the very opposite of that intended. It might so heighten and exasperate popular feeling that the monarch

ould be in greater danger than if left alone. This emigration, mostly f the privileged classes, had begun on the morrow of the storming of the Bastille. The Count d'Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI, had left rance on July 15, 1789. The emigration became important in 1790, fter the decree abolishing all titles of nobility, a decree hat deeply wounded the pride of the nobles, and it was ccelerated in 1791, after the flight to Varennes and the suspension of he King. It was later augmented by great numbers of non-juring riests and of bourgeois, who put their fidelity to the Catholic Church bove their patriotism.

The royalist emigration

It has been estimated that during the Revolution a hundred and fifty housand people left France in this way. Many of them went to the little German states on the eastern frontier. There they formed an army of erhaps 20,000 men. The Count of Provence, elder brother of Louis XVI, as the titular leader and claimed that he was the Regent of France on the round that Louis XVI was virtually a prisoner. The *émigrés* ceaseessly intrigued in the German and other European courts, trying to instiate their rulers to invade France, particularly the rulers of Austria and Prussia, important military states, urging that the fate of one monarch as a matter that concerned all monarchs, for sentimental reasons and or practical, since, if the impious revolution triumphed in rance, there would come the turn of the other kings for imilar treatment at the hands of rebellious subjects. In 791 the *émigrés* succeeded in inducing the rulers of Austria and Prussia o issue the Declaration of Pillnitz announcing that the cause of Louis VI was the cause of all the monarchs of Europe. This Declaration was made conditional upon the coöperation of ll the countries and, therefore, it was largely bluster and ad no direct importance. It was not sufficient to bring on ar. But it angered France and increased suspicion of the King. The egislative Assembly passed two decrees, one declaring that the Count f Provence would be deprived of his eventual rights to the rone if he did not return to France within two months, he other declaring that the property of the *émigrés* would e confiscated and that they themselves would be treated as enemies, guilty of treasonable conspiracy, if their armaments were not disersed by January 1, 1792; also stating that the French princes and ublic officials who had emigrated should be likewise regarded as con-

Treasonable intrigues of the émigrés

The Declaration of Pillnitz, August 27, 1791

Decrees against the émigrés

spiring against the state and would be exposed to the penalty of death if they did not return by the same date.

Louis XVI vetoed these decrees. He did, however, order his two brothers to return to France. They refused to obey out of "tenderness" for the King. The Count of Provence, who had a gift for misplaced irony and impertinence, saw fit to exercise it in his reply to the Assembly's summons. If this was not precisely pouring oil upon troubled waters, it was precisely adding fuel to a mounting conflagration, perhaps a natural mode of action for those who are dancing on volcanoes. Prudent people prefer to do their dancing elsewhere.

Louis XVI vetoes these decrees

More serious were the war clouds that were rapidly gathering. At the beginning of the Revolution nothing seemed less likely than a conflict between France and Europe. France was pacifically inclined, and there were no outstanding subjects of dispute. Moreover the rulers of the other countries were not at all anxious to intervene. They were quite willing to have France occupied exclusively with domestic problems, as thus the field would be left open for their intrigues. They were meditating the final partition of Poland and wished to be left alone while they committed that crowning iniquity. But gradually they came to see the menace to themselves in the new principles proclaimed by the French, principles of the sovereignty of the people and of the equality of all citizens. Their own subjects, particularly the peasants and the middle classes, were alarmingly enthusiastic over the achievements of the French. If such principles should inspire the same deeds as in France, the absolute monarchy of Louis XV would not be the only one to suffer a shock.

Gathering war clouds

Just as the sovereigns were being somewhat aroused from this complacent indifference in regard to their neighbor's principles, a change was going on in France itself, where certain parties were beginning to proclaim their duty to share their happiness with other peoples, in other words, to conduct a propaganda for their ideas outside of France. They were talking of the necessity of warring against tyrants, and of liberating peoples still enslaved.

Thus on both sides the temper was becoming warlike. When such a mood prevails it is never difficult for willing minds to find sufficient pretexts for an appeal to arms. Moreover each side had a definite and positive grievance. France, as we have seen, viewed with displeasure

nd concern the formation of the royalist armies on her eastern bor-
ers, with the connivance, or at least the consent, of the
erman princes. On the other hand the German Empire
nd a direct grievance against France. When Alsace be-
me French in the seventeenth century, a number of
erman princes possessed lands there and were, in fact,
udal lords. They still remained princes of the German Empire, and
eir territorial rights were guaranteed by the treaties. Only they were
the same time vassals of the King of France, doing homage to him
nd collecting feudal dues, as previously. When the French abolished
udal dues as we have seen, August 4, 1789, they insisted that these
crees applied to Alsace as well as to the rest of France. The German
inces protested and asserted that the decrees were in violation of the
reaties of Westphalia. The German Diet espoused their
use. The Constituent Assembly insisted upon maintain-
g its laws, in large measure, but offered to modify them.
he Diet refused, demanding the revocation of the obnox-
us laws and the restoration of the feudal dues in Alsace. The contro-
rsy was full of danger for the reason that there were many people,
oth in France and in the other countries, who were anxious for war
nd who would use any means they could to bring it about. The gale
as gathering that was to sweep over Europe in memorable devastation
r nearly a quarter of a century.

Causes of friction between France and the German Empire

Controversy over the decrees of August 4, 1789

The Legislative Assembly was composed of inexperienced men, be-
use of the self-denying ordinance passed in the closing hours of the
onstituent Assembly. Yet this Assembly was vested by the new Con-
tution with powers vastly overshadowing those left with the King.
evertheless it was suspicious of him, as it had no control over the
inistry and as it was the executive that directed the relations with
reign countries.

There were, moreover, certain new forces in domestic politics of which
e world was to hear much in the coming months. Certain political
ibs began to loom up threateningly as possible rivals
en of the Assembly. The two most conspicuous were
Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs. These had originated
the very beginning of the Revolution, but it was under the Legisla-
e Assembly and its successor that they showed their power.

The rise of political clubs

The Jacobin Club was destined to the greater notoriety. It was

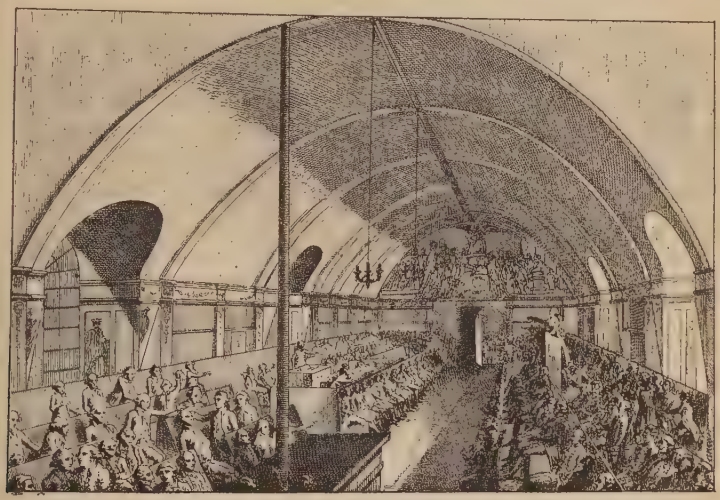
composed of members of the Assembly and of outsiders, citizens of Paris. As a political club the members held constant sessions and debated with great zeal and freedom the questions that were before the Assembly. Its most influential leader at this time was Robespierre, a radical democrat but at the same time a convinced monarchist, a vigorous opponent of the

THE JACOBIN CLUB
From a Dutch engraving, after Duplessis-Bertaux.

small republican party which had appeared momentarily at the time o the epoch-making flight to Varennes. The Jacobin Club grew steadil more radical as the Revolution progressed and as its mor conservative members dropped out or were eliminated. I also rapidly extended its influence over all France. Jacobi clubs were founded in over 2,000 cities and villages. Affiliated with th mother club in Paris, they formed a vast network, virtually receivin orders from Paris, developing great talent for concerted action. Th discipline that held this voluntary organization together was remarkabl and rendered it capable of great and decisive action. It became a so of state within the state and, moreover, within a state which was as de

The Jacobin Club

entralized and ineffective as it was itself highly centralized and rapid nd thorough in its action. The Jacobin Club gradually became a rival of ne Assembly itself and at times exerted a preponderant influence upon , yet the Assembly was the legally constituted government of all France.



A Session at the Jacobin Club
After an anonymous engraving.

The Cordelier Club was still more radical. Its membership was de- ved from a lower social scale. It was more democratic. Moreover, nce the flight to Varennes it was the hotbed of republican- m. Its chief influence was with the working classes of aris, men who were enthusiastic supporters of the Revolution, anxious have it carried further, easily inflamed against any one who was ac- sed as an enemy, open or secret, of the Revolution. These men were ude and rude but tremendously energetic. They were the stuff of ich mobs could be made, and they had in Danton, a lawyer, with a wer of downright and epigrammatic speech, an able, astute, and ruth- s leader. The Cordelier Club, unlike the Jacobin, was limited to ris; it had no branches throughout the departments. Like the Jaco- s the Cordeliers contracted the habit of bringing physical pressure to ur upon the Government, of seeking to impose their will upon that of representatives of the nation, the King and the Assembly.

The Cordelier Club

Here then were redoubtable machines for influencing the publi
They would support the Assembly as long as its conduct met their wishe

The Clubs and the Legislative Assembly

but they were self-confident and self-willed enough to op
pose it and to try to dominate it on occasion. Both wer
enthusiastic believers in the Revolution; both were lynx
eyed and keen-scented for any hostility to the Revolutio
willing to go to any lengths to uncover and to crush those who shoul
try to undo the reforms thus far accomplished. Both were suspiciou
of the King.

They had inflammable material enough to work upon in the masse
of the great capital of France. And these masses were, as the months went by, becoming steadily more excitable and exalted in temper. They worshipped liberty frantically and they expressed their

Growth of a radical temper among the people

worship in picturesque and sinister ways. They considered themselves, called themselves the true "patriots," and, like all fanatics, they were highly jealous and suspicious of their more moderate fellow-citizens. The new wine, which was decidedly heady, was fermenting dangerously in their brains. They displayed the revolutionary colors, the tricolor cockade, everywhere and on all occasions. They adopted and wore the *bonnet rouge* or redcap, which resembled the Phrygian cap of antiquity, the cap worn by slaves after their emancipation. This was now, as it had been then, the symbol of libert

Liberty Cap and Pik

This is the period, too, when we hear of the planting of liberty pol
or trees everywhere amid popular acclamation and with festivities ca

The Sans-culottes

culated to intensify the new-born democratic devotio
Even in dress the new era had its radical innovations ar
symbolism. The *Sansculottes* now set the style. They were the m
who abandoned the old style short breeches, the culottes, and adopte
the long trousers hitherto worn only by workingmen and therefore
badge of social inferiority.

Such then was the new quality in the atmosphere, such were t
new players who were grouped around the margins of the scene. The
influence was felt all through its year of fevered history by the Legis

ive Assembly, the lawful government of France. These men were all glow with the great news announced in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that the people are sovereign here below and that no divinity doth edge about a king — that was sheer claptrap which had imposed on mankind quite long enough. Now that France was delivered from this orry hallucination, now that the darkness was dispelled, let the new rinciples be fearlessly applied!

The reaction of all this upon the Legislative Assembly was pro- ounced. One of the first actions of that Assembly was to abolish the erms, "Sire" and "Your Majesty," used in addressing the ing. Another evidence that the new doctrine of the sov- reignty of the people was not merely a rosy, yet unsub- tantial, figment of the imagination, but was a definite rinciple intended to be applied to daily politics, was the fact that hen dissatisfied with the Assembly, the people crowded into its hall nore frequently, expressing their disapproval, voicing in unambiguous anner their desires, and the Assembly, which believed in the doctrine oo, did not dare resent its application, did not dare assert its inviola- ility, as the representative of France, of law and order.

Increasing radicalism of the Legislative Assembly

The signs of the times, then, were certainly not propitious for those ho would undo the work of the Revolution, who would restore the ing and the nobles to the position they had once occu- ied and now lost. The pack would be upon them if they ied. The struggle would be with a rude and vigorous de- nocracy in which reverence for the old had died, which was eckless of traditions, and was ready to suffer and more ready to inflict uffering, if attempts were made to thwart it. Anything that looked ke treachery would mean a popular explosion. Yet this moment, so nopportune, was being used by the King and Queen in secret but sus- ected machinations with foreign rulers, with a view to securing their aid the attempt to recover the ground lost by the monarchy; was being ed by the emigrant nobles in Coblenz and Worms for counter-revolu- nary intrigues and for warlike preparations. Their only safe policy as a candid and unmistakable recognition of the new gime, but this was precisely what they were intellectually nd temperamentally incapable of appreciating. They ere playing with fire. This was all the more risky as many of their nemies were equally willing to play with the same dangerous element.

A vigorous and suspicious democracy in existence

The émigrés play with fire

There was in the Legislative Assembly a group of men called t Girondists, because many of their leaders, Vergniaud, Isnard, Buzot a others, came from that section of France known as the Gironde, in t southwest of France. The Girondists have enjoyed a poetic immortali ever since imaginative histories of the Revolution issued from the pe sive pen of the poet Lamartine, who portrayed them as pure and hig minded patriots caught in the swirl of a wicked world. The descripti was inaccurate. They were not disinterested martyrs in the cause good government. They were a group of politicians whose discreti was not as conspicuous as their ambition. They paid for that vaulti emotion the price which it frequently exacts. They knew how to ma their tragic exit from life bravely and heroically. They did not kno what is more difficult, how to make their lives wise and profitable to t

The Girondists

world. They were a group of eloquent young men, led b a romantic young woman. For the real head of this grou that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the dea ening clamor of the later Revolution was Madame Roland, their brig particular star. Theirs was a bookish outlook upon the world. The fed upon Plutarch, and boundless was their admiration for the ancie Greeks and Romans. They were republicans because those glorious fi ures of the earlier time had been republicans; also because they ima ined that, in a republic, they would themselves find a better chance t shine and to irradiate the world. Dazzled by these prototypes, the burned with the spirit of emulation. The reader must keep steadily i mind that the Girondists and the Jacobins were entirely distinct group They were, indeed, destined later to be deadly rivals and enemies.

Such were the personages who played their dissimilar parts in th hot drama of the times. The stage was set. The background was th whole fabric of the European state system, now shaking unawares. Th action began with the declaration of war by France against Francis I

France declares war on Francis II, April 20, 1792

ruler of Austria, and nephew of Marie Antoinette, a decl ration which opened a war which was to be European an world-wide, which was to last twenty-three long years, wa to deform and twist the Revolution out of all resemblan to its early promise, was, as by-products, to give France a Republic, Reign of Terror, a Napoleonic epic, a Bourbon overthrow and restor tion, and was to end only with the catastrophic incident of Waterlo

That war was precipitated by the French, who sent an ultimatum t

he Emperor concerning the *émigrés*. Francis replied by demanding the estoration to the German princes in Alsace of their feudal rights, and n addition, the repression in France "of anything that might alarm

MADAME ROLAND

A portrait taken from the cover of a bonbonnière in the Carnavalet Museum. From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*

ther States." War was declared on April 20, 1792. It was desired by l the parties of the Legislative Assembly. Only seven members voted gainst it. The supporters of the King wanted it, believing hat it would enable him to recover power once more by ndering him popular as the leader in a victorious campaign nd by putting at his disposal a strong military force rondists and Jacobins wanted it for precisely the opposite reason, as

All parties in the Legislative Assembly in favor of war

likely to prove that Louis was secretly a traitor, in intimate relation with the enemies of France. This once established, the monarchy coul be swept aside and a republic installed. Only Robespierre and a fe others opposed it on the ground that war always plays into the hand of the rich and powerful, that the people, on the other hand the poor, always pay for it and lose rather than gain, tha war is never in the interest of a democracy. They were however, voices crying in the wilderness. There was a widespread feel ing that the war was an inevitable clash between democracy, represente by France under the new dispensation, and autocracy, represented b the House of Hapsburg, a conflict of two eras, the past and the future The national exaltation was such that the people welcomed the oppor tunity to spread abroad, beyond the borders of France, the revolution ary ideas of liberty and equality which they had so recently acquire and which they so highly prized. The war had some of the characteris tics of a religious war, the same mental exaltation, the same dogmati belief in the universal applicability of its doctrines, the same sense o duty to preach them everywhere; by force, if necessary.

Robespierre's opposition to the war

This war was a startling and momentous turning-point in the histor of the Revolution. It had consequences, some of which were foreseen most of which were not. It reacted profoundly upon th French and before it was over it compromised their own domestic liberty and generated a military despotism o greater efficiency than could be matched in the long his tory of the House of Bourbon.

The war a turning-point in modern history

First and foremost among the effects of the war was this: it swep the illustrious French monarchy away and put the monarchs t death. The war began disastrously. Instead of easil conquering Belgium, which belonged to Francis II, as they had confidently expected to, the French suffered severe reverses. One reason was that their army had been badl disorganized by the wholesale resignation or emigration of its officers all noblemen. Another was the highly treasonable act of Louis XV and Marie Antoinette, who informed the Austrians of the French plan of campaign. This treason of their sovereigns was not known to the French, but it was suspected, and it was none the less efficacious. A the same time that French armies were being driven back, civil war growing out of the religious dissensions, was threatening in France

At the beginning the French suffer reverses

The Assembly, facing these troubles, indignantly passed two decrees, one ordering the deportation to penal colonies of all refractory or non-juring priests, the other providing for an army of 20,000 men for the protection of Paris.

Louis XVI vetoed both measures. Then the storm broke. The Jacobins inspired and organized a great popular demonstration against the King, the object being to force him to sign the decrees. But from the crowded workingmen's quarters emerged, on June 20, 1792, several thousand men, wearing the *bonnet rouge*, armed with pikes and carrying standards with the Rights of Man printed on them. They went to the hall of the Assembly and were permitted to march through it, submitting a petition in which the pointed statement was made that the will of 25,000,000 people could not be balked by the will of one man. After leaving the hall the crowd went to the Tuileries, forced open the gates and penetrated to the King's own apartments. The King for three hours stood before them, in the recess of a window, protected by some of the deputies. The crowd shouted, "Sign the decrees!" "Down with the priests!" One of the ringleaders of the demonstration, a butcher called Legendre, gained a notoriety that has sufficed to preserve his name from oblivion to this day, by shouting at the King, "Sir, you are a traitor, you have always deceived us, you are deceiving us still. Beware, the cup is full." Louis XVI refused to make any promises. His will, for once, did not waver. But he received a *bonnet rouge* and donned it and drank a glass of wine presented him by one of the crowd. The crowd finally withdrew, having committed no violence, but having subjected the King of France to bitter humiliation.

The King vetoes two decrees of the Assembly

Insurrection of June 20, 1792

Louis XVI remains firm

Immediately a wave of indignation at this affront and scandal swept over France and it seemed likely that, after all, it might redound to the advantage of Louis, increasing his popularity by the sympathy it evoked. But shortly other events supervened and his position became more precarious than ever. Prussia joined Austria in the war and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the coalition armies, as he crossed the frontiers of France, issued a manifesto which aroused the people to a fever pitch of wrath. This manifesto had really been written by an *émigré* and it was redolent of the concentrated rancor of his class. The manifesto ordered the

The Duke of Brunswick's manifesto (July 11, 1792)

French to restore Louis XVI to complete liberty of action. It went further and virtually commanded them to obey the orders of the monarchs of Austria and Prussia. It announced that any national guards who should resist the advance of the allies would be punished as rebels and it wound up with the terrific threat that if the least violence or outrage should be offered to their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the royal family, if their preservation and their liberty should not be immediately provided for, they, the allied monarchs, would "exact an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance," namely, the complete destruction of the city of Paris.

Such a threat could have but one reply from a self-respecting people. It nerved them to incredible exertions to resent and repay the insult. Patriotic anger swept everything before it.

The first to suffer was the person whom the manifesto had singled out for special care, Louis XVI, now suspected more than ever of being the accomplice of these invaders who were breathing fire and destruction upon the French for the insolence of managing their own affairs as they saw fit. On August 10, 1792, another and this time more formidable, insurrection, occurred in Paris. At nine in the morning the crowd attacked the Tuileries. At ten the King and the royal family left the palace and sought safety in the Assembly. There they were kept in a little room just behind the president's chair, and there they remained for more than thirty hours. While the Assembly was debating, a furious combat was raging between the troops stationed to guard the Tuileries and the mob. Louis XVI, hearing the first shots, sent word to the guards to cease fire, but the officer who carried the command did not deliver it as long as he thought there was a chance of victory. The Swiss Guard were the heroes and the victims of that dreadful day. They defended the palace until their ammunition gave out and then, receiving the order to retire, they fell back slowly, but were soon overwhelmed by the assailants and 800 of them were shot down. The vengeance of the mob was frenzied. They themselves had lost hundreds of men. No quarter was given. More than 5,000 people were killed that day. The Tuileries was sacked and gutted. A sallow-complexioned young artillery officer, out of service, named Napoleon Bonaparte, was a spectator of this scene, from which he learned a few lessons which were later of value to him.

The insurrection of August 10, 1792

The Tuileries sacked

THE ATTACK UPON THE TUILERIES, AUGUST 10, 1792
Drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

The deeds of August 10 were the work of the Revolutionary Com mune of Paris. The former municipal government had been illegall overthrown by the Jacobins who had then organized a new governmer which they entirely controlled. The Jacobins, the maste of Paris, had carefully prepared the insurrection of Augus 10 for the definite purpose of overthrowing Louis XV The menaces of the Duke of Brunswick had merely bee the pretext. Now began that systematic dominance of Paris in th affairs of France which was to be brief but terrible. At the en of the insurrection the Commune forced the Legislativ Assembly to do its wishes. Under this imperious and en tirely illegal dictation the Assembly voted that the Kin should be provisionally suspended. This necessitated the making a new constitution as the Constitution of 1791 was mo archical. The present assembly was a merely legisl tive body, not competent to alter the fundamental la Therefore the Legislative Assembly, although its term wa only half expired, decided to call a Convention to take up the matt of the constitution. Under orders from the Paris Commune it issue the decree to that effect and it made a further importa decision. For elections to the Convention it abolished th property suffrage, established by the Constitution of 179 and proclaimed universal suffrage. France thus, on August 10, 179 became a democracy.

The Revolutionary Commune of Paris

The suspension of the King

A Constitutional Convention called

Universal suffrage proclaimed

The executive of France was thus overthrown. During the interv before the meeting of the Convention a provisional executive counc with Danton at the head, wielded the executive power, influenced by th Commune. The Assembly had merely voted the suspe sion of Louis XVI. The Commune, in complete disrega of law and in defiance of the Assembly, imprisoned th King and Queen in the Temple, an old fortress in Pari The Commune also arrested large numbers of suspected persons.

The Commune imprisons the King

This Revolutionary Commune or City Council of Paris was henc forth one of the powerful factors in the government of France. It, a not the Legislative Assembly, was the real ruler of the country betwe the suspension of the King on August 10 and the meeting of the Co vention, September 20. It continued to be a factor, sometimes predom nant, even under the Convention. For nearly two years, from Augus

92, until the overthrow of Robespierre on July 27, 1794, the Commune was one of the principal forces in politics. It signalized its advent by suppressing the freedom of the press, one of the precious conquests of the reform movement, defying the committees of the Assembly when it chose, and by carrying through the infamous September Massacres, which left a monstrous and indelible stain upon the Revolution. The Commune was the representative of the lower classes and of the Jacobins. Its leaders were all extremely radical, and some were desperate characters who would stop at nothing to gain their ends.

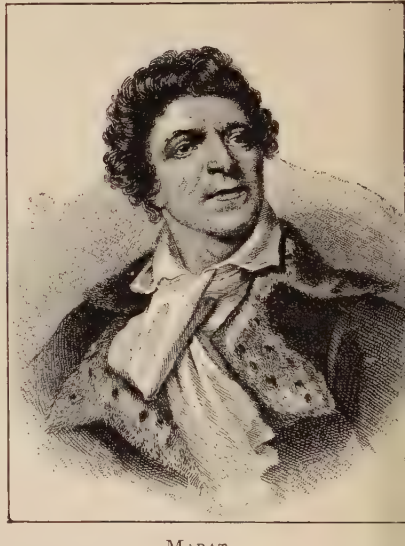
The Commune destroys the freedom of the press

THE PRISON OF THE TEMPLE
After an anonymous engraving.

The September Massacres grew out of the feeling of panic which seized the population of Paris as it heard of the steady approach of the Prussians and Austrians under the Duke of Brunswick. Hundreds of persons, suspected or charged with being real accomplices of the invaders, were thrown into prison. Finally the news reached Paris that Verdun was besieged, the last fortress on the road to the capital. If that should fall, then the enemy would have but a few days' march to accomplish and Paris would be theirs. The Commune and the Assembly made heroic exertions to raise and forward troops to the exposed position. The Commune sounded the tocsin or general alarm from the bell towers, and unfurled a gigantic black flag from the City Hall bearing the inscrip-

The Commune organizes the September Massacres

tion, "The Country is in Danger." The more violent members began to say that before the troops were sent to the front the traitors within the city ought to be put out of the way. "Shall we go to the front leaving 3,000 prisoners behind us, who may escape and murder our wives and children?" they asked. The hideous spokesman and inciter of the foul and cowardly slaughter was Marat, one of the most bloodthirsty characters of the time. The result was that day after day from September 2 to September 6 the cold-blooded murder of non-juring priests, of persons suspected or accused of "aristocracy," went on, without trial, the innocent and the guilty, men and women. The butchery was systematically done by men hired and paid by certain members of the Commune. The Legislative Assembly was too terrified itself to attempt to stop the infamous business nor could it have done so, had it tried. Nearly 1,200 persons were thus savagely hacked to pieces by the colossal barbarism of those days.



MARAT

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly

One consequence of these massacres was to discredit the cause of the Revolution. Another was to precipitate a sanguinary struggle between the Girondists who wished to punish the "Septembrists" and particularly their instigator, Marat, and the Jacobins, who either defended them or assumed an attitude of indifference, urging that France had more important work to do than to spend its time trying to avenge men who were after all "aristocrats." The struggles between these factions were to fill the early months of the Convention which met on September 20, 1792, the elections having taken place under the gloomy and terrifying impressions produced by the September Massacres. On the same day, September 20, the Prussians were stopped in their onward march a

Effects of the September Massacres

almy. They were to get no farther. The immediate danger was over. he tension was relieved.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONVENTION

The third Revolutionary assembly was the National Convention which was in existence for three years, from September 20, 1792, to October 26, 1795. Called to draft a new constitution, necessitated by the suspension of Louis XVI, its first act was the abolition of monarchy as an institution. Before its final adjournment three years later it had drafted two different constitutions, one of which was never put in force, it had established a republic, it had organized a provisional government with which to face the appalling problems that confronted the country, it had maintained the integrity and independence of the country, threatened by complete dissolution and had decisively defeated a vast hostile coalition of European powers. In accomplishing this gigantic task it had, however, made a record for cruelty and tyranny that left the republic in deep discredit and made the Revolution odious to multitudes of men.

Achievements of the Convention

On September 21, 1792, the Convention voted unanimously that "royalty is abolished in France." The following day it voted that all public documents should henceforth be dated from "the first year of the French Republic." Thus unostentatiously did the Republic make its appearance upon the scene, "furtively interjecting itself between the factions," as Robespierre expressed it. There was no solemn proclamation of the Republic, merely the indirect statement. As Aulard observes, the Convention had the air of saying to the nation, "There is no possibility of doing otherwise." Later the Republic had its heroes, its victims, its martyrs, but it was created in the first instance simply because there was nothing else to do. France had no choice in the matter. It merely accepted an imperative situation. A committee was immediately appointed to draw up a new constitution. Its work, however, was long postponed, for the Convention was distracted by a frenzied quarrel that broke out immediately between two parties, the Girondists and Jacobins. The latter part

France proclaimed a republic (September 22, 1792)

Party struggles in the Convention

as often called the Mountain, because of the raised seats its members cupied. It is not easy to define the differences between these factions, nich were involved in what was fundamentally a struggle for power. oth were entirely devoted to the Republic. Between the two factions ere was a large group of members, who swung now this way and now at, carrying victory or defeat as they shifted their votes. They were e center, the Plain or the Marsh, as they were called because of the cation of their seats in the convention hall.

On one point, the part that the city of Paris should be permitted to ay in the government, the difference of opinion was sharp. The Giron- sts represented the departments and insisted that Paris, nich constituted only one of the eighty-three depart- ents into which France was divided, should have only one eighty- ird of influence. They would tolerate no dictatorship of the pital. On the other hand the Jacobins drew their strength from aris. They considered Paris the brain and the heart of the country, a nter of light to the more backward provinces; they believed that it as the proper and predestined leader of the nation, that it was in a etter position than was the country at large to appreciate the signifi- nce of measures and events, that it was, as Danton said, "the chief ntinel of the nation." The Girondists were anxious to observe legal rms and processes; they disliked and distrusted the frequent appeals brute force. The Jacobins, on the other hand, were ot so scrupulous. They were rude, active, forceful, indif- rent to law, if law stood in the way. They were realists and believed in ne application of force wherever and whenever necessary. Indeed their reat emphasis was always put upon the necessity of the state. That stified everything. In other words anything was legitimate that might ontribute to the safety or greatness of the Republic, whether legal or ot.

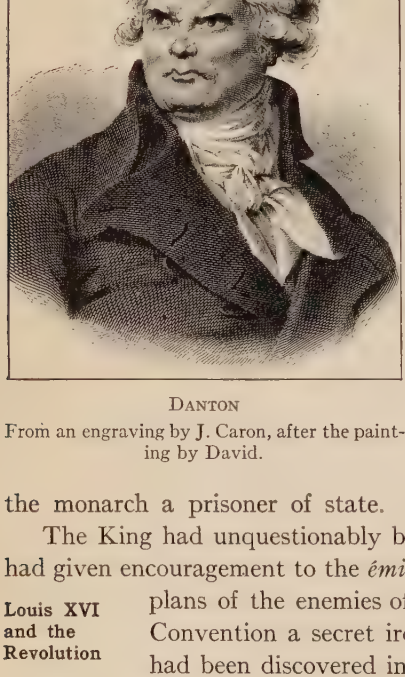
The Girondists

The Jacobins

But the merely personal element was even more important in divid- g and envenoming these groups. The Girondists hated the three aders of the Jacobins, Robespierre, Marat, and Danton. Marat and obespierre returned the hatred, which was thus easily fanned to fever at. Danton, a man of coarse fiber but large mould, above he pettiness of jealousy and pique, thought chiefly and stinctively only of the cause, the interest of the country at the given oment. He had no scruples but he had a keen sense for the practical

Danton

and the useful. He was anxious to work with the Girondists, anxious to smooth over situations, to avoid extremes, to subordinate persons to measures, to ignore the spirit of faction and intrigue, to keep all republicans working together in the same harness for the welfare of France. His was the spirit of easy-going compromise. But he met in the Girondists a stern, unyielding opposition. They would have nothing to do with him, they would not coöperate with him, and they finally ranged him among their enemies, to their own irreparable harm and to his.



DANTON
From an engraving by J. Caron, after the painting by David.

The contest between these two parties grew shriller and more vehement every day, ending in a life and death struggle. It began directly after the meeting of the Convention, in the discussion as to what should be done with Louis XVI, now that monarchy was abolished and the monarch a prisoner of state.

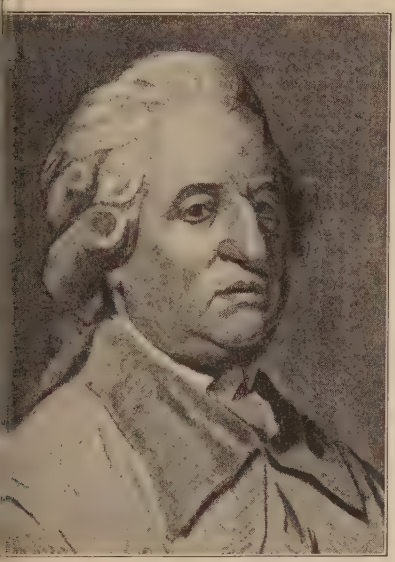
Louis XVI and the Revolution

The King had unquestionably been disloyal to the Revolution. He had given encouragement to the *émigrés* and had entered into the hostile plans of the enemies of France. After the meeting of the Convention a secret iron box, fashioned by his own hand, had been discovered in the Tuileries containing documents which proved beyond question his treason. Ought he to have the full punishment of a traitor or had he been already sufficiently punished, by the repeated indignities to which he had been subjected, by imprisonment, and by the loss of his throne? Might not the Convention stay its hand, refrain from exacting the full measure of satisfaction from one so sorely visited and for whom so many excuses lay in the general goodness of his character and in the extraordinary perplexities of his position, perplexities which might have baffled a far wiser person, at a time when the men of clearest vision saw events as through a glass, darkly? But mercy

was not in the hearts of men, particularly of the Jacobins, who considered Louis the chief culprit and unworthy of consideration. The Jacobins at first would not hear even of a trial. Robespierre demanded that the King be executed forthwith by a mere vote of the Convention, and Saint-Just, a satellite of Robespierre, recalled that "Cæsar was despatched in the very presence of the Senate without other formality than twenty-two dagger strokes." But Louis was given a trial, a trial, however, before a packed jury, which had already shown its hatred of him, before men who were at the same time his accusers and his judges. The trial lasted over a month, Louis himself appearing at the bar, answering the thirty-three questions which were put to him and which covered his conduct during the Revolution. His statements were considered unsatisfactory. Despite the eloquent defense of his lawyer the Convention voted on January 15, 1793, that "Louis Capet" was "guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the Nation and of a criminal attack upon the safety of the state." The vote was unanimous, a few abstaining from voting but not one voting in the negative. Many of the Girondists then urged that the sentence be submitted to the people for their final action. Robespierre combatted this idea with vigor, evidently fearing that the people would not go the whole length. This proposition was voted down by 424 votes against 283.

The Jacobins demand immediate execution without trial

The trial of Louis XVI



LAST PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XVI
after a crayon by Ducreux, three days before the execution.

What should be the punishment? Voting on this question began at eight o'clock in the evening of January 16, 1793. During twenty-four hours the 721 deputies present mounted the platform one after the other, and announced their votes to the Convention. At eight o'clock

on the evening of the 17th the vote was completed. The president announced the result. Number voting 721; a majority 361. For death 387; against death, or for delay 334.

The execution of the King

On Sunday, January 21, the guillotine was raised in the square fronting the Tuileries. At ten o'clock Louis mounted the fatal step with courage and composure. He was greater on the scaffold than he had been upon the throne. He endeavored to speak. "Gentlemen, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. May my blood assure the happiness of the French." His voice was drowned by a roll of drums. He died with all the serenity of a profoundly religious man.

Consequences of the execution of Louis XVI

The immediate consequence of the execution was a formidable increase in the number of enemies France must conquer if she was to live, and an intensification of the passions involved. France was at war with Austria and Prussia. Now England, Russia, Spain, Holland, and the states of Germany and Italy entered the war against her, justifying themselves by the "murder of the King," although all had motives much more practical than this sentimental one. It was an excellent opportunity to gain territory from a country which was plainly in process of dissolution. Civil war, too, was added to the turmoil, as the peasants of the Vendée, 100,000 strong, rose against the Republic which was the murderer of the king and the persecutor of the church. Dumouriez, an able commander of one of the French armies, was plotting against the Convention and was shortly to go over to the enemy, a traitor to his country.

The ground was giving way everywhere. The Convention stiffened for the fray, resolved to do or die, or both, if necessary. No government was ever more energetic or more dauntless. It voted to raise 300,000 troops immediately. It created a Committee of General Security, a Committee of Public Safety, a Revolutionary Tribunal, all parts of a machine that was intended to concentrate the full force of the nation upon the problem of national salvation and the annihilation of the republic's enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

The Convention creates machinery for strong government

But while it was doing all this the Convention was floundering in the bog of angry party politics. Discussion was beginning its work of dividing the republicans, preparatory to consuming them. The first struggle was between the Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondist

THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

wished to punish the men who had been responsible for the September Massacres. They wished to punish the Commune for numerous illegal acts. They hated Marat and were able to get a vote from the Convention sending him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, expecting that this would be the end of him. Instead, he was acquitted and became the hero of the populace of Paris, more powerful than before and now wilder than ever in his denunciations. Sanguinary Marat, feline Robespierre, were resolved on the annihilation of the Girondists. Danton, thinking of France and loathing all this discord, when the nation was in danger, all this exaggeration of self, this contemptible carnival of intrigue, thinking that Frenchmen had enemies enough to fight without tearing each other to pieces, tried to play the peacemaker. But he had the fate that peacemakers frequently have. He accomplished nothing for France and made enemies for himself.

Republicans divided against themselves

The Girondists marked for destruction

The Commune, which supported the Jacobins, and which idolized Marat and respected Robespierre, intervened in this struggle, using, to cut it short, its customary weapon, physical force. It organized an insurrection against the Girondists, a veritable army of 80,000 men with sixty cannon. Marat, himself a member of the Convention, climbed to the belfry of the City Hall and with his own hand sounded the tocsin. This was Marat's day. He, self-styled Friend of the People, was the leader of this movement from the beginning to the end of the fateful June 2, 1793. The Tuileries, where the Convention sat, was surrounded by the insurrectionary troops. The Convention was the prisoner of the Commune, the Government of France at the mercy of the Government of Paris. The Commune demanded the expulsion of the Girondist leaders from the Convention. The Convention protested indignantly against the conduct of the insurgents. Its members resolved to leave the hall in a body. They were received with mock deference by the insurgents. The demand of their president that the troops disperse was bluntly refused until the Girondists who had been denounced should be expelled. The Convention was obliged to return to its hall conquered and degraded and to vote the arrest of twenty-nine Girondists. For the first time in the Revolution the assembly elected by the voters of France was mutilated. Violence had laid its hand upon the sovereignty of the people in the interest of the rule o

The insurrection of June 2, 1793

Girondist leaders expelled from the Convention

faction. The victory of the Commune was the victory of the Jacobins, who, by this treason to the nation, were masters of the Convention.

But not yet masters of the country. Indeed this high-handed crime of June 2 aroused indignation and resistance throughout a large section of France. Had the departments no rights which the Commune of Paris was bound to respect? The Girondists called the departments to arms against this tyrannical crew. They responded with alacrity, exasperated and alarmed. Four of the largest cities of France, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen, took up arms, and civil war, born of politics, added to the civil war born of religion in the Vendée, and to the ubiquitous foreign war, made confusion worse confounded. In all some sixty departments out of eighty-three participated in this movement, three-fourths of France. To meet this danger, to allay this strong distrust of Paris felt by the departments, to show them that they need not fear the dictatorship of the Commune, the Convention drafted in great haste the constitution which it had been summoned to make, but which it had for months ignored in the heat of party politics. And the Constitution of 1793, the second in the history of the Revolution, guarded so carefully the rights of the departments and the rights of the people that it made Parisian dictation impossible.

France threatened with civil war

A new constitution hastily constructed

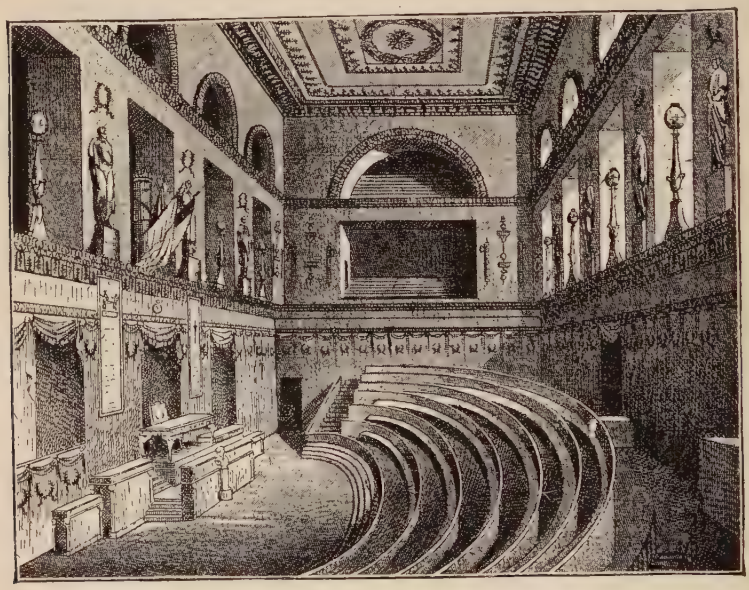
The Constitution of 1793 established universal suffrage. It also carried decentralization farther than did the Constitution of 1791, which had carried it much too far. The Legislature was to be elected only for a year, and all laws were to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection before being put into force. This was the first appearance of the *referendum*. The executive was to consist of twenty-four members chosen by the legislature out of a list drawn up by the electors and consisting of one person from each department.

Provisions of the constitution of 1793

This constitution worked like a charm in dissipating the distrust of the departments. Their rights could not be better safeguarded. Submitted to the voters the constitution was overwhelmingly ratified, over 1,000,000 votes in its favor, less than 12,000 opposition. But this is the only way in which this constitution ever worked. So thoroughly did it decentralize the state, so weak did it leave the central government, that even those

The constitution ratified by the people

who had accepted it cordially saw that it could not be applied immediately, with foreign armies streaming into France from every direction. What was needed for the crisis, as every one saw, was a strong government. Consequently by general agreement the constitution was immediately suspended, as soon as it was made. The suspension was



The Hall of the Convention

to be merely provisional. As soon as the crisis should pass it should be put into operation. Meanwhile this precious document was put into a box in the center of the convention hall and was much in the way.

To meet the crisis, to enable France to hew her way through the tangle of complexities and dangers that confronted her, a provisional government was created, a government as strong as the one provided by the constitution was weak, as efficient as that would have proved inefficient. The new system was frankly based on force, and it inaugurated a Reign of Terror which has remained a hissing and a by-word among the nations ever since. This provisional or revolutionary government was lodged in the Convention. The Convention was the sole nerve center whence shot forth to the farthest confines of the land the iron resolutions

that beat down all opposition and fired all energies to a single end. The Convention was dictator, and it organized a government that was more absolute, more tyrannical, more centralized than the Bourbon monarchy, in its palmiest days, had ever dreamed of being. Montesquieu's sacred doctrine of the separation of powers, which the Constituent Assembly had found so excellent, was ignored.

A provisional government established

The machinery of this provisional government consisted of two important committees, appointed by the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security; also of representatives on mission, of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of the political clubs and committees of surveillance in the cities and villages throughout the country.

The Committee of Public Safety consisted at first of nine, later of twelve members. Chosen by the Convention for a term of a month, they were, as a matter of fact, reëlected month after month, changes only occurring when parties changed in the Assembly. Thus Danton, upon whose suggestion the original committee had been created, was not a member of the enlarged committee, reorganized after the expulsion of the Girondists. He was dropped because he censured the acts of June 2, and his enemy Robespierre became the leading member. At first this committee was charged simply with the management of foreign affairs and of the army, but in the end it became practically omnipotent, directing the state as no single despot had ever done, intervening in every department of the nation's affairs, even holding the Convention itself, of which in theory it was the creature, in stern and terrified subjection to itself. Installing itself in the palace of the Tuileries, in the former royal apartments, it developed a prodigious activity, framing endless decrees, tossing thousands of men to the guillotine, sending thousands upon thousands against the enemies of France, guiding, animating, tyrannizing ruthlessly a people which had taken such pains to declare itself free, only to find its fragile liberties, so resoundingly affirmed in the famous Declaration, ground to powder beneath this iron heel. No men ever worked harder in discharging an enormous mass of business of every kind than did the members of the Committee of Public Safety. Hour after hour, around a green table, they listened to reports, framed decrees, appointed officials. Sometimes overcome with weariness they threw

The Committee of Public Safety

themselves on mattresses spread upon the floor of their committee room, snatched two or three hours of sleep, then roused themselves to the racking work again. Under them was the Committee of General Security whose business was really police duty, maintaining order throughout the country, throwing multitudes of suspected persons into prison, whence they emerged only to encounter another redoubtable organ of this government, the Revolutionary Tribunal.

The Committee of General Security

This Tribunal had been created at Danton's suggestion. It was an extraordinary criminal court, instituted for the purpose of trying traitors and conspirators rapidly. No appeal could be taken from its decisions. Its sentences were always sentences of death. Later, when Robespierre dominated the Committee of Public Safety, the number of judges was increased and they were divided into four sections, all holding sessions at the same time. Appointed by the Committee, the Revolutionary Tribunal servilely carried out its orders. It acted with a rapidity that made a cruel farce of justice. A man might be informed at ten o'clock that he was to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal at eleven. By two o'clock he was sentenced, by four he was executed.

The Revolutionary Tribunal

The Committee of Public Safety had another organ — the representatives on mission. These were members of the Convention sent, two to each department, and two to each army, to see that the will of the Convention was carried out. Their powers were practically unlimited. They could not themselves pronounce the sentence of death but a word from them was sufficient to send to the Revolutionary Tribunal any one who incurred their suspicion or displeasure.

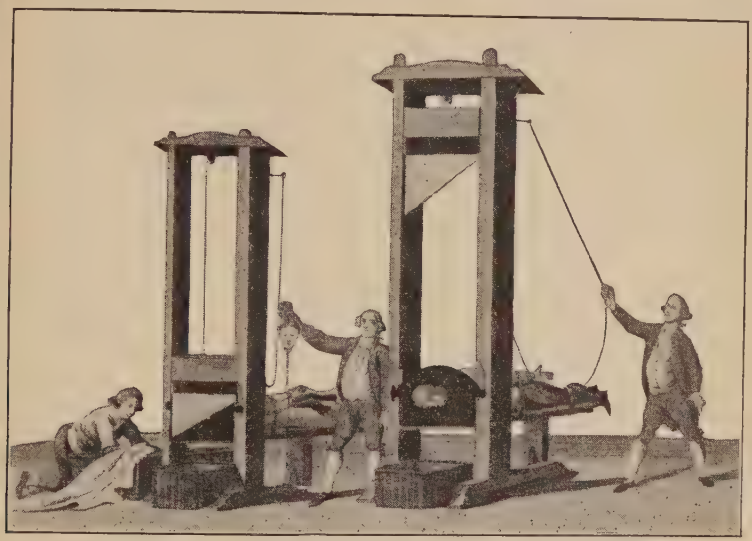
Representatives on mission

There were other parts of this governmental machinery, wheels within wheels, revolutionary clubs, affiliated with the Jacobin Club in Paris, revolutionary committees of surveillance. Through them the will of the great Committee of Public Safety penetrated to the tiniest hamlet, to the remotest corner of the land. The Republic was held tight in this closely-woven mesh.

This machinery was created to meet a national need, of the most pressing character. The country was in danger, in direst danger, of submersion under a flood of invasion; also in danger of disruption from within. The authors of this system were originally men who appre-

ciated the critical situation, who grasped facts as they were, who were resolute to put down every foreign and domestic enemy, and who thrilled the people with their appeals to boundless, self-sacrificing patriotism. Had this machinery been used in the way and for the purpose intended, it is not likely that it would have enjoyed the dismal, repellent reputation with pos-

Purpose of this governmental machinery



THE GUILLOTINE
After a contemporary drawing.

erity which it has enjoyed. France would have willingly endured and anctioned a direct and strong government, ruthlessly subordinating personal happiness and even personal security to the needs of national welare. No cause could be higher, and none makes a wider or surer appeal o men. But the system was not restricted to this end. It was applied o satisfy personal and party intrigues and rancors, it was used to further he ambitions of individuals, it was crassly distorted and debased. The system did not spring full blown from the mind of any man or any roup. It grew piece by piece, now this item being added, now that. hose who fashioned it believed that only by appealing to or arousing one of the emotions of men, fear, could the overnment get their complete and energetic support. The success of

A system based on fear

the Revolution could not be assured simply by love or admiration
its principles and its deeds — that was proved by events, the difficulti
had only increased. There were too many persons who hated the Rev
lution. But even these had an emotion that could be touched, the sen
of fear, horror, dread. That, too, is a powerful incentive to action. "L
terror be the order of the day," such was the official philosophy of t
creators of this government, and it has given their system its nam
Punish disloyalty swiftly and pitilessly and you create loyalty, if n
from love, at least from fear, which will prove a passable substitute!

The Committee of Public Safety and the Convention lost no time
striking a fast pace. To meet the needs of the war a general call for troo

Activity of the Committee of Public Safety

was issued. Seven hundred and fifty thousand men we
secured. "What we need is audacity, and more audacit
and always audacity" was a phrase epitomizing this a
pect of history, a phrase thrown out by Danton, a ma
who knew how to sound the bugle call, knew how to mint the passion
the hour in striking form and give it the impress of his dynamic pe
sonality. Carnot, one of the members of the Committee of Publ
Safety, performed herculean feats in getting this enormous mass
men equipped, disciplined, and officered. A dozen armies were th

Great citizen armies raised

result and they were hurled in every direction at the en
mies of France. Representatives of the Convention a
companied each general, demanding victory of him or letting him kno
that his head would fall if victory were not forthcoming. Some faile
even under this terrific incentive, this literal choice between victory
death, and they went to the scaffold. It was an inhuman punishmer
but it had tremendous effects, inspiring desperate energy. The armi
made superhuman efforts and were wonderfully successful. A group
fearless, reckless, and thoroughly competent commanders emerge
rapidly from the ranks. We shall shortly observe the reaction of thes
triumphant campaigns upon the domestic political situation.

While this terrific effort to hurl back the invaders of France was goin
on, the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in a lynx-eyed, com
prehensive campaign at home against all domestic enemies or perso
accused of being such. By the famous law of "suspects," every one i

The law of "suspects"

France was brought within its iron grip. This law was s
loosely and vaguely worded, it indicated so many classe
of individuals, that under its provisions practically any one in Franc

could be arrested and sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. All were guilty of treason, and punishable with death, who "having done nothing against liberty have nevertheless done nothing for it." No guilty, and also no innocent, man could be sure of escaping so elastic a law, or, if arrested, could expect justice from a court which ignored the usual forms of law, which, ultimately, deprived prisoners of the right to counsel, and which condemned them in batches. Yet the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which had seemed a new evangel to an optimistic world, had stated that henceforth no one should be arrested or imprisoned except in cases determined by law and according to the forms of law.

A tree is judged by its fruits. Consider the results in this case. In every city, town, and hamlet of France arrests of suspected persons were made *en masse*, and judgment and execution were rendered in almost the same summary and comprehensive fashion. Only a few instances can be selected from this calendar of crime. The city of Lyons had sprung to the defense of the Girondists after their expulsion from the Convention on June 2. It took four months and a half and a considerable army to put down the opposition of this, the second city of France. When this was accomplished the Convention passed a fierce decree: "The city of Lyons is to be destroyed. Every house which was inhabited by the rich shall be demolished. There will remain only the homes of the poor, of patriots, and buildings especially employed for industries, and those edifices dedicated to humanity and to education." The name of this famous city was to be obliterated. It was henceforth to be known as the Liberated City (*Commune affranchie*). This savage sentence was not carried out, demolition on so large a scale not being easy. Only a few buildings were blown to pieces. But over 3,500 persons were arrested and nearly half of them were executed. The authorities began by shooting each one individually. The last were mowed down in batches by cannon or musketry fire. Similar scenes were enacted, though not on so extensive a scale, in Toulon and Marseilles.

Terror the order of the day

Treatment of Lyons

It was for the Vendée that the worst ferocities were reserved. The Vendée had been in rebellion against the Republic, and in the interest of counter-revolution. The people had been angered by the laws against the priests. Moreover the people of that section refused to fight in the Republic's armies. It was entirely legitimate for the government to crush this rebellion and it did so

Treatment of the Vendée

after an indescribably cruel war, in which neither side gave quarter. Carrier, the representative on mission sent out by the Convention, established a gruesome record for barbarity. He did not adopt the method followed by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris which at least pretended to try the accused before sentencing them to death. This was too slow a process. Prisoners were shot in squads, nearly 2,000 of them. Drowning was resorted to. Carrier's victims were bound, put in boats, and the boats then sunk in the river Loire. Women and children were among the number. Even the Committee of Public Safety was shocked at Carrier's fiendish ingenuity and demanded an explanation. He had the insolence to pretend that the drownings were accidental. "Is it my fault that the boats did not reach their destination?" he asked. The number of bodies in the river was so great that the water was poisoned and for that reason the city government of Nantes forbade the eating of fish. Carrier was later removed by the Committee, but was not further punished by it, though ultimately he found his way to the guillotine.

Meanwhile at Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal was daily sending its victims to the guillotine, after trials which were travesties of justice.

Activities of the Revolutionary Tribunal

Guillotines were erected in two of the public squares and each day saw its executions. Week after week went by, and head after head dropped into the insatiable basket. Many of the victims were *émigrés* or non-juring priests who had come back to France, others were generals who had failed of the indispensable victory and had been denounced as traitors. Others still were persons who had favored the Revolution at an earlier stage and had worked for it, but who had later been on the losing side in the fierce party contests which had rent the Convention. Nowadays political struggles lead to the overthrow of ministers. But in France, as in Renaissance Italy, they led to the death of the defeated party, or at least of its leaders. As the blood-madness grew in intensity, it was voted by the Convention, in order to speed up the murderous pace, that the Revolutionary Tribunal after hearing a case for three days might then decide it without further examination if it considered "its conscience sufficiently enlightened."

The Girondists were conspicuous victims. Twenty-one of them were guillotined on October 31, 1793, among them Madame Roland, who went to the scaffold "fresh, calm, smiling," according to a friend

who saw her go. She had regretted that she "had not been born a Spartan or a Roman," a superfluous regret, as was shown by the manner of her death, "at only thirty-nine," words with which she closed the passionate *Memoirs* she wrote while in prison. Mounting the scaffold she caught sight of a statue of liberty. "O Liberty, how they've played with you!" she exclaimed.

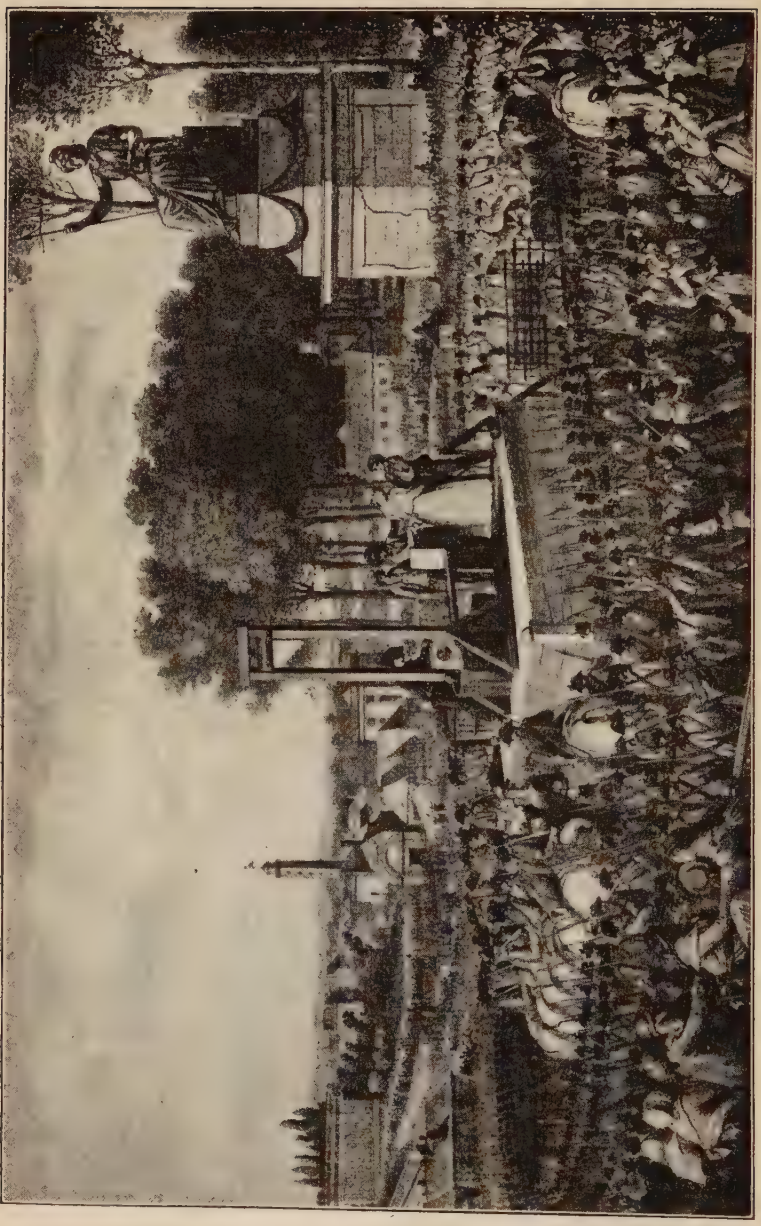
The execution of the Girondist leaders

She had been preceded some days before by Marie Antoinette, the daughter of an empress, the wife of a king, child of fortune and of misfortune beyond compare. The Queen had been subjected to an obscene trial, accused of indescribable vileness, the corruption of her son. "If I have not answered," she cried, "it is because nature herself rejects such a charge made against a mother: I appeal to all who are here." This woman's cry so moved the audience to sympathy that the officials cut the trial short, allowing the lawyers only fifteen minutes to finish. The Queen bore herself courageously. She did not flinch. She was brave to the end. Marie Antoinette has never ceased to command the sympathy of posterity, as her tragic story and the fall to which her errors partly led and the proud and noble courage with which she met her mournful fate have never ceased to move its pity and respect. She stands in history as one of its most melancholy figures.

The execution of Marie Antoinette (October 16, 1793)

Charlotte Corday, a Norman girl, who had stabbed the notorious Marat to death, thinking thus to free her country, paid the penalty with serenity and dignity. All through these months men witnessed a tragic procession up the scaffold's steps of those who were great by position or character or service or reputation; Bailly, celebrated as an astronomer and as the Mayor of Paris in the early Revolution; the Duke of Orleans, who had played a shameless part in the Revolution, having been demagogue enough to discard his name and call himself Philip Equality, and having infamously voted, as a member of the Convention, for the death of his cousin, Louis XVI; Barnave, next to Mirabeau one of the most brilliant leaders of the Constituent Assembly; and so it went, daily executions in Paris and still others in the provinces. Some fleeing the terror that walked by day and night, caught at bay, committed suicide, like Cordorcet, last of the philosophers, and gifted theorist of the Republic. Still others wandered through the countryside haggard, gaunt, and were finally shot down, as

The Reign of Terror



THE EXECUTION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE

beasts of the field. Yet all this did not constitute "the Great Terror," as it was called. That came later.

Thus far there was at least a semblance or pretense of punishing the enemies of the Republic, the enemies of France. But now these odious methods were to be used as means of destroying political and personal enemies. Politics assumed the character and risks of war.

We have seen that since August 10, 1792, there were two powers in the state, the Commune or Government of Paris and the Convention or Government of France, now directed by the Committee of Public Safety. These two had in the main coöperated thus far, overthrowing the monarchy, overthrowing the Girondists. But now dissension raised its head and harmony was no more. The Commune was in the control of the most violent party that the Revolution had developed. Its leaders were Hébert and Chaumette. Hébert conducted a journal, the *Père Duchesne*, which was both obscene and profane and which was widely read in Paris by the lowest classes. Hébert and Chaumette reigned in the City Hall, drew their strength from the rabble of the streets which they knew how to incite and hurl at their enemies. They were ultra-radicals, audacious, truculent. They constantly demanded new and redoubled applications of terror. For a while they dominated the Convention. Carrier, one of the Convention's representatives on mission, was really a tool of the Commune.

The Commune versus the Convention

The extreme radicalism of the Commune

It was the Commune which now forced the Convention to attempt the dechristianization of France. For this purpose a new calendar was desired, a calendar that should discard Sundays, saints' days, religious festivals, and set up novel and entirely secular divisions of time. Henceforth the month was to be divided not into weeks, but into decades or periods of ten days. Every tenth day was to be the rest day. The days of the months were changed to indicate natural phenomena, July becoming Thermidor, or period of heat; April becoming Germinal, or budding time; November becoming Brumaire, or period of fogs. Henceforth men were to date, not from the birth of Christ, but from the birth of Liberty. The Year One of Liberty began September 21, 1792. The world was young again. The day was divided into ten hours, not twenty-four, and the ten were subdivided and subdivided into smaller units. This calendar was made obligatory. But great was the havoc created

Attempted dechristianization of France

A republican calendar

by the new chronology. Parents were required to instruct their children in the new method of reckoning time. But the parents had been brought up on the old system and experienced much difficulty in telling what time of day it was according to the new terminology. Watchmakers were driven to add another circle to the faces of their watches. One circle carried the familiar set of figures, the other carried the new. Thus was one difficulty partially conjured away. The new calendar lasted twelve years. It was frankly and intentionally anti-Christian. The Christian era was repudiated.

MLLE. MAILLARD, "GODDESS OF REASON"
After the painting by Garneray.

More important was the attempt to improvise a new religion. Reason was henceforth to be worshipped, no longer the Christian God. A beginning was made in the campaign for dechristianization by removing the bells from the churches, "the Eternal's gewgaws," they were called, and by making cannon and coin out of them. Death was declared to be "but an eternal sleep" — thus Heaven, and Hell as well, was abolished. There was a demand that church spires be torn down "as by their domination over other buildings, they seem to violate the principle of equality," and many were consequently sacrificed. This sorry business reached its climax in the formal establishment by the Commune of Paris of the Worship of Reason. On November 10, 1793, the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame was converted into a "Temple of Reason." The ceremony of that day has been famous for a century and its fame may last another. A dancer from the opera, wearing the three colors of the republic, sat, as the Goddess of Reason, upon the Altar of Liberty, where formerly the Holy Virgin had been enthroned, and received the homage of her devotees. After this many other churches in Paris, and even in

Campaign against "superstition"

The Worship of Reason

the provinces, were changed into Temples of Reason. The sacred vessels used in Catholic services were burned or melted down. In some cases the stone saints that ornamented, or at least diversified, the façades of churches, were thrown down and broken or burned. At Nôtre Dame in Paris they were boarded over, and thus preserved for a period when their contamination would not be feared or felt. Every tenth day services were held. They might take the form of philosophical or political discourses, or the form of popular banquets or balls.

The proclamation of this Worship of Reason was the high-water mark in the fortunes of the Commune. The Convention had been compelled to yield, the Committee of Public Safety to acquiesce in conduct of which it did not approve. Robespierre was irritated, partly because he had a religion of his own which he preferred and which he wished in time to bring forward and impose upon France, partly because as a member of the great Committee he resented the existence of a rival so powerful as the Commune. The Hébertists had shot their bolt. Robespierre now shot his. In a carefully prepared speech he declared that "Atheism is aristocratic. The idea of a supreme Being who watches over oppressed innocence and who punishes triumphant crime, is thoroughly democratic." He furtively urged on all attacks upon the blasphemous Commune, as when Danton declared, "These anti-religious masquerades in the Convention must cease."

Robespierre opposes the Hébertists

But Robespierre was the secret enemy of Danton as well, though for very different reason. The Commune stood for the Terror in all its forms and demanded that it be maintained in all its vigor. On the other hand Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their friends, ardent supporters of the Terror as long as it was necessary, believed that now the need for it had passed and wished its rigor mitigated and the system gradually abandoned. The armies of the Republic were everywhere successful, the invaders had been driven back, and domestic insurrections had been stamped out. Sick at heart of bloodshed now that it was no longer required, the Dantonists began to recommend clemency to the Convention.

Robespierre opposes the Dantonists

The Committee of Public Safety was opposed to both these factions, the Hébertists and the Dantonists, and Robespierre was at the center of an intrigue to ruin both. The description of the machinations and manoeuvres which went on in the Convention cannot be undertaken here. To make them clear would require much space. It must suffice to say

that first the Committee directed all its powers against the Commun

The overthrow of the Commune

and dared on March 13, 1794, to order the arrest of Hébe and his friends. Eleven days later they were guillotine The rivalry of the Commune was over. The Conventio was supreme. But the Committee had no desire to bring the Terror t an end. Several of its members saw their own doom in any lessening o its severity. Looking out for their own heads, they therefore resolve to kill Danton, as the representative of the dangerous policy of modera tion. This man who had personified as no one else had done the nationa temper in its crusade against the allied monarchs, who had been the ver central pillar of the state in a terrible crisis, who, when France was fo a moment discouraged, had nerved her to new effort by the electrifyin cry, "We must dare and dare again and dare without end," now fell victim to the wretched and frenzied internecine struggles of the politician because, now that the danger was over, he advocated, with his vastl

Danton advocates a return to moderate policies

heightened prestige, a return to moderation and conciliatio Terror as a means of annihilating his country's enemi he approved. Terror as a means of oppressing his fellow countrymen, the crisis once passed, he deplored and trie to stop. He failed. The wheel was tearing around too rapidly. H was one of the tempestuous victims of the Terror. When he pleade for peace, for a cessation of sanguinary and ferocious partisan politic his rivals turned venomously, murderously against him. Conscious his patriotism he did not believe that they would dare to strike him. friend entered his study as he was sitting before the fire in revery ar told him that the Committee of Public Safety had ordered his arre "Well, then, what then?" said Danton. "You must resist." "Th means the shedding of blood, and I am sick of it. I would rather be gu lotined than guillotine," he replied. He was urged to fly. "Whith fly?" he answered. "You do not carry your country on the sole your shoe," and he muttered, "They will not dare, they will not dare

But they did dare. The next day he was in prison. In prison he w heard to say, "A year ago I proposed the establishment of the Revol

Arrest and execution of Danton

tionary Tribunal. I ask pardon for it, of God and man And again, "I leave everything in frightful confusion; n one of them understands anything of government. Rob spierre will follow me. I drag down Robespierre. One had better be poor fisherman than meddle with the governing of men." On the sc

old he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" His last words were addressed o the executioner. "Show my head to the people; it is worth showing."

The fall of Danton left Robespierre the most conspicuous person on he scene, the most influential member of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety. He was master of the Jacobins. The Commune was filled with his friends, anxious to do his bidding. The Revolutionary Tribunal was controlled and operated by his followers. For nearly four months, from April 5 to July 27, he was practically dictator.

Robespierre dictator

A very singular despot for a people like the French. His qualities were not those which have characterized the leaders or the masses of that nation. The most authoritative French historian of this period, Aulard, notes this fact. As politician Robespierre was "astute, mysterious, undecipherable." What we see of his soul most repellent to our French instincts of frankness and loyalty. Robespierre was a hypocrite and he erected hypocrisy into a system of government."

ROBESPIERRE
After a contemporary sketch attributed to Gérard.

He had begun as a small provincial lawyer. He fed upon Rousseau, and was the narrow and anemic embodiment of Rousseau's ideas. He had made his reputation at the Jacobin Club, where he delivered speeches carefully retouched and finished, abounding in platitudes that pleased, entirely lacking in the fire, the dash, the stirring, impromptu phrases of a Mirabeau or a Danton. His style was

Character of Robespierre

correct, mediocre, thin, formal, academic. "Virtue" was his stock i trade and he made virtue odious by his everlasting talk of it, by h smug assumption of moral superiority, approaching even the hazardou pretension to perfection. He was forever singing his own praises wit a lamentable lack of humor and of taste. "I have never bowed beneat the yoke of baseness and corruption," he said. He won the title of "Th Incorruptible."

As a politician his policy had been to use up his enemies, and ever rival was an enemy, by suggesting vaguely but opportunely that the were impure, corrupt, immoral, and by setting the springs in motio that landed them on the scaffold. He had himself stepped softly, warily past the ambushes that lay in wait for the careless or the impetuou By such processes he had survived and was now the man of the hou immensely popular with the masses, and feared by those who dislike him. How would he use his power, his opportunity?

He used it, not to bring peace to a sadly distracted country, not t heal the wounds, not to clinch the work of the Revolution, but to a

The "Reign of Virtue"

tempt to force a great nation to enact into legislation th ideas of a highly sentimental philosopher, Rousseau. was to be a Reign of Virtue. Robespierre's ambition was to make vi tue triumphant, a laudable purpose, if the definition of virtue be sati factory and the methods for bringing about her reign honorable an humane. But in this case they were not.

Robespierre stands revealed, as he also stands condemned, by th two acts associated with his career as dictator, the proclamation of new religion and the Law of Prairial altering for the worse the alread monstrous Revolutionary Tribunal. Robespierre had once said in publi

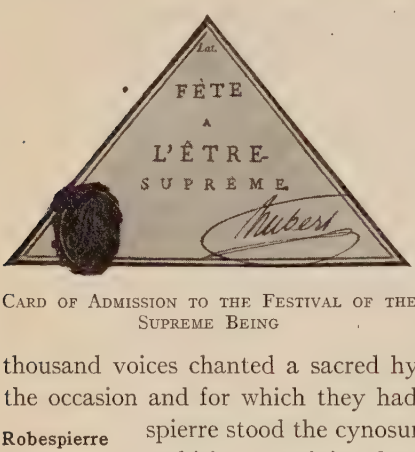
The Worship of the Supreme Being

"If God did not exist we should have to invent Him Fortunately for a man of such poverty of thought as he, did not have to resort to invention but found God alread invented by his idolized Rousseau. He devoted his atte tion to getting the Convention to give official sanction to Rousseau ideas concerning the Deity. The Convention at his instigation formal recognized "the existence of the Supreme Being and the Immortali of the Soul." On June 8, a festival was held in honor of the new religio quite as famous, in its way, as the ceremonies connected with the inaug ration, a few months before, of the Worship of Reason. It was a wo drous spectacle, staged by the master hand of the artist David. A va

A Representation of the Mountain erected over the Altar to the Fatherland on the Champ de Mars, and of the National Convention marching up to the Summit at the Fête to the Supreme Being, June 8, 1794

From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution.*

amphitheater was erected in the gardens of the Tuileries. Thithe marched the members of the Convention in solemn procession, carryin flowers and sheaves of grain, Robespierre at the head, for he was pres dent that day and played th pontiff, a part which suited hin He set fire to colossal figure symbolizing Atheism and Vic and then floated forth upon a lon rhapsody. "Here," he cried fro the platform, "is the Univers assembled. O Nature, how sub lime, how exquisite, thy powe How tyrants will pale at th tidings of our feast!" A hundre thousand voices chanted a sacred hymn which had been composed fo the occasion and for which they had been training for a week. Robe spierre stood the cynosure of all eyes, at the very summit o ambition, receiving boundless admiration as he thus in augurated the new worship of the Supreme Being, an breathed the intoxicating incense that arose. Profound was the iron of this scene, the incredible culmination of a century of skepticism Some ungodly persons made merry over this mummery, indulging i indiscreet gibes at "The Incorruptible's" expense. The power of sa casm was not yet dead in France, as this man who never smiled no learned.



CARD OF ADMISSION TO THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING

Robespierre Supreme Pontiff

Two days later Robespierre caused a bill to be introduced into th Convention which showed that this delicate hand could brandish dag gers as well as carry flowers and shocks of corn. The irreverent, the dan gerous, must be swept like chaff into the burning pit. This bill, whic became the Law of 22d Prairial, made the procedure o the Revolutionary Tribunal more murderous still. Th accused were deprived of counsel. Witnesses need not be heard i cases where the prosecutor could adduce any material or "moral" proo Any kind of opposition to the government was made punishable wit death. The question of guilt was left to the "enlightened conscience of the jury. The jury was purged of all members who were supposed t be lukewarm toward Robespierre. The accused might be sent before th packed and servile court either by the Convention, or by the Committe

The Law of Prairial

of Public Safety, or by the Committee of General Security, or by the public prosecutor alone. In other words, any life in France was at the mercy of this latter official, Fouquier-Tinville, a tool of Robespierre. The members of the Convention itself were no safer than others, nor were the members of the great Committee, if they incurred the displeasure of the dictator.

Now began what is called the Great Terror, as if to distinguish it from what had preceded. In the thirteen months which had preceded the 22d of Prairial 1,200 persons had been guillotined in Paris. In the forty-nine days between that date and the fall of Robespierre, on the 9th of Thermidor, 1,376 were guillotined. On two days alone, namely the 7th and 8th of July, 150 persons were executed. Day after day the butchery went on. **The Great Terror**

It brought about the fall of Robespierre. This hideous measure united its enemies, those who feared him because they stood for clemency, and those who feared him because, though Terrorists themselves, they knew that he had marked them for destruction. They could lose no more by opposing him than by acquiescing, and if they could overthrow him they would gain the safety of their heads. Thus in desperation and in terror was woven a conspiracy — not to end the Terror, but to end Robespierre.

The storm broke on July 27, 1794 (the 9th of Thermidor). When Robespierre attempted to speak in the Convention, which had cowered under him and at his demand had indelibly debased itself by passing the infamous law of Prairial, he was shouted down. Cries of "Down with the tyrant!" were heard. Attempting to arouse the people in the galleries, he this time met with no response. The magic was gone. There was a confused, noisy struggle, lasting several hours. Robespierre's voice failed him. "Danton's blood is choking him!" exclaimed one of the conspirators. Finally the Convention voted his arrest and that of his satellites, his brother, Saint-Just, and Couthon. **The arrest of Robespierre**

All was not yet lost. The Revolutionary Tribunal was devoted to Robespierre and, if tried, there was an excellent chance that he would be acquitted. The Commune likewise was favorable to him. It took the initiative. It announced an insurrection. Its agents broke into his prison, released him, and bore him to the City Hall. Thereupon the Convention, hearing of this act of rebellion, declared him and his asso-

ciates outlaws. No trial therefore was necessary. As soon as re-arrest he would be guillotined. During the evening and early hours of t night a confused attempt to organize an attack against the Conventi went on. But a little before midnight a drenching storm dispersed h thousands of supporters in the square. Moreover Robespierre hesitate lacked the spirit of decision and daring. The whole matter was ended i

Overthrow and execution of Robespierre

the Convention sending troops against the Commune. two in the morning these troops seized the Hôtel de Vi and arrested Robespierre and the leading members of t Commune. Robespierre had been wounded in the fray, h jaw fractured by a bullet.

He was borne to the Convention, which declined to receive him. "T Convention unanimously refused to let him be brought into the sanct ary of the law which he had so long polluted," so ran the official repo of this session. That day he and twenty others were sent to the guill tine. An enormous throng witnessed the scene and broke into wi acclaim. On the two following days eighty-three more executions to place.

France breathed more freely. The worst, evidently, was over. the succeeding months the system of the Terror was gradually aba

The Thermidorian reaction

doned. This is what is called the Thermidorian reactio The various branches of the terrible machine of governme were either destroyed or greatly altered. A milder régi began. The storm did not subside at once, but it subsided steadi though not without several violent shocks, several attempts on t part of the dwindling Jacobins to recover their former position by aga letting loose the street mobs. The policy of the Convention came to summed up in the cry "Death to the Terror and to Monarchy!" T Convention was now controlled by the moderates but it was unanimous republican. Signs that a monarchical party was reappearing, deman ing the restoration of the Bourbons, but not of the Old Régime, prompt the Convention to counter-measures designed to strengthen and p petuate the Republic.

To accomplish this and thus prevent the relapse into monarchy, t Convention drew up a new constitution, the third in six years. Thou the radicals of Paris demanded vociferously that the suspended C stitution of 1793 be now put into force, the Convention refused, fi ing it too "anarchical" a document. Instead, it framed the Constituti

of 1795 or of the Year Three. Universal suffrage was abandoned, the motive being to reduce the political importance of the Parisian populace. Democracy, established on August 10, 1792, was replaced by a suffrage based upon property. There was practically no protest. The example of the American states was quoted, none of which at that time admitted universal suffrage. The suffrage became practically what it had been under the monarchical Constitution of 1791. The national legislature was henceforth to consist of two chambers, not one, as had its predecessors. The example of America was again cited. "Nearly all the constitutions of these states," said one member, "our seniors in the cause of liberty, have divided the legislature into two chambers; and the result has been public tranquillity." It was, however, chiefly the experience which France had herself had with single-chambered legislatures during the last few years that caused her to abandon that form. One of the chambers was to be called the Council of Elders. This was to consist of 250 members, who must be at least forty years of age, and be either married or widowers. The other, the Council of the Five Hundred, was to consist of members of at least thirty years of age. This council alone was to have the right to propose laws, which could, however, not be put into force unless accepted by the Council of Elders.

The Constitution of 1795

Provides for a legislature of two houses

The executive power was to be exercised by a Directory, consisting of five persons, of at least forty years of age, elected by the Councils, one retiring each year. The example of America was again recommended but was not followed because the Convention feared that a single executive, a president, might remind the French too sharply of monarchy or might become a new Robespierre.

The Directory

The Constitution of 1795 was eminently the result of experience, not of abstract theorizing. It established a *bourgeois* republic, as the Constitution of 1791 had established a *bourgeois* monarchy. The Republic was in the hands, therefore, of a privileged class, property being the privilege.

The Republic no longer democratic

But the Convention either did not wish or did not dare to trust the voters to elect whom they might desire to the new Councils. Was there not danger that they might elect monarchists and so hand over the new republican constitution to its enemies? Would the members of the Convention, who enjoyed power, who did not wish to step down and out, and

yet who knew that they were unpopular because of the record of the Convention, stand any chance of election to the new legislature? Yet the habit of power was agreeable to them. Would the Republic be safe? Was it not their first duty to provide that it should not fall into hostile hands?

Under the influence of such considerations the Convention passed two decrees, supplementary to the constitution, providing that two-thirds of each Council should be chosen from the present members of the Convention.

The decrees of the two-thirds

The constitution was overwhelmingly approved by the voters to whom it was submitted for ratification. But the two decrees aroused decided opposition. They were represented as a barefaced device whereby men who knew themselves unpopular could keep themselves in power for a while longer. Although the decrees were finally ratified, it was by much smaller majorities than had ratified the constitution. The vote of Paris was overwhelmingly against them.

Nor did Paris remain contented with casting a hostile vote. It proposed to prevent this consummation. An insurrection was organized against the Convention, this time by the bourgeois and wealthier people, in reality a royalist project. The Convention intrusted its defense to Barras as commander-in-chief.

Opposition to the decrees

Barras, who was more a politician than a general, called to his aid a little Corsican officer twenty-five years old who, two years before, had helped recover Toulon for the Republic. This little Buona-Parte, for this is the form in which the famous name appears in the official reports of the day, was an artillery officer, a believer in the efficacy of that weapon. Hearing that there were forty cannon in a camp outside the city in danger of being seized by the insurgents, Bonaparte sent a young dare-devil cavalryman, Joachim Murat, to get them. Murat and his men dashed at full speed through the city, drove back the insurgents, seized the cannon and dragged them, always at full speed, to the Tuileries, which they reached by six o'clock in the morning. As one writer has said, "Neither the little general nor the superb cavalier dreamed that, in giving Barras cannon to be used against royalists, each was winning a crown for himself."

The cannon were placed about the Tuileries, where sat the Convention, rendering it impregnable. Every member of the Convention was given a rifle and cartridges. On the 13th of Vendémiaire (October 5

on came the insurgents in two columns, down the streets on both sides of the Seine. Suddenly at four-thirty in the afternoon a violent cannonading was heard. It was Bonaparte making his début. The Convention was saved and an astounding career was begun. This is what Carlyle, in his vivid way, calls "the whiff of grapeshot which ends what we specifically call the French Revolution," an imaginative and inaccurate statement. Though it did not end the Revolution, it did, however, end one phase of it and inaugurated another.

The insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire, (October 5, 1795)

Three weeks later, on October 26, 1795, the Convention declared itself dissolved. It had had an extraordinary history, only a few aspects of which have been described in this brief account. In the three years of its existence it had displayed prodigious activity along many lines. Meeting in the midst of appalling national difficulties born of internal dissension and foreign war, attacked by sixty departments of France and by an astonishing array of foreign powers, England, Prussia, Austria, Piedmont, Holland, Spain, it had triumphed all along the line. Civil war had been stamped out and in the summer of 1795 three hostile states, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, made peace with France and withdrew from the war. France was actually in possession of the Austrian Netherlands and of the German provinces on the west bank of the Rhine. She had practically attained the so-called natural boundaries. War still continued with Austria and England. That problem was passed on to the Directory.

The Convention comes to an end

Its record of victories

During these three years the Convention had proclaimed the Republic in the classic land of monarchy, had voted two constitutions, had sanctioned two forms of worship and had finally separated church and state, a thing of extreme difficulty in any European country. It had put a king to death, had organized and endured a reign of tyranny, which long discredited the very idea of a republic among multitudes of the French, and which immeasurably weakened the Republic by cutting off so many men who, had they lived, would have been its natural and experienced defenders for a full generation longer, since most of them were young. The Republic used up its material recklessly, so that when the man arrived who wished to end it and establish his personal rule, this sallow Italian Buona-Parte, his task was comparatively easy, the opposition being leaderless or poorly

The Convention and the Republic

led. On the other hand, the Republic had had its thrilling victories, it heroes, and its martyrs, whose careers and teachings were to be factor in the history of France for fully a century to come.

The Convention had also worked mightily and achieved much in th avenues of peaceful development. It had given France

Peaceful achievements of the Convention

system of weights and measures, more perfect than th world had ever seen, the metric system, since widel adopted by other countries. It had laid the foundation and done the preliminary work for a codification of the laws, a

The metric system

achievement which Napoleon was to carry to completio and of which he was to monopolize the renown. It de voted fruitful attention to the problem of national education, believin with Danton, that "next to bread, education is the first need of th people," and that there ought to be a national system, free, compulsory and entirely secular. The time has come, said the eloquent tribune, t

The problem of popular education

establish the great principle which appears to be ignored "that children belong to the Republic before they belon to their parents." A great system of primary and secon dary education was elaborated but it was not put into actual operation owing to the lack of funds. On the other hand, much was done for cer

Important educational institutions created

tain special schools. Among the invaluable creations o the Convention were certain institutions whose fame ha steadily increased, whose influence has been profound, th Normal School, the Polytechnic School, the Law an Medical Schools of Paris, the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, the Na tional Archives, the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library, an the Institute. While some of these had their roots in earlier institu tions, all such were so reorganized and amplified and enriched as t make them practically new. To keep the balance of our judgmen clear we should recall these imperishable services to civilization ren dered by the same assembly which is more notorious because of it connection with the iniquitous Reign of Terror. The Republic had it glorious trophies, its honorable records, from which later times were t derive inspiration and instruction.

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CHAPTER VII

THE DIRECTORY

The Directory lasted from October 27, 1795, to November 19, 179

The Directory (1795–1799)

It took its name from the form of the executive branch the Republic, as determined by the Constitution of 179 Its history of four years was troubled, uncertain, and ende in its violent overthrow.

Its first and most pressing problem was the continued prosecutio of the war. As already stated, Prussia, Spain, and Holland had with

Its first problem the prosecution of the war

drawn from the coalition and had made peace with the Convention. But England, Austria, Piedmont, and the lesser German states were still in arms against the Republic. The first duty of the Directory was, therefore, to continue the war with them and to defeat them. France had already overrun the Austrian Netherlands, that is, modern Belgium, and had declared them annexed to France. But to compel Austria, the owner, to recognize this annexation she must be beaten. The Directory, therefore proceeded with vigor to concentrate its attention upon this object. As France had thrown back her invaders, the fighting was no longer on French soil. She now became the invader, and that long series of conquests of variou European countries by aggressive French armies began which was to end only twenty years later with the fall o the greatest commander of modern times, if not of all his tory. The campaign against Austria, planned by the Di rectory, included two parallel and aggressive movements against tha

A Director in Official Costume
Redrawn after a sketch by Le Dru.

The campaign against Austria

country — an attack through southern Germany, down the valley of the Danube, ending, it was hoped, at Vienna. This was the campaign north of the Alps. South of the Alps, in northern Italy, France had enemies in Piedmont or Sardinia and again in Austria, which had possession of the central and rich part of the Po valley, namely, Lombardy, with Milan as the capital.

CHARLES BONAPARTE
After the painting by Belliard, engraved by Read.

The campaign in Germany was confided to Jourdan and Moreau; that in Italy to General Bonaparte, who made of it a stepping-stone to fame and power incomparable.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio in Corsica in 1769, a short time after the island had been sold by Genoa to France. The family was of Italian origin but had for two centuries and a half been resident in the island. His father, Charles Bonaparte, was of the nobility but was poor, indolent, pleasure-loving, a lawyer by profession. His mother, Laetitia Ramolino, was a woman of great beauty, of remarkable will, of extraordinary energy. Poorly educated, this "mother of kings" was never able to speak the French language without ridiculous mistakes. She had thirteen children, eight of whom lived to grow up, five boys and three girls. The father died when the youngest, Jerome, was only three months old. Napoleon, the second son, was educated in French military schools at Brienne and Paris, as a sort of charity scholar. He was very unhappy, surrounded as he was by boys who looked down upon him because he was poor while they were rich, because his father was unimportant while theirs belonged to the noblest families in France, because he spoke French like the foreigner he was, Italian being his native tongue. In fact he was tormented in all the ways of which schoolboys are past masters. He became sullen, taciturn, lived

Napoleon Bonaparte, an Italian by descent, a Corsican by birth, a Frenchman by nationality

Napoleon educated at military schools in France

apart by himself, was unpopular with his fellows whom, in turn, he d spised, conscious, as he was, of powers quite equal to any of theirs, of spirit quite as high. His boyish letters home were remarkably seriou

LAETITIA RAMOLINO, NAPOLEON'S MOTHER
From a painting in the Town Hall at Ajaccio.

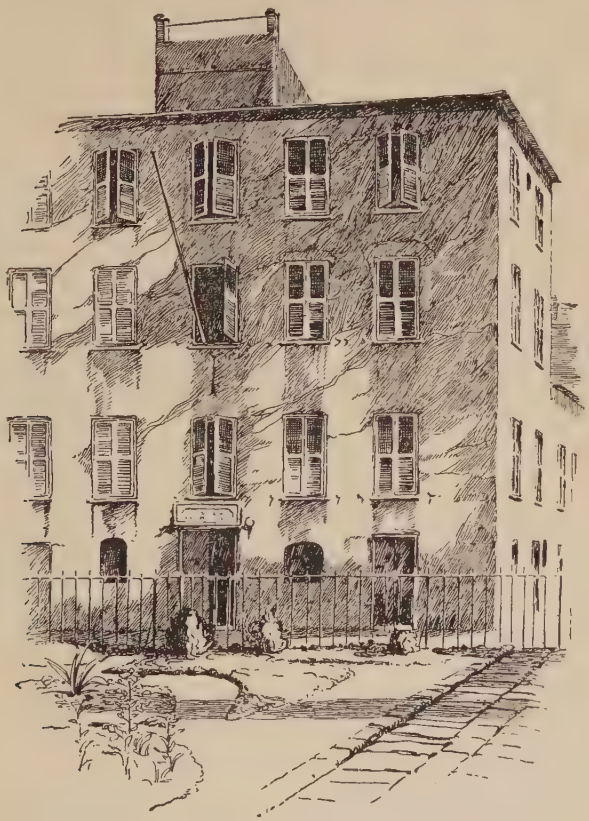
lucid, intelligent. He was e cellent in mathematics, an was fond of history and geog raphy. At the age of sixtee he left the military school an became a second lieutenant artillery. One of his teache described him at this time a follows: "Reserved and studi ous, he prefers study to amuse ment of any kind and enjoy reading the best authors; i diligent in the study of th abstract sciences, caring littl for anything else. He is taci turn and loves solitude, i capricious, haughty, and exces sively self-centered. He talk little but is quick and energeti in his replies, prompt and incisive in repartee. He has great self-esteem, is ambitious with aspirations that will stop at nothing. Is worthy of patronage."

Young Bonaparte read the intoxicating literature of revolt of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Turgot, particularly Rousseau. "Even when I had nothing to do," he said later, "I vaguely thought that I had no time to lose." As a young sub-lieutenant he had a wretchedly small salary. "I have no resources here but work," he wrote his mother. "I sleep very little. I go to bed at ten, I rise at four. I have only one meal a day, at three o'clock." He read history extensively, regarding it as "the torch of truth, the destroyer of prejudice." He tried his hand at writing, essays, novels, but particularly a history of Corsica, for at this time his great ambition was to be the historian of his native land. He hated

"When I was a young lieutenant of artillery," later a favorite phrase with Napoleon

Desires to be an historian

rance and dreamed of a war of independence for Corsica. He spent uch time in Corsica, securing long furloughs, which, moreover, he verstayed. As a consequence he finally lost his position in the army



THE HOUSE AT AJACCIO IN WHICH NAPOLEON WAS BORN
From a drawing by F. Clementson.

ich, though poorly salaried, still gave him a living. He returned to ris in 1792, hoping to regain it, but the disturbed state of affairs was propitious. Without a profession, without resources, he s almost penniless. He ate in cheap restaurants. He wned his watch — and, as an idle but interested specta-, he witnessed some of the famous "days" of the Revolution, the

A spectator of the Revolution

invasion of the Tuileries by the mob on the 20th of June, when Lo XVI was forced to wear the *bonnet rouge*, the attack of August 10 wh he was deposed, the September Massacres. Bonaparte's opinion v that the soldiers should have shot a few hundred, then the crowd wou have run. He was restored to his command in Augu 1792. In 1793 he distinguished himself by helping recov Toulon for the Republic and in 1795 by defending the Co vention against the insurrection of Vendémiaire, which was a lucky cri for him.

Renders useful service to the Republic

Having conquered a Parisian mob, he was himself conquered by woman. He fell madly in love with Josephine Beauharnais, a widow s years older than himself, whose husband had been guil tined a few days before the fall of Robespierre, leaving h poor and with two children. Josephine did not lose h heart but she was impressed, indeed half terrified, by t vehemence of Napoleon's passion, the intensity of his glance, and s yielded to his rapid, impetuous courtship, with a troubled but viv sense that the future had great things in store for him. "Do they (the Directors) "think that I need their protection in order to rise he had exclaimed to her. "They will be glad enough some day if I gra them mine. My sword is at my side and with it I can go far." "Th preposterous assurance," wrote Josephine, "affects me to such a degr that I can believe everything may be possible to this man, and, wi his imagination, who can tell what he may be tempted to undertake?'

Bonaparte marries Josephine Beauharnais

Two days before they were married Bonaparte was appointed the command of the Army of Italy. His sword was at his side. H now unsheathed it and made some memorable passe Two days after the marriage he left his bride in Paris an started for the front, in a mingled mood of desperation a the separation and of exultation that now his opportunit had come. Sending back passionate love-letters from every station, h spirit and his senses all on fire, feeling that he was on the very verge achievement, he hastened on to meet the enemy and, as was quick evident, "to tear the very heart out of glory." The wildness of Corsic his native land, was in his blood, the land of fighters, th land of the vendetta, of concentrated passion, of lawle energy, of bravery beyond compare, concerning which Rousseau ha written in happy prescience twenty years before, "I have a presentimen

Bonaparte appointed commander of the Army of Italy

A true son of Corsica

at this little island will some day astonish Europe." That day had me. The young eagle it had nourished was now preening for his ght, prepared to astonish the universe.

The difficulties that confronted Bonaparte were numerous and not-le. One was his youth and another was that he was unknown. The my of Italy had been in the field three years. Its generals d not know their new commander. Some of them were ler than he and had already made names for themselves. ney resented this appointment of a junior, a man whose chief exploit d been a street fight in Paris. Nevertheless when this slender, round-ouldered, small, and sickly-looking young man appeared they saw in-ntly that they had a master. He was imperious, laconic, served with them. "It was necessary," he said afterward, n order to command men so much older than myself." e was only five feet two inches tall but, said Masséna, when he put on his general's hat he seemed to have grown two feet. e questioned us on the position of our divisions, on the spirit and fective force of each corps, prescribed the course we were to follow, nounced that he would hold an inspection on the morrow, and on e day following attack the enemy." Augereau, a vulgar and famous l soldier, full of strange oaths and proud of his tall figure, was usive, derisive, mutinous. He was admitted to the General's pres-ce and passed an uneasy moment. "He frightened me," said ugereau, "his first glance crushed me. I cannot understand it."

The difficulties in the way

Bonaparte's attitude toward his generals

It did not take these officers long to see that the young general meant siness and that he knew very thoroughly the art of war. His speech as rapid, brief, incisive. He gave his orders succinctly and clearly and let it be known that obedience was the order of the day. The cold ception quickly became enthusiastic coöperation.

Bonaparte won ascendency over the soldiers with the same lightning pidity. They had been long inactive, idling through meaningless noeuvres. He announced immediate action. The re-onse was instantaneous. He inspired confidence and he pired enthusiasm. He took an army that was discour-ed, that was in rags, even the officers being almost without shoes, an my on half rations. He issued a bulletin which imparted to them his n exaltation, his belief that the limits of the possible could easily be nscended, that it was all a matter of will. He got into their blood and

Bonaparte and the soldiers

they tingled with impatience and with hope. "There was so much the future in him," is the way Marmont described the impress "Soldiers," so ran this bulletin, "soldiers, you are ill-fed and alm naked; the government owes you much, it can give nothing. Your patience, the courage which you exhibi the midst of these crags, are worthy of all admiration; they bring you no atom of glory; not a ray is reflected upon you. I conduct you into the most fertile plains in the world. Rich provin great cities will be in your power; there you will find honor, glory, wealth. Soldiers of Italy, can it be that you will be lacking in cour or perseverance?"

Bonaparte's bulletins to the army

Ardent images of a very mundane and material kind rose up bef him and he saw to it that his soldiers shared them. By portraying v earthly visions of felicity Mahomet, centuries before, had stirred Oriental zeal of his followers to marvelous effort and achieveme Bonaparte took suggestions from Mahomet on more than one occas in his life.

Bonaparte's first Italian campaign has remained in the eyes of m tary men ever since a masterpiece, a classic example of the art of w It lasted a year, from April, 1796 to April, 1797. It m be summarized in the words, "He came, he saw, he c quered." He confronted an allied Sardinian and Austri army, and his forces were much inferior in number. His policy v therefore to see that his enemies did not unite, and then to beat each turn. His enemies combined had 70,000 men. He had about half t number. Slipping in between the Austrians and Sardinians he defea the former, notably at Dego, and drove them eastward. Then he turn westward against the Sardinians, defeated them at Mondovi and oper the way to Turin, their capital. The Sardinians sued for peace a agreed that France should have the provinces of Sav and Nice. One enemy had thus been eliminated by t "rag heroes," now turned into "winged victories." Bon parte summarized these achievements in a bulletin to men, which set them vibrating. "Soldiers," he said, " fifteen days you have won six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colo fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and conquered t richest part of Piedmont. You have taken 1,500 prisoners and kill or wounded 10,000 men. . . . But, soldiers, you have done nothi

Bonaparte's first Italian campaign

Bonaparte forces the Sardinians to sue for peace (May, 1796)

ıce there remains something for you to do. You have still battles to ht, towns to take, rivers to cross."

Bonaparte now turned his entire attention to the Austrians, who were control of Lombardy. Rushing down the southern bank of the Po, he ssed it at Piacenza. Beaulieu, the Austrian commander, thdrew beyond the Adda River. There was no way to at him but to cross the river by the bridge of Lodi, ridge 350 feet long and swept on the other side by cannon. To ss it in the face of a raking fire was necessary but was well-nigh possible. Bonaparte ordered his grenadiers forward. lfway over they were mowed down by the Austrian fire l began to recoil. Bonaparte and other generals rushed to the head the columns, risked their lives, inspired their men, and the result was t they got across in the very teeth of the murderous fire and seized Austrian batteries. "Of all the actions in which the soldiers under command have been engaged," reported Bonaparte to the Directory, one has equaled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi."

The campaign against the Austrians

The bridge of Lodi.

From that day Bonaparte was the idol of his soldiers. He had shown kless courage, contempt of death. Thenceforth they called him affectnately "The Little Corporal." The Austrians retreated to the farther e of the Mincio and to the mighty fortress of Mantua. On May 16 naparte made a triumphal entry into Milan. He sent orce to begin the siege of Mantua. That was the key to situation. He could not advance into the Alps and against Vienna il he had taken it. On the other hand if Austria lost Mantua, she ıld lose her hold upon Italy.

The struggle for Mantua.

Four times during the next eight months, from June, 1796 to Jan-y, 1797, Austria sent down armies from the Alps in the attempt to ve the beleaguered fortress. Each time they were defeated by the ligious activity, the precision of aim, of the French general, who inued his policy of attacking his enemy piecemeal, before their divis could unite. By this policy his inferior forces, for his numbers were rior to the total of the opposed army, were always as a ter of fact so applied as to be superior to the enemy on battlefield, for he attacked when the enemy was divided. as youth against age, Bonaparte being twenty-seven, Würmser and other Austrian generals almost seventy. It was new methods against originality against the spirit of routine. The Austrians came down

Bonaparte's methods of warfare

m the Alpine passes in two divisions. Here was Bonaparte's chance, l wonderfully did he use it. In war, said Moreau to him two years r, "the greater number always beat the lesser." "You are right," lied Bonaparte. "Whenever, with smaller forces, I was in the pres- e of a great army, arranging mine rapidly, I fell like a thunderbolt on one of its wings, tumbled it over, profited by the disorder which ays ensued to attack the enemy elsewhere, always with my entire e. Thus I defeated him in detail and victory was always the triumph he larger number over the smaller." All this was accomplished only forced marches. "It is our legs that win his battles," said his soldiers. shot his troops back and forth like a shuttle. By the rapidity of his vements he made up for his numerical weakness. Of course this suc- s was rendered possible by the mistake of his opponents in dividing ir forces when they should have kept them united.

Even thus, with his own ability and the mistakes of his enemies co- rating, the contest was severe, the outcome at times trembled in the ance. Thus at Arcola, the battle raged for three days. ain, as at Lodi, success depended upon the control of a dge. Only a few miles separated the two Austrian divi- ns. If the Austrians could hold the bridge, then their ction would probably be completed. Bonaparte seized a flag and hed upon the bridge, accompanied by his staff. The Austrians leveled murderous fire at them. The columns fell back, several officers having n shot down. They refused to desert their general but dragged him h them by his arms and clothes. He fell into a morass and began to . "Forward to save the General!" was the cry and immediately the nch fury broke loose, they drove back the Austrians and rescued their . He had, however, not repeated the exploit of Lodi. He had not ssed the bridge. But the next day his army was victorious and the trians retreated once more. The three days' battle was over (Novem- 15–17, 1796).

The battle of Arcola (November 15–17, 1796)

Two months later a new Austrian army came down from the Alps he relief of Mantua and another desperate battle occurred, at Rivoli. January 13–14, 1797, Bonaparte inflicted a crushing de- upon the Austrians, routed them, and sent them spin- back into the Alps again. Two weeks later Mantua endered. Bonaparte now marched up into the Alps, stantly outgeneraling his brilliant new opponent, the young Arch-

The battle of Rivoli (January 13–14, 1797)

duke Charles, forcing him steadily back. When on April 7 he reac

Bonaparte forces Austria to make peace. Truce of Leoben, April, 1797

the little town of Leoben, about 100 miles from Vie Austria sued for peace. A memorable and crowded of effort was thus brought to a brilliant close. In its tw months' march across northern Italy the French had fo eighteen big battles, and sixty-five smaller ones. " have, besides that," said Bonaparte in a bulletin to the army, " 30,000,000 francs from the public treasury to Paris. You have riched the Museum of Paris with 300 masterpieces of ancient and m ern Italy, which it has taken thirty ages to produce. You h conquered the most beautiful country of Europe. The French co float for the first time upon the borders of the Adriatic." In anot proclamation he told them they were forever covered with glory, t when they had completed their task and returned to their homes t fellow-citizens, when pointing to them, would say, " *He was of the A of Italy.*"

Thus rose his star to full meridian splendor. No wonder he belie in it.

All through this Italian campaign Bonaparte acted as if he were head of the state, not its servant. He sometimes followed the advic

Bonaparte's attitude toward the Directory

the Directors, more often he ignored it, frequently he ac in defiance of it. Military matters did not alone occupy attention. He tried his hand at political manipulati with the same confidence and the same success which he shown on the field of battle. He became a creator and a destroye states. Italy was not at that time a united country but was a collect

Treatment of Genoa

of small independent states. None of these escaped transforming touch of the young conquerer. He chan the old aristocratic Republic of Genoa into the Ligurian Republic, giv it a constitution similar to that of France. He forced doubtful prin like the Dukes of Parma and Modena, to submission and heavy payme He forced the Pope to a similar humiliation, taking some of his sta sparing most of them, and levying heavy exactions.

Bonaparte attacks and conquers Venice, (1797)

His most notorious act, next to the conquest of the s cessive Austrian armies, was the overthrow, on a flim pretext and with diabolic guile, of the famous old Repu of Venice.

NAPOLEON AT ARCOLA
After the painting by Gros.

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the Eldest Child of Liberty."

Such was the thought that came to the poet Wordsworth as he contemplated this outrage, resembling in abysmal immorality the contemporary partition of Poland at the hands of the monarchs of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. At least this clear, bright, pagan republican general could have claimed, had he cared to, that he was no worse than the kings of the eighteenth century who asserted that their rule was ordained of God. Bonaparte was no worse; he was also no better; he was, moreover, far more able. He conquered Venice, one of the oldest and proudest states in Europe, and held it as a pawn in the game of diplomacy, to which he turned with eagerness and talent, now that the war was over.

Austria had agreed in April, 1797, to the preliminary peace of Leoben. The following summer was devoted to the making of the final peace, that of Campo Formio, concluded October 17, 1797. During these months Bonaparte lived in state in the splendid villa of Montebello near Milan, basking in the dazzling sunshine of his sudden and amazing fortune. There he kept a veritable court, receiving ambassadors, talking intimately with artists and men of letters, surrounded by young officers, who had caught the swift contagion of his personality and who were advancing with his advance to prosperity and renown. There, too, at Montebello, were Josephine and the brothers and the sisters of the young victor and also his mother, who kept a level head in prosperity as she had in adversity —all irradiated with the new glamour of their changed position in life. The young man who a few years before had pawned his watch and had eaten six-cent dinners in cheap Parisian restaurants now dined in public in the old manner of French kings, allowing the curious to gaze upon him. A body-guard of Polish lancers attended whenever he rode forth.

General Bonaparte and his court

His conversation dazzled by its ease and richness. It was quoted everywhere. Some of it was calculated to arouse concern in high quarters. "What I have done so far," he said, "is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you imagine that I have triumphed in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory? . . . Let the Directory attempt to depriv

Bonaparte's flights of fancy

MAP OF
NORTHERN ITALY
ILLUSTRATING
BONAPARTE'S FIRST CAMPAIGN
Long. East 10 of Greenw
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
PARMA
MODENA
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
ISTRIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
TURKEY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
CORSICA
Innsbruch
Leoben
Gratz
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Agram
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Marseilles
Toulon
Lyons
Geneva
Berne
Chalons
Avignon
Monaco
Nice
Grenoble
Valence
Chambery
Annecy
Aosta
Ivrea
Novara
Como
Bergamo
Brescia
Verona
Padua
Treviso
Udine
Belluno
Conegliano
Trent
Botzen
Riva
Bassano
Vicenza
Rovigo
Ferrara
Mantua
Cremona
Lodi
Pavia
Alessandria
Asti
Casale
Novi
Tortona
Piacenza
Parma
Reggio
Modena
Bologna
Ravenna
Faenza
Forli
Rimini
Pesaro
Ancona
Tolentino
Fermo
Lucca
Pisa
Leghorn
Siena
Piombino
Orbetello
Viterbo
Rieti
Terni
Civita Vecchia
Sienna
Massa
Carrara
Pontremoli
Savona
Mondovi
Cuneo
Coni
Ceva
Dego
Chevasco
Novi
Tortona
Alessandria
Asti
Casale
Turin
Susa
Pignerol
Fenestrelle
Briancon
Mont Cenis Pass
Col de Frejus Pass
Mt. Genevre Pass
Col de Larche Pass
Col di Tenda Pass
Tenda
Ulelle
Nice
Cannes
Grimsel Pass
St. Gothard Pass
Bernhardin
Splugen Pass
Maloja Pass
Septimer Pass
Julia Pass
Simplon Pass
Locarno
Bellinzona
Domo d'Ossola
Lecco
Como
Bergamo
Milan
Lugano
Chiavenna
Coire
Prasel Pass
Panixer Pass
St. Luziensteig Pass
Rhine
Inn
Adige
Drave
Mur R.
Save R.
Kulpa
Po R.
Reno R.
Tiber
Arno R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Durance
Isere
Dora Baltea R.
Sesia R.
Ticino R.
Adda R.
Oglio R.
Mincio R.
Secchia R.
Taro R.
Magra R.
Tagliamento R.
Piave R.
Brenta R.
Lake Geneva
Lake Maggiore
Lake Como
Lake Lugano
Lake Garda
Lake Iseo
Lake Idro
Lake Constance
Lake Zurich
Lake Walen
Lake Thun
Lake Brienz
Lake Lucerne
Lake Zug
Lake Neufchatel
Lake Bienne
Lake Morat
Lake Joux
Lake Annecy
Lake Bourget
Lake Aiguebelette
Lake Paladru
Lake Chalain
Lake Clairvaux
Lake Sylvenaire
Lake Lauch
Lake Titisee
Lake Schluchsee
Lake Mummelsee
Lake Wurm
Lake Ammer
Lake Chiemsee
Lake Tegernsee
Lake Walchensee
Lake Kochelsee
Lake Staffelsee
Lake Starnberg
Lake Ammersee
Lake Wurmsee
Lake Simssee
Lake Waginger
Lake Abtsdorf
Lake Mondsee
Lake Attersee
Lake Traunsee
Lake Hallstadt
Lake Aussee
Lake Grundlsee
Lake Toplitz
Lake Wolfgang
Lake Fuschl
Lake Zell
Lake Klopeiner
Lake Wurmberg
Lake Faaker
Lake Weissenfels
Lake Ossiach
Lake Millstatt
Lake Weissensee
Lake Presanella
Lake Tonale
Lake Garda
Lake Iseo
Lake Idro
Lake Como
Lake Lugano
Lake Maggiore
Lake Orta
Lake Varese
Lake Monate
Lake Comabbio
Lake Lecco
Lake Pusiano
Lake Annone
Lake Alserio
Lake Segrino
Lake Montorfano
Lake Piano
Lake Garlate
Lake Olginate
Lake Sartirana
Lake Brivio
Lake Cassano
Lake Trezzo
Lake Vaprio
Lake Crespi
Lake Capralba
Lake Casaletto
Lake Vaiano
Lake Credera
Lake Pizzighettone
Lake Cremona
Lake Piadena
Lake Vescovato
Lake Casalmaggiore
Lake Viadana
Lake Gonzaga
Lake Mantua
Lake Sabbioneta
Lake Guastalla
Lake Novellara
Lake Reggio
Lake Rubiera
Lake Scandiano
Lake Sassuolo
Lake Modena
Lake Carpi
Lake Correggio
Lake Rolo
Lake Novi
Lake Mirandola
Lake Finale
Lake Cento
Lake Pieve
Lake Bondeno
Lake Ferrara
Lake Argenta
Lake Comacchio
Lake Ravenna
Lake Cervia
Lake Cesenatico
Lake Rimini
Lake Riccione
Lake Pesaro
Lake Fano
Lake Sinigaglia
Lake Ancona
Lake Loreto
Lake Recanati
Lake Macerata
Lake Tolentino
Lake Fermo
Lake Ascoli
Lake Civitella
Lake Teramo
Lake Atri
Lake Pescara
Lake Ortona
Lake Lanciano
Lake Vasto
Lake Termoli
Lake Larino
Lake Campobasso
Lake Isernia
Lake Venafro
Lake Sessa
Lake Capua
Lake Caserta
Lake Aversa
Lake Naples
Lake Pozzuoli
Lake Baiae
Lake Miseno
Lake Procida
Lake Ischia
Lake Capri
Lake Sorrento
Lake Castellamare
Lake Amalfi
Lake Salerno
Lake Eboli
Lake Policastro
Lake Sapri
Lake Maratea
Lake Lagonegro
Lake Rotonda
Lake Castrovillari
Lake Cosenza
Lake Rossano
Lake Corigliano
Lake Rocca Imperiale
Lake Taranto
Lake Gallipoli
Lake Otranto
Lake Brindisi
Lake Monopoli
Lake Bari
Lake Barletta
Lake Manfredonia
Lake Lesina
Lake Varano
Lake Viesti
Lake Rodi
Lake Peschici
Lake Vieste
Lake Tremiti
Lake Termoli
Lake Larino
Lake Campobasso
Lake Isernia
Lake Venafro
Lake Sessa
Lake Capua
Lake Caserta
Lake Aversa
Lake Naples
Lake Pozzuoli
Lake Baiae
Lake Miseno
Lake Procida
Lake Ischia
Lake Capri
Lake Sorrento
Lake Castellamare
Lake Amalfi
Lake Salerno
Lake Eboli
Lake Policastro
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Lake Rocca Imperiale
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Lake Otranto
Lake Brindisi
Lake Monopoli
Lake Bari
Lake Barletta
Lake Manfredonia
Lake Lesina
Lake Varano
Lake Viesti
Lake Rodi
Lake Peschici
Lake Vieste
Lake Tremiti

ne of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head who is rendered illustrious by glory." Two years ater he saw to it that she had such a head.

The treaty of Campo Formio initiated the process of changing the nap of Europe which was to be carried on bewilderingly in the years to ome. Neither France, champion of the new principles of politics, nor Austria, champion of the old, differed in their methods. Both bargained nd traded as best they could and the result was an agree- **The division of the spoils** ment that contravened the principles of the French Revolu- ion, of the rights of peoples to determine their own destinies, the prin- iple of popular sovereignty. For the agreement simply registered the rbitrament of the sword, was frankly based on force, and on nothing lse. French domestic policy had been revolutionized. French foreign olicy had remained stationary.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria relinquished her possessions n Belgium to France and abandoned to her the left bank of the Rhine, greeing to bring about a congress of the German states to **Provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797)** ffect this change. Austria also gave up her rights in Lom- ardy and agreed to recognize the new Cisalpine Republic hich Bonaparte created out of Lombardy, the duchies Parma and Modena, and out of parts of the Papal States nd Venetia. In return for this the city, the islands, and most of the nainland of Venice, were handed over to Austria, as were also Dalmatia nd Istria. Austria became an Adriatic power. The Adriatic ceased o be a Venetian lake.

The French people were enthusiastic over the acquisition of Belgium nd the left bank of the Rhine. They were disposed, however, to be ndignant at the treatment of Venice, the rape of a republic **The wishes of the French people not consulted** y a republic. But they were obliged to take the fly with he ointment and to adapt themselves to the situation. hus ended the famous Italian campaign, which was the epping-stone by which Napoleon Bonaparte started on his triumphal ay.

He had, moreover, not only conquered Italy. He had plundered her. ne of the features of this campaign had been that it had been based pon the principle that it must pay for itself and yield a profit in addi- on, for the French treasury. Bonaparte demanded large contributions rom the princes whom he conquered. The Duke of Modena had to

pay ten million francs, the Republic of Genoa fifteen, the Pope twenty. He levied heavily upon Milan. Not only did he make Italy support his army but he sent large sums to the Directory, to meet the ever-threatening deficit.

Not only that, but he shamelessly and systematically robbed her of her works of art. This he made a regular feature of his career as conqueror. In this and later campaigns, whenever victorious, he had his agents ransack the galleries and select the pictures, which he then demanded as the prize of war, conduct which greatly embittered the victims but produced pleasurable feelings in France. The entry of the first art treasures into Paris created great excitement. Enormous cars bearing pictures and statues, carefully packed, but labeled on the outside, rolled through the streets to the accompaniment of martial music, the waving of flags, and shouts of popular approval: "The Transfiguration" by Raphael; "The Christ" by Titian; the Apollo Belvedere, the Nine Muses, the Laocoön, the Venus de Medici.

Bonaparte a systematic robber of art galleries

During his career Bonaparte enriched the Museum of the Louvre with over a hundred and fifty paintings by Raphael, Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Van Dyck, to mention only a few of the greater names. After his fall years later many of these were returned to their former owners. Yet many remained. The famous bronze horses of Venice, of which the Venetians had robbed Constantinople centuries before, as Constantinople had long before that robbed Rome, were transported to Paris after the conquest of Venice in 1797, were transported back to Venice after the overthrow of Napoleon and were put in place again, there to remain for a full 100 years, until the year 1915, when they were removed once more, this time by the Venetians themselves, for purposes of safety against the dangers of the Austrian war of that year.

After this swift revelation of genius in the Italian campaign the laureled hero returned to Paris, the cynosure of all eyes, the center of boundless curiosity. He knew, however, that the way to keep curiosity alive is not to satisfy it, for, once satisfied, it turns to other objects. Believing that the Parisians, like the ancient Athenians, preferred to worship gods that were unknown, he discreetly kept in the background, affected simplicity of dress and demeanor, and won praises for his "modesty," quite ironically misplaced. Modesty was not his forte. He was studying his future very carefully, was analyz-

Bonaparte's return to Paris

REMOVAL OF THE BRONZE HORSES FROM VENICE, MAY, 1797
After a drawing by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux.

ing the situation very closely. He would have liked to enter the Directory. Once one of the five he could have pocketed the other four. But he was only twenty-eight and Directors must be at least forty years of age. He did not wish or intend to imitate Cincinnatus by returning with dignity to the plow. He was resolved to "keep his glory warm." Perceiving that, as he expressed it, "the pear was not yet ripe," he meditated, and the result of his meditations was a spectacular adventure.

After the Peace of Campo Formio only one power remained at war with France, namely England. But England was most formidable — because of her wealth, because of her colonies, because of her navy. She had been the center of the coalition, the paymistress of the other enemies, the constant fomenter of trouble, the patron of the Bourbons. "Our Government," said Napoleon at this time, "must destroy the English monarchy or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders. Let us concentrate our energies on the navy and annihilate England. That done, Europe is at our feet." The annihilation of England was to be the most constant subject of his thought during his entire career, baffling him at every stage, prompting him to gigantic efforts, ending in catastrophic failure eighteen years later at Waterloo, and in the forced repinings of St. Helena.

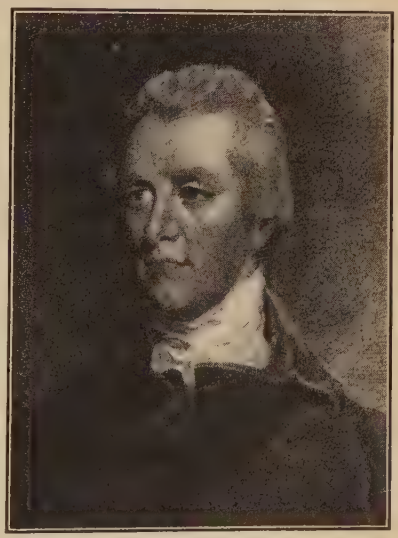
England still the enemy

The Directory now made Bonaparte commander of the army of England, and he began his first experiment in the elusive art of destroying these "active islanders." Seeing that a direct invasion of England was impossible he sought out a vulnerable spot which should at the same time be accessible, and he hit upon Egypt. Not that Egypt was an English possession, for it was not. It belonged to the Sultan of Turkey. But it was on the route to India and Bonaparte, like many of his contemporaries, considered that England drew her strength, not from English mines and factories, from English brains and characters, but from the fabulous wealth of India. Once cut that nerve and the mighty colossus would reel and fall. England was not an island; she was a world-empire. As such she stood in the way of all other would-be world-empires, then as now. The year 1914 saw no new arguments put forth by her enemies in regard to England that were not freely uttered in 1797. Bonaparte denounced this "tyrant of the seas" quite in our latter-day style. If there must be tyranny it was intolerable that it should be exercised by others. He now received the ready sanction of the Directors to his

Bonaparte appointed commander of the "Army of England"

plan for the conquest of Egypt. Once conquered, Egypt would serve as a basis of operations for an expedition to India which would come in time. The Directors were glad to get him so far away from Paris, where his popularity was burdensome, was, indeed, a constant menace. The plan itself, also, was quite in the traditions of the French foreign office. Moreover the potent fascination of the Orient for all imaginative minds, as offering an inviting, mysterious field for vast and dazzling action, operated powerfully upon Bonaparte. What destinies might not be carved out of the gorgeous East, with its limitless horizons, its immeasurable, unutilized opportunities? The Orient had appealed to Alexander the Great with irresistible force as it now appealed to this imaginative young Corsican, every energy of whose rich and complex personality was now in high flood. "This little Europe has not enough to offer," he remarked one day to his schoolboy friend, Bourrienne. "The Orient is the place to go to. All great reputations have been made there." "I do not know what would have happened to me," he said later, "if I had not had the happy idea of going to Egypt." He was a child of the Mediterranean and as a boy had drunk in its legends and its poetry. As wildly imaginative as he was intensely practical, both imagination and cool calculation recommended the adventure.

Bonaparte plans the conquest of Egypt



William Pitt
From a portrait by J. Hoppner.

Once decided on, preparations were made with promptness and in utter secrecy. On May 19, 1798, Bonaparte set sail from Toulon with a fleet of 400 slow-moving transports bearing an army of 38,000 men. A brilliant corps of young generals accompanied him, Berthier, Murat, Desaix, Marmont, Lannes, Kléber, tried and tested in Italy the year before. He also took with him a traveling library in which Plutarch's *Lives* and Xeno-

Preparations for the Egyptian expedition

phon's *Anabasis* and the *Koran* were a few of the significant contents. Fellow-voyagers, also, were over 100 distinguished scholars, scientists, artists, engineers, for this expedition was to be no mere military promenade but was designed to widen the bounds of human knowledge by an elaborate study of the products and customs, the history and the art of that country, famous, yet little known. This, indeed, was destined to be the most permanent and valuable result of an expedition which laid the broad foundations of modern Egyptology in "The Description of Egypt," a monumental work which presented to the world in sumptuous form the discoveries and investigations of this group of learned men.

The hazards were enormous. Admiral Nelson with a powerful English fleet was in the Mediterranean. The French managed to escape him. Stopping on the way to seize the important position of Malta and to forward the contents of its treasury to the Directors, Bonaparte reached his destination at the end of June and disembarked in safety. The nominal ruler of Egypt was the Sultan of Turkey but the real rulers were the Mamelukes, a sort of feudal military caste. They constituted a splendid body of cavalrymen but they were no match for the invaders, as they lacked infantry and artillery, and were, moreover, far inferior in numbers.

The seizure of Malta

Seizing Alexandria on July 2 the French army began the march to Cairo. The difficulties of the march were great, as no account had been taken, in the preparations, of the character of the climate and the country. The soldiers wore the heavy uniforms in vogue in Europe. In the march across the blazing sands they experienced hunger, thirst, heat. Many perished from thirst, serious eye troubles were caused by the frightful glare, suicide was not infrequent. Finally, however, after nearly three weeks of this agony, the Pyramids came in sight, just outside Cairo. There Bonaparte administered a smashing defeat to the Mamelukes, encouraging his soldiers by one of his thrilling phrases, "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." The Battle of the Pyramids, July 21, 1798, gave the French control of Cairo. The Mamelukes were dispersed. They had lost 2,000 men. Bonaparte had lost very few.

The march to Cairo

The battle of the Pyramids

But no sooner had the French conquered the country than they became prisoners in it. For, on August 1, Nelson had surprised the

ench fleet as it was lying in the harbor of Abukir Bay, east of Alex-dria, and had captured or destroyed it. Only two battle-ips and a frigate managed to escape. This Battle of e Nile, as it was called, was one of the most decisive n fights of this entire period. It was Bonaparte's first taste of British n power. It was not his last.

Nelson destroys the French fleet

Bonaparte received the news of this terrible disaster, which cut him from France and cooped him up in a hot and poor country, with erb composure. "Well! we must remain in this land, and come forth at, as did the ancients. This is the hour when characters of a superior er should show themselves." And later he said that the English ill perhaps compel us to do greater things than we intended."

He had need of all his resources, material and moral. Hearing that Sultan of Turkey had declared war upon him, he re-ved, in January, 1799, to invade Syria, one of the Sul-s provinces, wishing to restore or reaffirm the confidence his soldiers by fresh victories and thinking, perhaps, of a march on

The invasion of Syria (1799)

India or on Constantinople, taking "Europe in the rear," as he expressed it. If such was his hope, it was destined to disappointment. The crossing of the desert from Egypt into Syria was painful in the extreme, marked by the horrors of heat and thirst. The soldiers marched amid clouds of sand blown against them by a suffocating wind. They however seized the forts of Gaza and Jaffa, and destroyed a Turkish army at Mt. Tabor near Nazareth, but were arrested at Acre, which they could not take by siege, because it was on the sea coast and was aided by the British fleet but which they partly took by storm, only to be forced finally to with-

The struggle for Acre

draw because of terrific losses. For two months the struggle for Acre went on. Plague broke out, ammunition ran short and Bonaparte was again beaten by sea-power. He led his army back to Cairo in a memorable march, covering 300 miles in twenty-six days over scorching sands and amidst appalling scenes of disaster and desperation. He had sacrificed 5,000 men, had accomplished nothing, and had been checked for the first time in his career. On reaching Cairo he had the effrontery to act as if he had been triumphant, and sent out lying bulletins, not caring to have the truth known.

A few weeks later he did win a notable victory, this time at Abukir against a Turkish army that had just disembarked. This he correctly

The Battle of Abukir (July 25, 1799)

described when he announced, "It is one of the finest I have ever witnessed. Of the army landed by the enemy not a man has escaped." Over 10,000 Turks lost their lives in this, the last exploit of Bonaparte in Egypt. For now he resolved to return to France, to leave the whole adventure in other hands, seeing that it must inevitably fail, and to seek his fortune

Bonaparte resolves to return to France

in fairer fields. He had heard news from France that made him anxious to return. A new coalition had been formed during his absence, the French had been driven out of Italy, France itself was threatened with invasion. The Directory was discredited and unpopular because of its incompetence and blunders. Bonaparte did not dare inform his soldiers, who had endured so much, of his plan. He did not even dare to tell Kléber, to whom he intrusted the command of the army by a letter which reached the latter too late for him to protest. He set sail secretly on the night of August 21, 1799, accompanied by Berthier, Murat, and five other officers and by two or three scientists. Kléber was later assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic and the French army was forced to capit-

te and evacuate Egypt, in August, 1801. That ended the Egyptian pedition.

It was no easy thing to get back from Egypt to France with the Eng-h scouring the seas, and the winds against him. Sometimes the little ilboat on which Bonaparte had taken passage was beaten ack ten miles a day. Then the wind would shift at night nd progress would be made. It took three weeks of hugging the south-n shore of the Mediterranean before the narrows between Africa and cily were reached. These were guarded by an English battleship. ut the French slipped through at night, lights out. Reaching Corsica ey stopped several days, the winds dead against them. It seemed as every one on the island claimed relationship with their fellow-citizen ho had been rendered "illustrious by glory." Bonaparte saw his native nd for the last time in his life. Finally he sailed for France, and was early overhauled by the British, who chased him to almost within ght of land. The journey from the coast to Paris was a continuous vation. The crowds were such that frequently the carriages could dvance but slowly. Evenings there were illuminations everywhere. hen Paris was reached delirium broke forth.

The return from Egypt

He arrived in the nick of time, as was his wont. Finally the pear was pe. The government was in the last stages of unpopularity and dis-edit. Incompetent and corrupt, it was also unsuccessful. The Direc-ry was in existence for four years, from October, 1795 to November, 799. Its career was agitated. The defects of the con-itution, the perplexing circumstances of the times, the mbitions and intrigues of individuals seeking personal dvantage and recking little of the state, had strained the institutions of e country almost to the breaking point, and had created a widespread eling of weariness and disgust. Friction had been constant between e Directors and the legislature, and on two occasions the former had id violent hands upon the latter, once arresting a group of royalist puties and annulling their election, once doing the same to a group of dical republicans. They had thus made sport of the constitution and stroyed the rights of the voters. Their foreign policy, er Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt, had been so aggres-ve and blundering that a new coalition had been formed ainst France, consisting of England, Austria, and Russia, hich country now abandoned its eastern isolation and entered upon a

The unpopularity of the Directory

A new coalition formed against France

period of active participation in the affairs of western Europe. Th coalition was successful, the French were driven out of Germany bac upon the Rhine, out of Italy, and the invasion of France was, perhap impending. The domestic policy of the Directors had also resulted i fanning once more the embers of religious war in Vendée.

In these troubled waters Bonaparte began forthwith to fish. He e tablished connections with a group of politicians who for one reaso and another considered a revision of the constitution desirable an necessary. The leader of the group was Sieyès, a man who plume himself in having a complete knowledge of the art and theory of go ernment and who now wished to endow France with the perfect institu tions of which he carried the secret in his brain. Sieyès was a man Olympian conceit, of oracular utterances, a coiner of telling phrase enjoying an immoderate reputation as a constitution-maker. His phras was now that to accomplish the desired change he needed "a sword. He would furnish the pen himself. The event was to prove, contrar to all proverbs, that the pen is weaker than the sword, a least when the latter belongs to a Napoleon Bonapart Bonaparte, who really despised "this cunning priest," a he called him, was nevertheless quite willing to use him a a stepping-stone. Heaping flatteries upon him he said: "We have n government, because we have no constitution; at least not the one w need. It is for your genius to give us one."

General Bonaparte and Abbé Sieyès

The plan these and other conspirators worked out was to force th Directors to resign, willy-nilly, thus leaving France without an execu tive, a situation that could not possibly be permitted t continue; then to get the Council of Elders and the Counc of the Five Hundred to appoint a committee to revise the constitu tion. Naturally Sieyès and Bonaparte were to be on that committe if all went well. Then let wisdom have her sway. The conspirato had two of the Directors on their side and a majority of the Elder and fortunately the President of the Council of Five Hundred was brother of Napoleon, Lucien Bonaparte, a shallow but cool-headed rhe orician, to whom the honors of the critical day were destined to be du

Plotting a coup d'état

Thus was plotted in the dark the *coup d'état* of Brumaire which lande Napoleon in the saddle, made him ruler of a great stat and opened a new and prodigious chapter in the histo of Europe. There is no English word for *coup d'état*, as fortunately th

What is a coup d'état?

ing described is alien to the history of English-speaking peoples. It the seizure of the state, of power, by force and ruse, the overthrow of e form of government by violence, by arms. There had been *coups d'état* before in France. There were to be others later, in the nineteenth century. But the *coup d'état* of 18th and 19th Brumaire (November 9 and 10, 1799) is the most classical example of this device, the most successful, the most momentous in its consequences.

Official Costume of a Member of the Council of the Five Hundred
From a water-color by David.

But how to set the artful scheme in motion? There was the danger that the deputies of the Five Hundred might block the way, danger of a popular insurrection in Paris, of the old familiar kind, if the rumor got abroad that the Republic was in peril. The conspirators must step warily. They did so — and they nearly failed — and d they failed, their fate would have been that of Robespierre.

The risk the conspirators ran

A charge was trumped up, for which no evidence was given, that a ot was being concocted against the Republic. Not an instant must lost, if the state was to be saved. The Council of Elders, ormed of this, and already won over to the conspiracy, reupon voted, upon the 18th of Brumaire, that both Councils should et the following day at St. Cloud, several miles from Paris, and that neral Bonaparte should take command of the troops for the purpose protecting them.

The work of 18 Brumaire

The next day, Sunday, the two Councils met in the palace of St. ud. Delay occurring in arranging the halls for the extraordinary meeting, the suspicious legislators had time to confer, to concert opposition. The Elders, when their session finally began at two o'clock, demanded details concerning the pre-

Bonaparte in the Council of Elders

tended plot. Bonaparte entered and made a wild and incoherent speech They were "standing on a volcano," he told them. He was no "Cæsar or "Cromwell" intent upon destroying the liberties of his country

LUCIEN BONAPARTE
From the painting by R. Lefèvre.

"General, you no longer know what you are saying," whispered Bou rienne, urging him to leave the chamber, which he immediately did.

This was a bad beginning; but worse was yet to come. Bonapar went to the Council of Five Hundred, accompanied by four grenadie

Bonaparte in the Council of the Five Hundred

He was greeted with a perfect storm of wrath. Cries "Outlaw him, outlaw him!" "Down with the Dictat down with the tyrant!" rent the air. Pandemonium reigne He received blows, was pushed and jostled, and was fina dragged fainting from the hall by the grenadiers, his coat torn, his fa

fleeding. Outside he mounted his horse in the courtyard, before the oldiers.

It was Lucien who saved this badly bungled day. Refusing to ut the motion to outlaw his brother, he left the chair, made his ay to the courtyard, mounted a horse and harangued he soldiers, telling them that a band of assassins was errorizing the assembly, that his life and that of Napoleon were no onger safe, and demanding, as President of the Five Hundred, that he soldiers enter the hall and clear out the brigands and free the Council. The soldiers hesitated. Then Lucien seized Napoleon's sword, ointed it at his brother's breast, and swore to kill him if he should ever ay violent hands on the Republic. The lie and the melodrama worked. The soldiers entered the hall, led by Murat. The legislators escaped hrough the windows.

Lucien saves the day

That evening groups of Elders and of the Five Hundred who favored he conspirators met, voted the abolition of the Directory, nd appointed three *Consuls*, Sieyès, Ducos, and General Bonaparte, to take their place. They then adjourned for our months, appointing, as their final act, committees to oöperate with the Consuls in the preparation of a new onstitution.

The Directory overthrown (19 Brumaire, November 10, 1799)

The three Consuls promised "fidelity to the Republic, one and indivisible, to liberty, equality, and the representative system of government." At six o'clock on Monday morning every one went ack to Paris. The grenadiers returned to their garrison inging revolutionary songs and thinking most sincerely hat they had saved the Republic and the Revolution. No outbreak occurred in Paris. The *coup d'état* was popular. Government bonds rose apidly, nearly doubling in a week.

Establishment of the Consulate

Such was the Little Corporal's rise to civil power. It was fortunate, s we have seen, that not all the ability of his remarkable family was onopolized by himself. Lucien had his particular share, a distinct dvantage to his kith and kin.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSULATE

Thus the famous young warrior had clutched at power and was not ›on to let it slip. It had been a narrow escape. Fate had trembled dan-ɛrously in the balance on that gray November Sunday afternoon, but ne gambler had won. His thin, sallow face, his sharp, **The form and pattern of the man** ıetallic voice, his abrupt, imperious gesture, his glance that ›owed and terrified, his long disordered hair, his delicate ınds, became a part of the history of the times, manifesting the tensely vivid impression hich he had made upon s age and was to deepen. e was to etch the im-ress of his amazing per-›nality with deep, precise, ›ld strokes upon the in-itutions and the life of rance.

Bonaparte, First Consul
From an engraving by Momal, after Isabey.

He was, in reality, a nty young despot with pronounced taste for ilitary glory. "I love ›wer," he said later, "as nusician loves his violin. love it as an artist." He as now in a position to dulge his taste.

Pending a wider and a her flight, there were two tasks that called for the immediate atten-n of the three Consuls, who now took the place formerly occupied the five Directors. A new constitution must be made, and the war ainst the coalition must be carried on.

The Constitution of the Year VIII (1799), the fourth since the be
ning of the Revolution, hastily composed and put into force a m
after the *coup d'état*, was in its essentials the work of B
parte and was designed to place supreme power in
hands. This had not been at all the purpose of Sieyès or of the committees appointed to draft the document. But Sieyès' plan, which had not been carefully worked out but was confused and uncertain in many particulars, encountered the abrupt disdain of Bonaparte. There was to be a Grand Elector with a palace at Versailles and an income of six million francs a year. This was the place evidently intended for Bonaparte, who immediately killed it with the statement that he had no desire to be merely "a fatted pig." Impatient with this scheme and with others suggested by the committees,

The making of the constitution of the Year VIII

JOSEPHINE
After a drawing by Isabey.

Bonaparte practically dictated the constitution, using, be sure, such of the suggestions made by the others seemed to him good or harmless. The result was the ganization of that phase of the history of the Republic which is cal the Consulate and which lasted from 1799 to 1804.

Bonaparte the constitution-maker

The executive power was vested in three Consuls who were to elected for ten years and to be reëligible. They were to be elected the Senate but, to get the system started, the constitut indicated who they should be — Bonaparte, First Cons Cambacérès, the second, and Lebrun, the third. Pra cally all the powers were to be in the hands of the First Consul, the pointment of ministers, ambassadors, officers of the army and na

Bonaparte First Consul

nd numberless civil officials, including judges, the right to make war nd peace, and treaties, subject to the sanction of the legislature.

The First Consul was also to have the initiative in all legislation. Bills ere to be prepared by a Council of State, were then to be submitted to a ody called the Tribunate, which was to have the right to discuss them ut not to vote them. Then they were to go to the Legisla- **The legislative power**
ive Body which was to have the power to vote them, but not iscuss them. Moreover this "assembly of 300 mutes" must discharge its ngle function of voting in secret. There was also to be a fourth body, igher than the others — the Senate, which was to be the **The Senate**
uardian of the constitution and was also to be an electing ody, choosing the Consuls, the members of the Tribunate and the Legis-tive Body from certain lists, prepared in a cumbersome and elaborate ay, and pretending to safeguard the right of the voters, for the suffrage as declared by the constitution to be universal. No time need be spent n this aspect of the constitution, for it was a sham and a deception.

All this elaborate machinery was designed to keep up the fiction of he sovereignty of the people, the great assertion of the Revolution. he Republic continued to exist. The people were voters. **The fiction of popular government**
hey had their various assemblies, thus ingeniously se-ected. Practically, however, and this is the matter that ost concerns us, popular sovereignty was gone, Bonaparte was sover-ign. He had more extensive executive powers than Louis XVI had had nder the Constitution of 1791. He really had the legislative power lso. No bill could be discussed or voted that had not **Powers of the First Consul**
een first prepared by his orders. Once voted it could not o into force until he promulgated it. France was still a epublic in name; practically, however, it was a monarchy, scarcely eiled at that. Bonaparte's position was quite as attractive as that of ny monarch by divine right, except for the fact that he was to hold it or a term of ten years only and had no power to bequeath it to an heir. le was to remedy these details later.

Having given France a constitution, he secured the enactment of a w which placed all the local government in his hands. **Bonaparte establishes a centralized administrative system**
here was to be a *prefect* at the head of each department, *subprefect* for each arrondissement, a mayor for every town commune. The citizens lost the power to manage their wn local affairs, and thus their training in self-government came to an

end. Government, national and local, was centralized in Paris, more effectively, even, than in the good old days of the Bourbons and their intendants.

Having set his house in order, having gained a firm grip on the reins of power, Bonaparte now turned his attention to the foreign enemies of France. The coalition consisted of England, Austria, and Russia. England was difficult to get at. The Russians were dissatisfied with their allies and were withdrawing from coöperation. There remained Austria, the enemy Bonaparte had met before.

War against the second coalition

One Austrian army was on the Rhine and Bonaparte sent Moreau to attack it. Another was in northern Italy and he went in person to attend to that. While he had been in Egypt the Austrians had won back northern Italy. Melas, their general, had driven Masséna into Genoa where the latter hung on like grim death, with rations that would soon be exhausted. Bonaparte's plan was to get in between the Austrians and their own country, to attack them in the rear, thus to force them to withdraw from the siege of Genoa, in order to keep open their line of communication. In the pursuit of this object he accomplished one of his most famous exploits, the crossing of the Great Saint Bernard Pass over the Alps, with an army of 40,000, through snow and ice, dragging their cannon in troughs made out of hollowed logs. It was a matter of a week. Once in Italy he sought out the Austrians and met them unexpectedly at Marengo (June 14, 1800). The battle came near being a defeat, owing to the fact that Bonaparte blundered badly, having divided his forces, and that Desaix's division was miles away. The battle began at dawn and went disastrously for the French. At one o'clock the Austrian commander rode back to his headquarters, believing that he had won and that the remaining work could be left to his subordinates. The French were pushed back and their retreat threatened to become a stampede. The day was saved by the appearance of Desaix's division on the scene, at about five o'clock. The battle was resumed with fury, Desaix himself was killed, but the soldiers avenged his glorious death by a glorious victory. By seven o'clock the day of strange vicissitudes was over. The Austrians signed an armistice abandoning to the French all northern Italy as far as the Mincio.

Bonaparte's second Italian campaign (1800)

The crossing of the Saint Bernard Pass

Six months later Moreau won a decisive victory over the Aus-
ans in Germany at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), **Moreau defeats the Austrians at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800)**
us opening the road to Vienna. Austria was now com-
lled to sue for peace. The Treaty of Lunéville (Feb-
ary 9, 1801) was in the main a repetition of the Treaty
Campo Formio.

As had been the case after Campo Formio, so now, after the break-up this second coalition, France remained at war with only one nation, ngland. These two nations had been at war continuously for eight ars. England had defeated the French navy and had conquered ny of the colonies of France and of the allies or dependencies of France, at is, of Holland and Spain. She had just compelled the French in gypt, the army left there by Bonaparte, to agree to evacuate that untry. But her debt had grown enormously and there was widespread pular dislike of the war. A change in the ministry occurred, removing e great war leader, William Pitt. England agreed to discuss the ques-
n of peace. The discussion went on for five months
d ended in the Peace of Amiens (March, 1802). England **The Peace of Amiens with England**
cognized the existence of the French Republic. She re-
ored all the French colonies and some of the Dutch and
anish, retaining only Ceylon and Trinidad. She promised to evacu-
e Malta and Egypt, which the French had seized in 1798 and which she d taken from them. Nothing was said of the French conquest of Bel-
um and the left bank of the Rhine. This was virtual acquiescence the new boundaries of France, which far exceeded those of the ancient narchy.

Thus Europe was at peace for the first time in ten years. Great was e enthusiasm in both France and England. The peace, however, s most unstable. It lasted just one year.

Napoleon said on one occasion, "I am the Revolution." On
other he said that he had "destroyed the Revolu- **Napoleon and the Revolution**
n." There was much error and some truth in both
ese statements.

The Consulate, and the Empire which succeeded the Consulate, served much of the work of the Revolution and abolished much, in nformity with the ideas and also the personal interests of the new ler. Bonaparte had very definite opinions concerning the Revolu-
n, concerning the French people, and concerning his own ambitions.

These opinions constituted the most important single factor in the life of France after 1799. Bonaparte sympathized with, or at least tolerated, one of the ideas of the Revolution, Equality. He detested

JOSEPHINE AT MALMAISON
From the painting by Prudhon.

the other leading idea, Liberty. In his youth he had fallen under the magnetic spell of Rousseau. But that had passed and thenceforth he dismissed Rousseau summarily as a "madman." He accepted the principle of equality because it alone made possible his own career and because he perceived the hold it had upon the minds of the people. He had no desire to restore the Bourbons and the feudal system, the

carnation of the principle of inequality and privilege. He stood right hwart the road to yesterday in this respect. It was he d his system that kept the Bourbons exiles from France teen years longer, so long indeed that when they did ally return it was largely without their baggage of outworn ideas. onaparte thus prevented the restoration of the Old Régime. That was ne for, for good and all. Privilege, abolished in 1789, remained abol- ned. The clergy, nobility, and third estate had been swept away. nere remained only a vast mass of French citizens subject to the same ws, paying the same taxes, enjoying equal chances in life, as far as the ate was concerned. The state showed no partiality, had no favorites. l shared in bearing the nation's burdens in proportion to their ability. nd no class levied taxes upon another — tithes and feudal dues were t restored. No class could exercise a monopoly of any craft or trade - the guilds with all their restrictions remained abolished. Moreover, l now had an equal chance at public employment in the state or in e army.

Napoleon and the Old Régime

Bonaparte summed this policy up in the phrase "careers open to lent." This idea was not original with him, it was contained in the eclaration of the Rights of Man. But he held it. Under him there ere no artificial barriers, any one might rise as high as his ability, his dustry, his service justified, always on condition of his loyalty to the vereign. Every avenue was kept open to ambition and energy. Napo- on's marshals, the men who attained the highest positions in his armies, ere humbly born — Masséna was the son of a saloon-keeper, Augereau a mason, Ney of a cooper, and Murat of a country inn-keeper. None these men could have possibly become a marshal under the Old égime, nor could Bonaparte himself possibly ever have risen to a gher rank than that of colonel and then only when well along in life. onaparte did not think that all men are equal in natural gifts or in cial position, but he maintained equality before the law, that priceless quisition of the Revolution.

He did not believe in liberty nor did he believe that, for that matter, French believed in it. His career was one long denial negation of it. Neither liberty of speech, nor liberty of press, neither intellectual nor political liberty received ything from him but blows and infringements. In this spect his rule meant reaction to the spirit and the practice of the

Napoleon the enemy of liberty in every form

Old Régime. It is quite true that the Convention and the Directory had also trampled ruthlessly upon this principle but it is also quite true that neither he nor they could successfully defy what is plainly a dominant preoccupation, a deep-seated longing of the modern world. For the last hundred years the ground has been cumbered with those who thought they could silence this passion for freedom, and who found out, to their cost and the cost of others, that their efforts to imprison the human spirit were unavailing. There are still, after all these instructive hundred years, rulers who share that opinion and act upon it. They have been able to preserve themselves and their methods of government in certain countries. But their day of reckoning, it may safely be prophesied, is coming, as it came for Napoleon himself. They fight for a losing cause, as the history of the modern world shows.

The activities of Bonaparte as First Consul, after Marengo and during the brief interval of peace, were unremitting and far-reaching. It was then that he gave his full measure as a civil ruler. He was concerned with binding up the wounds or open sores of the nation, with determining the precise form of the national institutions, with fashioning the mould through which the national life was to go pulsing for a long future, with consolidating the foundations of his power. A brief examination of this phase of his activity is essential to a knowledge of the later history of France, and to our appreciation of his own matchless and varied ability, of the power of sheer intellect and will applied to the problems of a society in flux.

Bonaparte as ruler

First, the party passions which had rioted for ten years must be quieted. Bonaparte's policy toward the factions was conciliation, coupled with stern and even savage repression of such elements as refused to comply with this primary requirement. There was room enough in France for all, but on one condition, that all accept the present rulers and acquiesce in the existing institutions and laws of the land. Offices would be open freely to former royalists, Jacobins, Girondists, on equal terms, no questions asked save that of loyalty. As a matter of fact Bonaparte exercised his vast appointing power in this sense for the purpose of effacing all distinctions, all unhappy reminders of a troubled past. The laws against the *émigrés* and the recalcitrant priests were relaxed. Of over 100,000 emigrants, all but about 1,000 irreconcilables received, by successive decrees, the legal right to return

His policy of conciliation

Liberal treatment of émigrés and non-juring priests

nd to recover their estates, if these had not been already sold. Only nose who placed their devotion to the House of Bourbon above all other nsiderations found the door resolutely closed.

Bonaparte soon perceived that the strength of the Bourbon cause lay ot in the merits or talents of the royal family itself or its aristocratic sup-orters, but in its close identification with the authorities of the Roman atholic Church. Through all the angry religious warfare of the Revo-ition the mass of the people had remained faithful to the priests and ne priests were subject to the bishops. The bishops had refused to ccept the various laws of the Revolution concerning them and had as a nsequence been driven from the country. They were living mostly in ngland and in Germany, taking their cue from the Pope, who recognized ouis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, as the legitimate ruler of France.

Thus the religious dissension was fused with political opposition — yalists and bishops were in the same galley. Bonaparte determined sever this connection, thus leaving the extreme royalists gh and dry, a staff of officers without an army. No oner had he returned from Marengo than he took meas-es to show the Catholics that they had nothing to fear om him, that they could enjoy their religion undisturbed if they did ot use their liberty, under cover of religion, to plot against him and gainst the Revolutionary settlement. He was in all this not actuated y any religious sentiment himself, but by a purely political sentiment - he was himself as he said, "Mohammedan in Egypt, Catholic in rance," not because he considered that either was in the exclusive or uthentic possession of the truth, but because he was a man of sense ho saw the futility of trying to dragoon by force men who were relig-us into any other camp than the one to which they naturally belonged. onaparte also saw that religion was an instrument which he might uch better have on his side than allow to be on the side of his enemies. e looked on religion as a force in politics, nothing else. urely political, not spiritual, considerations determined s policy in now concluding with the Pope the famous aty or Concordat, which reversed much of the work of e Revolutionary assemblies, and determined the relations of church d state in France for the whole nineteenth century. This important ce of legislation of the year 1802 lasted 103 years, being abrogated ly under the present republic, in 1905.

Bonaparte resolved to undermine the royalists

Bonaparte considered religion merely as a political force

Bonaparte's thought was that by restoring the Roman Catholic Church to something like its former primacy he would weaken the royalists. The people must have a religion, he said, but the religion must be in the hands of the government. Many of his adherents did not agree at all with him in this attitude. They thought it far wiser to keep church and state divorced as they had been by the latest legislation of the Revolution. Bonaparte discussed the matter with the famous philosopher Volney, whom he had just appointed a senator, saying to him, "France desires a religion." Volney replied that France also desired the Bourbons. At this Bonaparte assaulted the philosopher and gave him such a kick that he fell and lost consciousness. The army officers who were anti-clerical were bitter in their opposition and jibes, but Bonaparte went resolutely ahead. He knew the influence that priests exercise over their flocks and he intended that they should exercise it in his behalf. He meant to control them as he controlled the army and the thousands of state officials. The control of religion ought to be vested in the ruler. "It is impossible to govern without it," he said. He therefore turned to the Pope and made the treaty. "If the Pope had not existed," he said, "I should have had to create him for this occasion."

Bonaparte determined to win the support of the Church

Republican opposition to his plan

By the Concordat the Catholic religion was recognized by the Republic to be that "of the great majority of the French people" and its free exercise was permitted. The Pope agreed to a reorganization involving a diminution in the number of bishoprics. He also recognized the sale of the church property effected by the Revolution. Henceforth the bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul but were to be actually invested by the Pope. The bishops in turn were to appoint the priests, with the consent of the government. The bishops must take the oath of fidelity to the head of the state. Both bishops and priests were to receive salaries from the state. They really became state officials.

The Concordat gave great satisfaction to the mass of the population for two reasons — it gave them back the normal exercise of the religion in which they believed, and it confirmed their titles to the lands of the Church which they had bought during the Revolution, titles which the Church now recognized as legal. The Church soon found that Bonaparte regarded it as merely another source of influence, an instrument of rule. The clergy now be-

The Church controlled by the State

ame his supporters and in large measure abandoned royalism. More-ver Bonaparte, by additional regulations to which he did not ask the 'ope's assent, bound the clergy hand and foot to his own chariot.

The Concordat was nevertheless a mistake. France had worked out policy of entire separation of church and state which, had it been al-owed to continue, would have brought the blessing of tol- **Effect of the Concordat**
ration into the habits of the country. But the Concordat ut this promising development short and by tying church and state ogether in a union which each shortly found disagreeable it left to the ntire nineteenth century an irritating and a dangerous problem. Nor id it preserve, for long, happy relations between Napoleon and the ope. Not many years later a quarrel arose between them which grew nd grew until the Pope excommunicated Napoleon and Napoleon seized he Pope and kept him prisoner. Napoleon himself came to consider he Concordat as the worst blunder in his career. However its immedi-te advantages were considerable.

"My real glory," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "is not my having won rty battles. What will never be effaced, what will endure forever, is y Civil Code." He was undoubtedly mistaken as to the **The Code Napoléon**
urability of this achievement, but he was correct in placing higher than that activity which occupied far more of his time. The mous *Code Napoléon* was an orderly, systematic, compact statement the laws of France. Pre-revolutionary France had been governed by perplexing number of systems of law of different historical origins. hen had come, with the Revolution, a flood of new legislation, inspired y different principles and greatly increasing the sum-total of laws in rce. It was desirable to sift and harmonize all these statutes, and to esent to the people of France a body of law, clear, rational, and logi-lly arranged, so that henceforth all the doubt, uncertainty, and con-ion which had hitherto characterized the administration of justice ight be avoided and every Frenchman might easily know what his legal ghts and relations were, with reference to the state and s fellow citizens. The Constituent Assembly, the Con-ntion, the Directory, had all appreciated the need of this dification and had had committees at work upon it, but e work had been uncompleted. Bonaparte now lent the iving force of his personality to the accomplishment of is task, and in a comparatively brief time the lawyers and the

The Code based upon foundations laid by the various Revolutionary Assemblies

Council of State to whom he intrusted the work had it finished. The code to which Napoleon attached his name preserved the principle of civil equality established by the Revolution. It was immediately put into force in France and was later introduced into countries conquered or influenced by France, Belgium, the German territories west of the Rhine, and Italy.

Bonaparte's share in the making of the Code

Bonaparte's own direct share in this monumental work was considerable and significant. Though no lawyer himself, and with little technical knowledge of law, his marvelous intellectual ability, the precision, penetration, and pertinence of many of his criticisms, suggestions, questions, gave color and tone and character to the complete work. He presided over many of the sessions of the Council of State devoted to the elaboration of this code. "He spoke," says a witness, "without embarrassment and without pretension. He was never inferior to any member of the Council; he often equaled the ablest of them by the ease with which he seized the point of a question, by the justness of his ideas and the force of his reasoning; he often surprised them by the turn of his phrases and the originality of his expression." Called a new Constantine by the clergy for having made the Concordat, Bonaparte was considered by the lawyers a new Justinian. He was as a matter of fact, in many respects, the superior of both.

The Bank of France

During these years of the Consulate Bonaparte achieved many other things than those which have been mentioned. He improved the system of taxation greatly, and brought order into the national finances. He founded the Bank of France which still exists — and another institution which has come down to our own day, the Legion of Honor, for the distribution of honors and emoluments to those who rendered distinguished service to the state.

The Legion of Honor

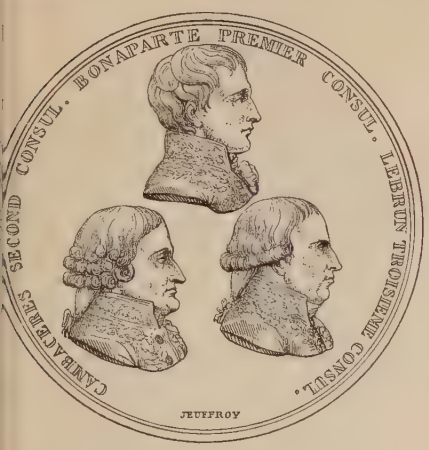
Opposed as undemocratic, as offensive to the principle of equality, it was nevertheless instituted. Though open to those who had rendered civil service as well as to those who had rendered military, as a matter of fact Napoleon conferred only 1,400 crosses out of 48,000 upon civilians.

National education

Nor did this exhaust the list of durable achievements of this crowded period of the Consulate. The system of national education was in part reorganized, and industry and commerce received the interested attention of the ambitious ruler. Roads were

nproved, canals were cut, ports were dredged. The economic develop-ent of the country was so rapid as to occasion some uneasiness in ngland.

Thus was carried through an extensive and profound renovation of e national life. This period of the Consulate is that part of Bonaparte's career which was most useful to his fellow men, most contributory to the welfare of his country. His work was not accomplished without risk to himself. As his reputation and authority increased, the wrath of those who saw their way to power barred by his formidable person increased also. At first the royalists had looked to him to imitate the English General Monk who had used his position for the restoration of Charles II. But Bonaparte had no notion of ting any such graceful and altruistic a part. When this became parent certain reckless royalists commenced to plot against him, gan considering that it was possible to murder him. An attack upon m occurred shortly after Marengo. Many lives were lost but he caped with his by the narrowest margin.



THE THREE CONSULS
After the medal in bronze by Jeuffroy.

Bonaparte and the royalists

A more serious plot was woven in London in the circle of the Count Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI. The principal agents were orges Cadoudal and Pichegru. Bonaparte, through his police, knew the plot. He hoped, in allowing it to develop, to get his nds on the Count of Artois. But the Count did not land France. Cadoudal and his accomplices were taken and t. Pichegru was found strangled in prison. Bonaparte wished to ke an example of the House of Bourbon which would be remembered. is led him to commit a monstrous crime. He ordered the seizure on rman soil of the young Duke d'Enghien, the Prince of Condé, a mem- of a branch of the Bourbon family. The prince, who was innocent

The Cadoudal conspiracy

of any connection whatever with the conspiracy, was abducted, brought to Vincennes at five o'clock on the evening of March 20, 1804, was sent before a court-martial at eleven o'clock and at half past two in the night was taken out into the court-yard and shot. This was assassination pure and simple and it was Bonaparte's own act. It has remained ever since an odious blot upon his name, which the multitudinous seas cannot wash out. Its immediate object, however, was achieved. The royalists ceased plotting the murder of the Corsican.

Execution of the Duke d'Enghien

THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN
From an engraving after an original drawing by Count de Lély.

A few days after this Bonaparte took another step forward in the consolidation of his powers. In 1802, after the Treaty of Amiens had been made, he had astutely contrived to have his consulate for ten years transformed into a consulate for life, with the right to name his successor. The only remaining step was taken in 1804 when a servile Senate approved a new constitution, declaring him Emperor of the French, "this change being demanded by the interests of the French people." It was at any rate agreeable to the French people, who in a popular vote or plebiscite ratified it overwhelmingly. Henceforth he is designated by his first name, in the manner of monarchs. It happened to be a more musical and sonorous name than most monarchs have possessed.

General Bonaparte becomes Napoleon I, Emperor of the French (1804)

"I found the crown of France lying on the ground," Napoleon once said, "and I picked it up with my sword," a vivid summary of an important chapter in his biography.

Napoleon's Personal Qualities: Taine, *Modern Régime*, Vol. I, pp. 1–90; Rose, H., *The Personality of Napoleon.*

The Campaign of 1800: Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, pp. 49–58; Fournier, *Napoon I*, pp. 188–208; Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, pp. 221–245.

Bonaparte's Policies as First Consul: Fisher, *Napoleon*, Chap. IV; Fournier, hap. IX, pp. 221–241; Johnston, *Napoleon*, Chap. VII, pp. 88–102; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, pp. 148–187; Rose, J. H., pp. 112–147.

Napoleon and the Revolution: Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 7–24.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire lasted ten years, from 1804 to 1814. It was a period of uninterrupted warfare in which a long series of amazing victories was swallowed up in final, overwhelming defeat. The central, overmastering figure in this agitating story, dominating the decade so completely that it is known by his name, was this man whose ambition vaulted so dizzily, only to o'erleap itself. Napoleon ranks with Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, as one of the most powerful conquerers and rulers of history. It would be both interesting and instructive to compare these four. It is by no means certain that Napoleon would not be considered the greatest of them all. Certainly we have far more abundant information concerning him than we have concerning the others.

The Napoleonic Age

When he became emperor he was thirty-five years old and was in the full possession of all his magnificent powers. For he was marvelously gifted. His brain was a wonderful organ, swift in its processes, tenacious in its grip, lucid, precise, tireless, and it was served by an incredibly capacious and accurate memory. "He never blundered into victory," says Emerson, "but won his battles in his head, before he won them on the field." All his intellectual resources were available at any moment. He said of himself, "Different matters are stowed away in my brain as in a chest of drawers. When I wish to interrupt a piece of work I close that drawer and open another. None of them ever get mixed, never does this inconvenience or fatigue me. When I feel sleepy I shut all the drawers and go to sleep."

Personal characteristics

Napoleon possessed a varied and vivid imagination, was always, as he said, "living two years in advance," weaving plans and dreams and then considering coolly the necessary ways and means to realize them. This union of the practical and the poetic, the realistic and the imaginative, each raised to the highest pitch, was rendered potent by a will that recognized no obstacles, and by an almost superhuman activity.

Napoleon loved work, and no man in Europe, and few in all history have labored as did he. "Work is my element, for which I was born and fitted," he said at St. Helena, at the end of his life. "I have known the limits of the power of my arms and legs; I have never discovered those of my power of work." Working twelve or sixteen and, if necessary, twenty hours a day, rarely spending more than fifteen or twenty minutes at his meals, able to fall asleep at will, and to awaken with his mind instantly alert, he lost no time and drove his secretaries and subordinates at full speed. We gain some idea of the prodigious labor accomplished by him when we consider that his published correspondence, comprising 23,000 pieces, fills thirty-two volumes and that 50,000 additional letters dictated by him are known to be in existence but have not yet been printed. Here was no do-nothing king but the most industrious man in Europe. Happy, too, only in his work. The ordinary pleasures of men he found tedious, indulging in them only when his position rendered it necessary. He rarely smiled, he never laughed, his conversation was generally a monologue, but brilliant, animated, trenchant, crushing, frequently impertinent and rude. He had no scruples and he had no manners. He was ill-bred, as was shown in his relations with women, of whom he had a low opinion. His language, whether Italian or French, lacked distinction, finish, correctness, but never lacked saliency or interest. The Graces had not presided over his birth, but the Fates had. He had a magnificent talent as stage manager and actor, setting the scenes, playing the parts consummately in all the varied ceremonies in which he was necessarily involved, coronation, reviews, diplomatic audiences, interviews with other monarchs. His proclamations, his bulletins to his army were masterpieces. He could cajole in the silkiest tones, could threaten in the iciest, could shed tears or burst into violence, smashing furniture and bric-a-brac when he felt that such actions would produce the effect desired. The Pope, Pius VII, seeing him once in such a display of passion, observed, "tragedian," "comedian."

His extraordinary capacity for work

His bearing in society

He had no friends, he despised all theorists like those who had sowed the fructifying seeds of the Revolution broadcast, he harried all opponents out of the country or into silence, he made his ministers mere hard-worked servants, but he won the admiration and devotion of his soldiers by the glamor of his victories, he held the peasantry in the hollow of his hand by constantly guaran-

His mastery of others

teeing them their lands, and their civil equality, the things which were, in their opinion, the only things in the Revolution that counted. He was as little as he was big. He would lie shamelessly, would cheat at cards, was superstitious in strange ways. He was a man of whom more evil and more good can be said and has been said than of many historical figures. He cannot be easily described, and certainly not in any brief compass.

Napoleon establishes a court

Now that Napoleon was emperor he proceeded to organize the state imperially. Offices with high-sounding, ancient titles were created and filled. There was a Grand Chamberlain, a Grand Marshal of the Palace, a Grand Master of Ceremonies and so on. A court was created, expensive, and as gay as it could be made to be at a soldier's orders. The Emperor's family, declared Princes of France, donned new titles and prepared for whatever honors and emoluments might flow from the bubbling fountain-head. The court resumed the manners and customs which had been in vogue before the Revolution. Republican simplicity gave way to imperial pretensions, attitudes, extravagances, pose. The constitution was revised to meet the situation, and Napoleon was crowned in a memorable and sumptuous ceremony in Nôtre Dame, the Pope coming all the way from Rome to assist — but not to crown. At the critical point in the splendid ceremony Napoleon crowned himself and then crowned the Empress. But the Pope poured the holy oil upon Napoleon's head. This former lieutenant of artillery thus became the "anointed of the Lord," in good though irregular standing. He crowned himself a little later King of Italy, after he had changed the Cisalpine Republic into the Kingdom of Italy (1805).

Napoleon crowned in Nôtre Dame

The period of the Empire one of uninterrupted war

The history of the Empire is the history of ten years of uninterrupted war. Europe saw a universal menace to the independence and liberty of all states in the growing and arrogant ascendency of France, an ascendency and a threat all the more obvious and dangerous now that that country was absolutely in the hands of an autocrat, and that too an autocrat who had grown great by war and whose military tastes and talents would now have free rein. Napoleon was evoking on every occasion, intentionally and ostentatiously, the imperial souvenirs of Julius Cæsar and of Charlemagne. What could this mean except that he planned to rule not only France, but Europe, consequently the

NAPOLEON CROWNING JOSEPHINE
From the painting by David in the Louvre.

NAPOLEON IN THE IMPERIAL ROBES
From an engraving after the picture by Gérard.

world? Unless the other nations were willing to accept subordinate positions, were willing to abdicate their rank as equals in the family of nations, they must fight the dictatorship which was manifestly impending. Fundamentally this is what the ten years' war meant, the right of other states to live and prosper, not on mere sufferance of Napoleon, but by their own right and because universal domination or the undue

ascendency of any single state would necessarily be dangerous to the other states and to whatever elements of civilization they represented. France already had that ascendency in 1804. Under Napoleon she made a tremendous effort to convert it into absolute and universal domination. She almost succeeded. That she failed was due primarily to the steadfast, unshakable, opposition of one power, England, which never acquiesced in her pretensions, which fought them at every stage with all her might, through good report and through evil report, stirring up opposition wherever she could, weaving coalition after coalition, using her money and her navy untiringly in the effort. It was a war of the giants. A striking aspect of the matter was the struggle between sea-power, directed by England, and land-power, directed by Napoleon.

England the constant enemy

Sea-power versus land-power

While the Empire was being organized in 1804 a new coalition was being formed against France, the third in the series we are studying. England and France had made peace at Amiens in 1802. That peace lasted only a year, until May 17, 1803. Then the two states flew to arms again. The reasons were various. England was jealous of the French expansion which had been secured by the treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, French control of the left bank of the Rhine, French domination over considerable parts of the Italian peninsula, particularly French conquest of Belgium, including the fine port of Antwerp. England had always been opposed to French expansion, particularly northward along the Channel, which Englishmen considered and called the English Channel. The English did not wish any rival along those shores. However, despite this, they had finally consented to make the Peace of Amiens. The chief motive had been the condition of their industries. The long war, since 1793, had damaged their trade enormously. They hoped, by making peace with France, to find the markets of the Continent open to them once more, and thus to revive their trade. But they shortly saw that this was not at all the idea of France. Napoleon wished to develop the industries of France, wished to have French industries not only supply the French market but win the markets of the other countries on the Continent. He therefore established high protective tariffs with this end in view. Thus English competition was excluded or at least greatly reduced. The English were extremely angry and did not at all propose to lie

Reasons for England's hostility

The hollowness of the Peace of Amiens

down supinely, beaten without a struggle. That had never been their custom. War would be less burdensome, said their business men. For England, commerce was her very breath of life. Without it she could not exist. This explains why, now that she entered upon a struggle in its defense, she did not lay down her arms again until she had her rival safely imprisoned on the island of St. Helena.

There were other causes of friction between the two countries which rendered peace most unstable. With both nations ready for war, though not eager for it, causes for rupture were not hard to find. War broke out between them in May, 1803. Napoleon immediately seized Hanover, a possession in Germany of the English king. He declared the long coast of Europe from Hanover southward and eastward to Taranto in Italy blockaded, that is, closed to English commerce, and he began to prepare for an invasion of England itself. This was a difficult task, requiring much time, for France was inferior to England on the seas and yet, unless she could control the Channel for a while at least, she could not send an army of invasion. Napoleon established a vast camp of 150,000 men at Boulogne to be ready for the descent. He hastened the construction of hundreds of flat-boats for transport. Whether all this was mere make-believe intended to alarm England, whether he knew that after all it was a hopeless undertaking, and was simply displaying all this activity to compel England to think that peace would be wiser than running the risk of invasion, we do not positively know.

Renewal of the war between France and England

Napoleon threatens to invade England

At any rate England was not intimidated. She prepared for defense, and she also prepared for offense by seeking and finding allies on the Continent, by building up a coalition which might hold Napoleon in check, which might, it was hoped, even drive France back within her original boundaries, taking away from her the recent acquisitions of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and the Italian annexations and protectorates. England made a treaty to this effect with Russia, which had her own reasons for opposing France — her dread of his projects in the Eastern Mediterranean at the expense of the Turkish Empire. For if any one was to carve up the Turkish Empire, Russia wished to do it herself. The English agreed to pay subsidies to the Czar, a certain amount for every 100,000 men she should furnish for the war.

England builds up a new coalition

Finally in 1805 Austria entered the coalition, jealous of Napoleon's aggressions in Italy, anxious to wipe out the memory of the defeats of the two campaigns in which he had conquered her in 1796 and 1800, eager, also, to recover the position she had once held as the dominant power in the Italian peninsula.

Austria joins the coalition

Such was the situation in 1805. When he was quite ready Napoleon struck with tremendous effect, not against England, which he could not reach because of the silver streak of sea that lay between them, not against Russia, which was too remote for immediate attention, but against his old-time enemy, Austria, and he bowled her over more summarily and more humiliatingly than he had ever done before.

Napoleon's third campaign against Austria

The campaign of 1805 was another Napoleonic masterpiece. The Austrians, not waiting for their allies, the Russians, to come up, had sent an army of 80,000 men under General Mack up the Danube into Bavaria. Mack had taken his position at Ulm, expecting that Naploeon would come through the passes of the Black Forest, the most direct and the usual way for a French army invading southern Germany. But not at all. Napoleon had a very different plan. Sending enough troops into the Black Forest region to confirm Mack in his opinion that this was the strategic point to hold, and thus keeping him rooted there, Napoleon transferred his Grand Army from Boulogne and the shores of the English Channel, where it had been training for the past two years, across Germany from north to south, a distance of 500 miles, in twenty-three days of forced marches, conducted in astonishing secrecy and with mathematical precision. He thus threw himself into the rear of Mack's army, between it and Vienna, cutting the line of communication, and repeating the strategy of the Great Saint Bernard and Marengo campaign of 1800. Mack had expected Napoleon to come from the west through the Black Forest. Instead, when it was too late, he found him coming from the east, up the Danube, toward Ulm. Napoleon made short work of Mack, forcing him to capitulate at Ulm, October 20. "I have accomplished what I set out to do," he wrote Josephine. "I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone." It was a victory won by legs — 60,000 prisoners, 120 guns, more than thirty generals. It had cost him only 1,500 men.

Napoleon attacks Mack at Ulm

The way was now open down the Danube to Vienna. Thither, along poor roads and through rain and snow Napoleon rushed, covering the distance in three weeks. Vienna was entered in triumph and without resistance as the Emperor Francis had retired in a northeasterly direction, desiring to effect a junction with the oncoming Russian army.

The battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805)

Napoleon followed him and on December 2, 1805, won perhaps his most famous victory, the battle of Austerlitz, on the first anniversary of his coronation as Emperor. All day long the battle raged. The sun breaking through the wintry fogs was considered a favorable omen by the French and henceforth became the legendary symbol of success. The fighting was terrific. The bravery of the soldiers on both sides was boundless, but the generalship of Napoleon was as superior as that of the Austro-Russians was faulty. The result was decisive, overwhelming. The allies were routed and sent flying in every direction. They had lost a large number of men and nearly all of their artillery. Napoleon, with originally inferior numbers, had not used all he had, had not thrown in his reserves.

The "Sun of Austerlitz"

No wonder he addressed his troops in an exultant strain. "Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified all my expectations by your intrepidity; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory." No wonder that he told them that they were marked men, that on returning to France all they would need to say in order to command admiration would be: "I was at the battle of Austerlitz."

The results of this brief and brilliant campaign were various and striking. The Russians did not make peace but withdrew in great disorder as best they could to their own country. But Austria immediately signed a peace and a very costly one, too. By the Treaty of Pressburg,

The Treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805)

dictated by Napoleon, who now had beaten her disastrously for the third time, she suffered her greatest humiliation, her severest losses. She ceded Venetia, a country she had held for eight years, since Campo Formio, to the Kingdom of Italy, whose king was Napoleon. Istria and Dalmatia also she ceded to Napoleon. Of all this coast line of the upper Adriatic she retained only the single port of Trieste. Not Austria but France was henceforth the chief Adriatic power. The German principalities, Bavaria and Baden, had sided with Napoleon in the late campaign and Austria was now compelled to cede to each of them some of her valuable possessions in

outh Germany. Shut out of the Adriatic, shut out of Italy, Austria ost 3,000,000 subjects. She became nearly a land-locked country. Moreover she was compelled to acquiesce in other changes that Napoleon ad made or was about to make in various countries.

Napoleon began now to play with zest the congenial rôle of Charlemagne, about which he was prone to talk enthusiastically and with rhetorical extravagance. Having magically made himself Emperor, he now made others kings. As he abased mountains so he exalted valleys. In the early months of 1806 he created four kings. He raised Bavaria and Würtemberg, hitherto duchies, to the rank of kingdoms, which they have since held, "in grateful recompense for the attachment they have shown the Emperor," he said. During the campaign the King of Naples had at a critical moment sided with his enemies. Napoleon therefore issued a simple decree, merely stating that "The House of Bourbon has ceased to rule in Naples." He gave the vacant throne to his brother Joseph, two years older than himself. Joseph, who had first studied to become a priest, then to become an army officer, and still later to become a lawyer, now found himself a king, not by the grace of God, but by the grace of a younger brother.

Napoleon the king-maker

JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF NAPLES
After the painting by J. B. J. Wicar.

The horn of plenty was not yet empty. Napoleon, after Austerlitz, forced the Batavian Republic, that is Holland, to become a mon-

archy and to accept his brother Louis, thirty-two years of age, as it king. Louis, as mild as his brother was hard, thought that the way t rule was to consult the interests and win the affections of his subjects As this was not Napoleon's idea, Louis was destined to a rough and unhappy, and also brief, experience as king. "When men say of a king that he is a good man, it means that he is a failure," was the information that Napoleon sent Louis for his instruction.

LOUIS BONAPARTE, KING OF HOLLAND
After the painting by Wicar, engraved by Read.

The number of kingdoms at Napoleon's disposal was limited, temporarily at least. But he had many other favors to bestow, which were not to be despised.

The family circle

Nor were they despised. His sister Elise was made Princess of Lucca and Carrara, his sister Pauline, a beautiful and luxurious young creature, married Prince Borghese and became Duchess of Guastalla, and his youngest sister, Caroline, who resembled him in strength of character, married Murat, the dashing cavalry officer, who now became Duke of Berg, an artificial state which Napoleon created along the lower Rhine.

Two brothers, Lucien and Jerome, were not provided for, and thereby hangs a tale. Each had incurred Napoleon's displeasure, as each had married for love and without asking his consent. He had other plans for them and was enraged at their independence. Both were expelled from the charmed circle, until they should put away their wives and marry others according to Napoleon's taste, not theirs. This Lucien steadfastly refused to do and so he who, by his presence of mind on the 19th of Brumaire, had saved the day and rendered all this story possible, stood outside the imperial favor, counting no more in the history of the times. When Jerome, the youngest member of this astonishing family, and made of more pliable stuff, awoke from love's young dream, at the furious de-

Lucien and Jerome in disfavor

ands of Napoleon, and put away his beautiful American bride, the altimore belle, Elizabeth Patterson, then he too became a king. All ho worshiped Mammon in those exciting days received their appro-riate reward.

It would be pleasant to continue this catalogue of favors, scattered right and left by the man who had rapidly grown so great. Officials of the state, generals of the army, and more distant relatives received glittering prizes and went on their way rejoicing, anxious for more. Appetite is said to grow by that on which it feeds.

Elise Bonaparte, Princess of Lucca
From an anonymous engraving, after the painting by Counis.

More important far than this flowering of family fortunes was another result of the Austerlitz campaign, the transformation of Germany, effected by the French with the eager and selfish coöperation of many German princes. That transformation, which greatly reduced the distracting number of German states, by allowing some to absorb others, ad already been going on for several years. When France acquired the erman territory west of the river Rhine, it was agreed, in the treaties Campo Formio and Lunéville, that the princes thus dispossessed should ceive compensations east of the river Rhine. This obviously could not done literally and for all, as every inch of territory east of the Rhine eady had its ruler. As a matter of fact the change was worked out by mpensating only the hereditary rulers. There were, both on the left nk and on the right and all throughout Germany, many petty states ose rulers were not hereditary — ecclesiastical states, and free impe-l cities. Now these were tossed to the princes who ruled by heredi-y right, as compensation for the territories they had lost west of the er Rhine. This wholesale destruction of petty German states for the vantage of other lucky German states was accomplished not by the

The transformation of Germany

Germans themselves, which would have been shameless enough, but was accomplished in Paris. In the antechambers of the First Consul, particularly in the parlors of Talleyrand, the disgraceful begging for pelf went on. Talleyrand grew rapidly rich, so many were the "gifts" — one dreads to think what they would be called in a vulgar democracy — which German princes gave him for his support in despoiling their fellow-Germans. For months the disgusting traffic went on and, when it ended in the "Conclusion" of March, 1803, really dictated by Bonaparte, the number of German principalities had greatly decreased. All the ecclesiastical states of Germany, with one single exception, had disappeared and of the fifty free cities only six remained. All went to enlarge other states. At least the map of Germany was simpler, but the position of the Church and of the Empire was greatly altered. Of the 360 states which composed the Holy Roman or German Empire in 1792 only eighty-two remained in 1805.

Paris the center for the brisk traffic in German lands

PAULINE BONAPARTE, PRINCESS BORGHESE
After the painting by Lefévre.

All this had occurred before Austerlitz. After Austerlitz the pace was increased, ending in the complete destruction of the Empire. Paris again became the center of German politics and intrigues, as in 1803. The result was that in 1806 the new kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and fourteen other German princes renounced their allegiance to the German Emperor, formed a new Confederation of the Rhine (July 12, 1806), recognized Napoleon as their "Protector," made an offensive and defensive alliance with him which gave to him the control of their foreign policy, the settlement of questions of peace and war, and guaranteed him 63,000 German troops for his wars. Fresh annexations to these states were made. Thus perished

Effects of the Austerlitz campaign

Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine

CAROLINE BONAPARTE, DUCHESS OF BERG, AND MARIE MURAT
From the painting by Vigée le Brun.

any more petty German states, eagerly absorbed by the fortunate
tteen.

Perished also the Holy Roman Empire which had been in existence,
l or shadowy, for a thousand years. The secession of
sixteen princes and the formation of the Confedera-
n of the Rhine killed it. It was only formal interment,
refore, when Napoleon demanded of the Emperor Fran-
, whom he had defeated at Austerlitz, that he renounce his title

Destruction of the Holy Roman Empire

as Holy Roman Emperor. This Francis hastened to do (August 6, 1806), contenting himself henceforth with the new title he had given himself two years earlier, when Napoleon had assumed the imperial title. Henceforth he who had been Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire was called Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

Joachim Murat, Duke of Berg
After the painting by Gros.

Napoleon, who could neither read nor speak a word of German, was now the real ruler of a large part of Germany, the strongest factor in German politics. To

French influence in Germany

French domination of West Germany, annexed to France earlier, came an important increase of influence. It was now that French ideas began in a modified form to remould the civil life of South Germany. Tithes were abolished, the inequality of social classes in the eyes of the law was reduced though not destroyed, religious liberty was established, the position of the Jews was improved. The Germans lost in self-respect from this French domination, the patriotism of such as were patriotic was sorely wounded at the sight of this alien rule, but in the practical contrivances of a modernized social life, worked out by the French Revolution, and now in a measure introduced among them, they had a salutary compensation.

While all this shifting of scenes was being effected Napoleon had kept a large army in South Germany. The relations with Prussia,

The relations of France and Prussia become strained

which country had been neutral for the past ten years, since the Treaty of Basel of 1795, were becoming strained and grew rapidly more so. The policy of the Prussian King, Frederick William III, was weak, vacillating, covetous. His diplomacy was playing fast and loose with his obligations as a neutral and with his desires for the territorial aggrandizement of Prussia. Napoleon's attitude was insolent and contemptuous. Both

ɛs made an unenviable but characteristic record in double-dealing. ıe sordid details, highly discreditable to both, cannot be narrated here. ıally the war party in Berlin got the upper hand, led by the high-rited and beautiful Queen Louise and by the military chiefs, relics

JEROME BONAPARTE

Engraved by I. G. Müller, knight, and Frederich Müller, son, engravers to his Majesty the King of Würtemberg, after a drawing by Madame Kinson.

the glorious era of Frederick the Great, who thought they could do at Frederick had done, that is, defeat the French with ease. As if give the world some intimation of the terrible significance of their dis-asure they went to the French Embassy in Berlin and bravely whetted ir swords upon its steps of stone. The royalist officers at Versailles he early days of the Revolution had shown no more inane folly in ying with fire than did the Prussian military caste at this time. The

one had learned its lesson. The other was now to go to the same pitiless school of experience.

Hating France and having an insensate confidence in their own superiority, the Prussian war party forced the government to issue an ultimatum to Napoleon, Emperor of the French, demanding that he withdraw his French troops beyond the Rhine. Napoleon knew better how to give ultimatums than how to receive them. He had watched the machinations of the Prussian ruling class with close attention. He was absolutely prepared when the rupture came. He now fell upon them like a cloudburst and administered a crushing blow in the two battles of Jena and Auerstädt, fought on the same day at those two places, a few miles apart (October 14, 1806), he himself in command of the former, Davout of the latter. The Prussians fought bravely but their generalship was bad. Their whole army was disorganized, became panic-stricken, streamed from the field of battle as best it could, no longer receiving or obeying orders, many throwing away their arms, fleeing in every direction. Thousands of prisoners were taken and in succeeding days French officers scoured the country after the fugitives, taking thousands more. The collapse was complete. There was no longer any Prussian army. One after another all the fortresses fell.

War between France and Prussia (1806)

Disastrous defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Auerstädt

On the 25th of October Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. He had previously visited the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam in order to show his admiration for his genius. He had the execrable taste, however, to take the dead Frederick's sword and sash and send them to Paris as trophies. "The entire kingdom of Prussia is in my hands," he announced. He planned that the punishment should be proportionate to his rage. He drew up a decree deposing the House of Hohenzollern but did not issue it, waiting for a more spectacular moment. He laid enormous war contributions upon the unhappy victim.

Napoleon enters Berlin (October 25, 1806)

Napoleon postponed the announcement of the final doom until he should have finished with another enemy, Russia. Before leaving Berlin for the new campaign he issued the famous decrees which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and prohibited commerce with them on the part of his dominions and those of his allies.

The Berlin Decrees against England

In the campaign of 1806 the Russians had been allied with the Prus-ns although they had taken no part, as the latter had not waited for em to come up. Napoleon now turned his attention to em. Going to Warsaw, the leading city of that part of land which Prussia had acquired in the partition of that untry, he planned the new campaign, which was signalized by two ief battles, Eylau and Friedland. The former was one of the most ody of his entire career. Fighting in the midst of a blinding snow-orm on February 8, 1807, Napoleon narrowly escaped defeat. The ughter was frightful — "sheer butchery," said Napoleon later. "What rnage," said Ney, "and no results," thus accurately describing this en-unter. Napoleon managed to keep the field and in his usual way he presented the battle as a victory. But it was a drawn battle. For the st time in Europe he had failed to win. The Russian soldiers fought th reckless bravery — "it was necessary to kill them twice," was the y the French soldiers expressed it.

The campaign against Russia

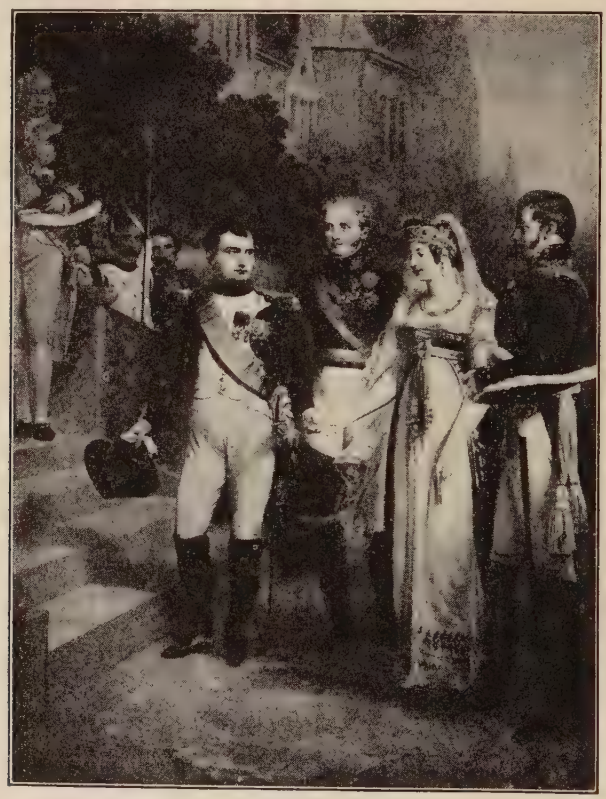
Four months later, however, on June 14, 1807, on the anniversary of arengo, Napoleon's star shone again unclouded. He won a victory at iedland which, as he informed Josephine, "is the worthy ter of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena." The victory was any rate so decisive that the Czar, Alexander I, consented make overtures for peace. The Peace of Tilsit was con-uded by the two Emperors in person after many interviews, the first e of which was held on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen. t only did they make peace but they went further and ade a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. Napo-n gained a great diplomatic victory, which completely altered the pre-us diplomatic system of Europe, a fitting climax to three years of markable achievement upon the field of battle. Exercising upon Alex-der all his powers of fascination, of flattery, of imagination, of quick d sympathetic understanding, he completely won him over. The two perors conversed in the most dulcet, rapturous way. "Why did not two meet earlier?" exclaimed the enthusiastic Czar All the Russias. With their two imperial heads bowed er a map of Europe they proceeded to divide it. Alex-der was given to understand that he might take Finland, which he veted, from Sweden, and attractive pickings from the vast Turkish mpire were dangled somewhat vaguely before him. On the other hand

The battle of Friedland (June 14, 1807)

The Treaties of Tilsit

France and Russia become allies

he recognized the changes Napoleon had made or was about to make in western Europe, in Italy, and in Germany. Alexander was to offer himself as a mediator between those bitter enemies, England and France,



NAPOLEON RECEIVING QUEEN LOUISE OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT, JULY 6, 1807
After the painting by Gosse.

and, in case England declined to make peace, then Russia would join France in enforcing the continental blockade, which was designed to bring England to terms.

Prussia dismembered

Napoleon out of regard for his new friend and ally promised to allow Prussia still to exist. The decree dethroning the House of Hohenzollern was never issued. But Napoleon's terms to Prussia were very severe. She must give up all her territory west of the

iver Elbe. Out of this and other German territories Napoleon now ade the Kingdom of Westphalia which he gave to his brother Jerome, ho had by this time divorced his American wife. Prussia's eastern pos- ssions were also diminished. Most of what she had acquired in the par- tions of Poland was taken from her and created into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to be ruled over by the sovereign of Saxony, whose title of Elector Napoleon at this juncture now changed into that of King.

LORD NELSON
rom an engraving by S. Freeman, after the painting by Abbott.

The Confederation of the Rhine enlarged

These three states, Westphalia, Saxony, and the Duchy of Warsaw now entered the Confederation of the Rhine, whose name thus became a misnomer, as the Confederation included not only the Rhenish and South German states but stretched from France to the Vistula, including practically all Germany except Prussia, now reduced to half her former size, and except Austria.

Naturally Napoleon was in gh feather as he turned homeward. Naturally, also, he was pleased th the Czar. "He is a handsome, good young emperor, with more mind an he is generally credited with" — such was Napoleon's encomium. ext to being sole master of all Europe came the sharing of mastery with ly one other. A few months later he wrote his new ally that "the ork of Tilsit will regulate the destinies of the world." There only re- ined the English, "the active islanders," not yet charmed or con- ered. In the same letter to the Czar Napoleon refers to them as "the emies of the world" and told how they could be easily brought to ok. He had forgotten, or rather he had wished to have the world rget, that there was one monstrous flaw in the apparent perfection of

his prodigious success. Two years before, on the very day after the capitulation of Ulm, Admiral Nelson had completely destroyed the French fleet in the battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), giving his life that England might live and inspiring his own age and succeeding ages by the cry, "England expects every man to do his duty!"

The Battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805)

The French papers did not mention the battle of Trafalgar but it nevertheless bulks large in history. This was Napoleon's second taste of sea-power, his first having been, as we have seen, in Egypt, several years before, also at the hands of Nelson.

Napoleon returned to Paris in the pride of power and of supreme achievement. But, it is said, pride cometh before a fall. Was the race mistaken when it coined this cooling phrase of proverbial wisdom? It remained to be seen.

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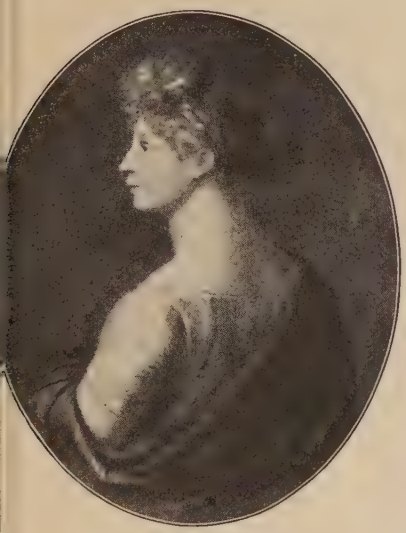
CHAPTER X.

THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

After Tilsit there remained England, always England, as the enemy France. In 1805 Napoleon had defeated Austria, in 1806 Prussia, in 1807 Russia. Then the last named power had shifted its policy completely, had changed partners, and, discarding its former allies, had become the ally of its former enemy.



Queen Louise of Prussia
From an engraving by Ruscheweyh.

Napoleon was now in a position to turn his attention to England. As she was mistress of the seas, as she had at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 destroyed the French navy, the Emperor was compelled to find other means, if there were any, of humbling the elusive enemy. England must be beaten, but how? Napoleon now adopted a policy which the Convention and the Directory had originated. Only he gave to it a gantic application and development. This was the Continental System, the Continental Blockade. If England could not be conquered directly French fleets and armies, she might be conquered indirectly.

Napoleon now free to deal with England

England's power lay in her wealth, and her wealth came from her ctories and her commerce which carried their products to the markets the world, which brought her the necessary raw materials, and which pt open the fruitful connection with her scattered colonies. Cut this

artery, prevent this commerce, close these markets, and her prosperity would be destroyed. Manufacturers would be compelled to shut down their factories. Their employees, thrown out of work, would face starvation. With that doom impending, the working classes and the industrial and commercial classes, threatened with ruin, would resort to terrific pressure upon the English government, to insurrections, if necessary, to compel it to sue for peace. Economic warfare was now to be tried on a colossal scale. By exhausting England's resources it was hoped and expected that England would be exhausted.

The source of England's strength

By the Berlin Decrees (November, 1806), Napoleon declared a blockade of the British Isles, forbade all commerce with them, all correspondence, all trade in goods coming from England or her colonies, and ordered the confiscation and destruction of all English goods found in France or in any of the countries allied with her. No vessel coming from England or England's colonies should be admitted to their ports. To this England replied by severe Orders in Council, which Napoleon capped by additional decrees, issued from Milan.

Napoleon declares a blockade of the British Isles

This novel form of warfare had very important consequences. This struggle with England dominates the whole period from 1807 to 1814. It is the central thread that runs through all the tangled and tumultuous history of those years. There were plays within the play, complications and struggles with other nations which sometimes rose to such heights as momentarily to obscure the titanic contest between sea-power and land-power. But the fundamental, all-inclusive contest, to which all else was subsidiary or collateral, was the war to the knife between these two, England and France. Everywhere we see its influence, whether in Spain or Russia, in Rome or Copenhagen, along the Danube or along the Tagus.

Epochal character of the struggle with England

The Continental System had this peculiarity, that, to be successful in annihilating English prosperity and power, it must be applied everywhere and constantly. The Continent must be sealed hermetically against English goods. Only then, with their necessary markets closed to them everywhere, would the English be forced to yield. Let there be a leak anywhere, let there be a strip of coast, as in Portugal or Spain or Italy, where English ships could touch and land their goods, and through that leak England could and

The Continental System

ould penetrate, could and would distribute her wares to eager customers, ius escaping the industrial strangulation intended by the Emperor of ne French. This necessity Napoleon saw clearly. It was never absent om his mind. It inspired his conduct at every step. It involved him evitably and, in the end, disastrously, in a policy of systematic and idespread aggressions upon other countries, consequently in a costly uccession of wars.

To close simply the ports of France and of French possessions to nglish commerce would not at all accomplish the object aimed at. apoleon must have the support of every other seaboard country in urope. This he sought to get. He was willing to get it peacefully if e could, prepared to get it forcibly if he must. He secured the adesion of Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit. Austria and Prussia, having een so decisively beaten, had to consent to apply the system to their ominions. Little Denmark, perforce, did the same when ne demand came. Sweden on the other hand adhered to ne English alliance. Consequently Russia was urged to ake Finland, which belonged to Sweden, with its stretch of astline and its excellent harbors. Napoleon's brother ouis, King of Holland, would not enforce the blockade, as to do so meant ne ruin of Holland. Consequently he was in the end forced to abdicate nd Holland was annexed to France (1810). France also annexed the orthern coasts of Germany up to Lübeck, including the fine ports of remen and Hamburg and the mouths of those rivers which led into entral Germany (1810). In Italy the Pope wished to remain neutral ut there must be no neutrals, in Napoleon's and also in England's opinn, if it could be prevented. In this case it could. Consequently Napoleon annexed part of the Papal States to the so-called Kingdom of taly, of which he was himself the King, and part he incorporated directly nd without ado into the French Empire (1809). Immediately the Pope xcommunicated him and preached a holy war against the mpious conqueror. Napoleon in turn took the Pope prisner and kept him such for several years. This was inecting the religious element again into politics, as in the early days of ne Revolution, to the profound embitterment of the times. Some of ese events did not occur immediately after Tilsit but did occur in ne years from 1809 to 1811.

Attempts to enforce the blockade lead to repeated acts of aggression

Rupture with the Pope

What did occur immediately after Tilsit was a famous and fatal

misadventure in Portugal and Spain. Portugal stood in close economic and political relations with England and was reluctant to enforce the restrictions of the Continental Blockade. Her coastline was too important to be allowed as an open gap. Therefore Napoleon arranged with Spain for the conquest and partition of that country. French and Spanish armies invaded Portugal, aiming at Lisbon. Before they arrived Napoleon had announced in his impressive and laconic fashion that "the fall of the House of Braganza furnishes one more proof that ruin is inevitable to whomsoever attaches himself to the English." The royal family escaped capture by sailing for the colony of Brazil and seeking safety beyond the ocean. There they remained until the overthrow of Napoleon.

Attack upon Portugal (1807)

"The House of Braganza has ceased to reign"

This joint expedition had given Napoleon the opportunity to introduce large bodies of troops into the country of his ally, Spain. They now remained there, under Murat, no one knew for what purpose, — no one, except Napoleon, in whose mind a dark and devious plan was maturing. The French had dethroned the House of Bourbon in France during the Revolution. Napoleon had himself after Austerlitz dethroned the House of Bourbon in Naples and had put his brother Joseph in its place. There remained a branch of that House in Spain, and that branch was in a particularly corrupt and decadent condition. The King, Charles IV, was utterly incompetent; the Queen grossly immoral and endowed with the tongue of a fishwife; her favorite and paramour, Godoy, was the real power behind the throne. The whole unsavory group was immensely unpopular in Spain. On the other hand, the King's son, Ferdinand, was idolized by the Spanish people, not because of anything admirable in his personality, which was utterly despicable, but because he was opposed to his father, his mother, and Godoy. Napoleon thought the situation favorable to his plan, which was to seize the throne thus occupied by a family rendered odious by its character and impotent by its dissensions. By a treacherous and hypocritical diplomacy he contrived to get Charles IV, the Queen, Godoy, and Ferdinand to come to Bayonne in southern France. No hungry spider ever viewed more coolly a more helpless prey entangled in his web. By a masterly use of the black arts of dissimulation, vituperation, and intimidation he swept the whole royal crew aside. Charles abdicated his throne into the hands of Napoleon, who thereupon forced

The situation in Spain

Ferdinand to renounce his rights under a thinly veiled threat that, if he did not, the Duke d'Enghien would not be the only member of the House of Bourbon celebrated for an untoward fate. Ferdinand and his brothers were sent as prisoners to a château at Valençay. The vacant throne was then given by Napoleon to his brother Joseph, who thereupon abdicated the kingship of Naples, which now passed to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law.

Napoleon makes his brother Joseph King of Spain (1808)

Napoleon later admitted that it was this Spanish business that destroyed him. "I embarked very badly on the Spanish affair, I confess; the immorality of it was too patent, the injustice too cynical." But this was the judgment of retrospect. He entered upon the venture with a light heart, confident that at most he would encounter only a feeble opposition. "Countries full of monks like yours," he told Ferdinand, "are easy to subdue. There may be some riots, but the Spaniards will quiet down when they see that I offer them the integrity of the boundaries of their kingdom, a liberal constitution, and the preservation of their religion and their national customs." Contrary to his expectation the conduct of the Spaniards was quite the reverse of this. He might offer them, as he did, better government than they had ever had. They hated him as a thief and trickster, also as a heretic, as a man whose character and policies and ideas were anathema. Napoleon embarked on a five years' war with them, which baffled him at every stage, drained his resources, in a contest that was inglorious, resources which should have been husbanded most carefully for more important purposes. "If it should cost me 80,000 men" to conquer Spain, "I would not attempt it," he said at the beginning, "but it will not take more than 12,000." A ghastly miscalculation, for it was to take 300,000 and to end in failure.

The Spaniards rise in revolt

He encountered in Spain an opposition very different in kind and quality from any he had met hitherto in Italy or Germany, baffling, elusive, wearing. Previously he had waged war with governments only and their armies, not with peoples rising as one man, resolved to die rather than suffer the loss of their independence. The people of Italy, the people of Austria, the people of Germany, had not risen. Their governments had not appealed to them, but had relied upon their usual weapon, professional armies. Defeating these, as Napoleon had done with comparative ease,

Napoleon arouses the spirit of nationalism

the governments had then sued for peace and endured his terms. No great wave of national feeling, daring all, risking all, had swept over the masses of those countries where he had hitherto appeared. France had herself undergone this very experience and her armies had won their great successes because they were aglow with the spirit of nationality, which had been so aroused and intensified by the Revolution. Now other countries were to take a page out of her book, at the very time when she was showing a tendency to forget that page herself. The Spanish rising was the first of a series of popular, national, instinctive movements that were to end in Napoleon's undoing.

Character of war in Spain

The kind of warfare that the Spaniards carried on was peculiar, determined by the physical features of the land and by the circumstances in which they found themselves. Lacking the leadership of a government — their royal family being virtually imprisoned in France — poor, and without large armies, they fought as guerillas, little bands, not very formidable in themselves individually, but appearing now here, now there, now everywhere, picking off small detachments, stragglers, then disappearing into their mountain fastnesses. They thus repeated the history of their long struggles with the Moors. Every peasant had his gun and every peasant was inspired by loyalty to his country, and by religious zeal, as the Vendéans had been. The Catholic clergy entered again upon the scene, fanning the popular animosity against this despoiler of the Pope, and against these French free-thinkers. Napoleon had aroused two mighty forces which were to dog his footsteps henceforth, that of religious zeal, and that of the spirit of nationality, each with a fanaticism of its own.

The influence of the clergy against Napoleon

Geography against him

Even geography, which Napoleon had hitherto made minister to his successes, was now against him. The country was poor, the roads were execrable, the mountains ran in the wrong direction, right across his path, the rivers also. In between these successive mountain ranges, in these passes and valleys, it was difficult for large armies, such as Napoleon's usually were, to operate. It was easy for mishaps to occur, for guerilla bands or small armies to cut off lines of communication, for them to appear in front and in the rear at the same time. The country was admirable for the defensive, difficult for the offensive. This was shown early in the war when General Dupont was caught in a trap and obliged to capitulate with an army of 20,000 at

Baylen (July, 1808). This capitulation produced a tremendous impression throughout Europe. It was the first time a French army corps had been compelled to ground arms in full campaign. It was the heaviest blow Napoleon had yet received in his career. It encouraged the Spaniards, and other peoples also, who were only waiting to see the great conqueror trip and who were now fired with hope that the thing might be done again. Napoleon was enraged, stormed against the unfortunate army, declared that from the beginning of the world nothing "so stupid, so silly, so cowardly" had been seen. They had had a chance to distinguish themselves, "they might have died," he said. Instead they had surrendered.

The Capitulation of Baylen (July, 1808)

Joseph, the new King, who had been in his capital only a week, left it hurriedly and withdrew toward the Pyrenees, writing his brother that Spain was like no other country, that they must have an army of 50,000 to do the fighting, another of 50,000 to keep open the line of communications, and 100,000 gallows for traitors and scoundrels.

King Joseph seeks safety in flight

There was another feature of this war in the Peninsula, England's participation. An army was sent out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, to coöperate with the Portuguese and Spaniards. Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India, now began to build up a European reputation as a careful, original, and resourceful commander. Landing at Lisbon, the expedition shortly forced the French commander Junot to capitulate at Cintra (August, 1808), as Dupont had been forced to in the preceding month at Baylen.

The English join in the Peninsula campaign

These were disasters which Napoleon could not allow to stand unanswered. His prestige, his reputation for invincibility must remain undiminished or Europe generally would become restless, with what result no one could foretell. He resolved therefore to go to Spain himself and show the Spaniards and all other peoples how hopeless it was to oppose him, how minor and casual defeats of his subordinates meant nothing, how his own mighty blows could no more be parried than before. But, before going, he wished to make quite sure of the general European situation. He arranged therefore for an interview at Erfurt in the center of Germany with his ally, Alexander of Russia. The two emperors spent a fortnight discussing their plans, examining every phase of the inter-

Napoleon resolves to go to Spain himself

national situation (September–October, 1808). This Erfurt Interview was the most spectacular episode in Napoleon's career as a diplomatist. He sought to dazzle Europe with his might, to impress the imaginations of men, and their fears, to show that the Franco-Russian alliance, concluded at Tilsit the year before, stood taut and firm and could not be shaken. All the kings and princes of Germany were summoned to give him, their "Protector," an appropriate and glittering setting. Napoleon brought with him the best theatrical troop in Europe, the company of the *Théâtre Français*, and they played, as the pretentious expression was, to "a parterre of kings." On one occasion when Talma, the famous tragedian recited the words,

The Erfurt Interview (September–October, 1808)

"The friendship of a great man
Is a true gift of the gods,"

the Czar arose, seized Napoleon's hand, and gave the signal for applause. Day after day was filled with festivities, dinners, balls, hunts, reviews. The gods of German literature and learning, Goethe and Wieland, paid their respects. Meanwhile the two allies carefully canvassed the situation. In general the Czar was cordial, for he saw his profit in the alliance. But now and then a little rift in the lute appeared. One day, as they were discussing, Napoleon became angry, threw his hat on the floor and stamped upon it. Alexander merely observed "You are angry, I am stubborn. With me anger gains nothing. Let's talk, let's reason together, or I shall leave."

Napoleon and Alexander in conclave concerning the destinies of the world

The result of the interview was in the main satisfactory enough to both. The accord between the two seemed complete. The alliance was renewed, a new treaty was made, which was to be kept secret "for ten years at least," and now Napoleon felt free to direct his attention to the annoying Spanish problem, resolved to end it once for all. Assembling a splendid army of 200,000 men he crossed the Pyrenees and in a brief campaign of a month he swept aside all obstacles with comparative ease, and entered Madrid (December, 1808). There he remained a few weeks sketching the institutions of the new Spain which he intended to create. It would certainly have been a far more rational and enlightened and progressive state than it ever had been in the past. He declared the Inquisition, which still existed, abolished; also the remains of the feudal system; also the tariff boundaries which shut off province from

Napoleon conquers Spain (December 1808)

province to the great detriment of commerce. He closed two-thirds of the monasteries, which were more than superabundant in the land. But, just as no individual cares to be reformed under the compulsion of a master, so the Spaniards would have nothing to do with these modern improvements in the social art, imposed by a heretic and a tyrant, who had wantonly filched their throne and invaded their country.

Napoleon might perhaps have established his control over Spain so firmly that the new institutions would have struck root, despite this opposition. But time was necessary and time was something he could not command. In Madrid only a month, he was compelled to hurry back to France because of alarming news that reached him. He never returned to Spain.

Napoleon hurries back to Paris

Austria had thrown down the gauntlet again. It was entirely natural for her to seek at the convenient opportunity to avenge the humiliations she had repeatedly endured at the hands of France, to recover the position she had lost. Moreover the close alliance of Russia and France and Napoleon's seizure of the Spanish crown filled her with alarm. If Napoleon was capable of treating in this way a hitherto submissive ally, such as Spain had been, what might he not do to a chronic enemy and now a mere neutral like Austria, particularly as the latter had nowhere to look for support since Russia had deserted the cause. Moreover Austria had learned something from her disastrous experiences; among other things that her previous military system was defective in that it made no appeal to the people, to national sentiment. After Austerlitz the army was reorganized and a great militia was created composed of all men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. A promising invigoration of the national consciousness began. What occasion could be more convenient for paying off old scores and regaining lost ground than this, with Napoleon weakened by the necessity of holding down a spirited and outraged nation like the Spanish, resolved to go to any lengths, and by the necessity of checking or crushing the English in Portugal?

Austria begins a new war with France (April, 1809)

Reform in the military system of Austria

Under the influence of such considerations the war party gained the ascendency, and Austria, under the lead of Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor and a very able commander, began a war in the spring of 1809. This war, which Napoleon did not seek, from which he had

nothing to gain, was another Austrian mistake. Austria should have allowed more time for the full development of her new military system before running perilous risks again.

The Austrians paid for their precipitancy. Napoleon astonished them again by the rapidity of his movements. In April, 1809, he fought them in Bavaria, five battles in five days, throwing them back. Then he advanced down the Danube, entered Vienna without difficulty and crossed the river to the northern bank, whither the army of the Archduke had withdrawn. There Napoleon fought a two days' battle at Essling (May 21–22). The fighting was furious, the village of Essling changing hands nine times. Napoleon was seriously checked. He was obliged to take refuge for six weeks on the Island of Lobau in the Danube, until additional troops were brought up from Italy, and from Germany. Then, when his army was sufficiently reinforced, he crossed to the northern bank again and fought the great battle of Wagram (July 5–6). He was victorious but in no superlative sense as at Austerlitz. The Archduke's army retired from the field in good order. The losses had been heavy but no part of the army had been captured, none of the flags taken. This was the last victorious campaign fought by Napoleon. Even in it he had won his victory with unaccustomed difficulty. His army was of inferior quality, many of his best troops being detained by the inglorious Spanish adventure and the new soldiers proving inferior to the old veterans. Moreover he was encountering an opposition that was stronger in numbers, because of the army reforms just alluded to, while opposing generals were learning lessons from a study of his methods and were turning them against him. Archduke Charles, for instance, revered Napoleon's genius but he now fought him tooth and nail and with ability.

Napoleon conquers Austria for the fourth time

The battle of Wagram (July 5–6, 1809)

After Wagram, Austria again made peace with Napoleon, the Peace of Vienna or of Schönbrunn. Austria was obliged to relinquish extensive territories. Galicia, which was the part of Poland she had acquired in the famous partitions, now went — a part of it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a part of it to Russia. She was also forced to cede to France Trieste, Carniola, and part of Carinthia and Croatia. These were made into the Illyrian Provinces which were declared imperial territory, although not formally annexed to France. Austria lost 4,000,000 subjects, nearly a

The Treaty of Vienna (October, 1809)

MAP ILLUSTRATING
CAMPAIGNS OF NAPOLEON
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
Aboa
Helsingfors
Sveaborg
Ronsalm
Hogland
St. Petersburg
Aland Is.
Stockholm
Gothenburg
Gothland
Riga
Moscow
1812
Borodino
1812
Vitebsk
Smolensk
1812
Tauroggen
Konno
Copenhagen
Tilsit
Friedland
1807
Eylau
1807
Stralsund
Prenzlau
1806
Thorn
1809
Pultusk
Pripet R.
Berezina R.
Dwina R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Donetz R.
Volga R.
Arlenburg
Hanover
Berlin
1806
Warsaw
1794
Prague
1757
Makijowice
1794
Bug R.
Vistula R.
Cracow
Lemberg
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Ismail 1790
London
Amsterdam
Brussels
Waterloo
Quatre Bras
Ligny
Wavre
Cologne
Lützen
1813
Auerstadt
1806
Bautzen
1813
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Boulogne
Fleurus
1794
Tenay
1815
Rollenz
Erfurt
Jena
1806
Dresden
1813
Breslau
Amiens
Frankfort
Würzburg
1796
Seine R.
Caonne
1814
Paris
Lunéville
1801
Strasburg
Rhine R.
Ulm
1805
Ratisbon
Austerlitz
1805
Essling
Wagram
1809
Aspern
1809
Danube R.
Quiberon
1795
Rothiere
1814
Vienna
Hohenlinden
1800
Leoben
1797
Buda
Pest
Theiss R.
Vendee
1793-95
Loire R.
Innsbruck
St. Gothard
1799
Drave R.
Save R.
Fokchani
1789
Bukharest
Silistria
Varna
Rustchuk
Danube R.
Shumla
1810
Finisterre
1805
Corunna
Lyons
St. Bernard
1793
Milan
1796
Campo Formio
Adige R.
Po R.
Turin
Marengo
1800
Genoa
Mondovi
Nice
Var R.
Piacenza
1746
Belgrade
1789
Vidin
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Bayonne
Toulouse
1814
Victoria
1813
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Toulon
1793
Florence
Ancona
Cattaro
Constantinople
Giudad Rodrigo
Coimbra
Saragossa
1808-1809
Madrid
Torres Vedras
Cintra
Lisbon
Tagus
1808
Talavera de la Reina
Guadiana R.
Valencia
1812
Minorca
1798
CORSICA
Rome
1798
Naples
SARDINIA
Lemnos
1807
AEGEAN SEA
Athens
EGYPT
Acre
1799
Mt. Tabor
Nazareth
Alexandria
Aboukir Bay
1798
Jaffa
Gaza
Syria
Cairo
Pyramids
1798
Bizerta
C. St. Vincent
1797
Guadalquivir R.
Baylen
1808
Seville
C. Trafalgar
1805
Cadiz
Long. East 5 of Greenwich

sixth of all that she possessed. She lost her only port and became entirely land-locked.

Having defeated Austria for the fourth time, Napoleon treated Europe to one of those swift transformation scenes of which he was fond as showing his easy and incalculable mastery of the situation. He contracted a marriage alliance with the House of Hapsburg which he had so repeatedly humbled, one of the proudest royal houses in Europe. He had long considered the advisability of a divorce from Josephine, as she had given him no heir and as the stability of the system he had erected depended upon his having one. At his demand the Senate dissolved his marriage with Josephine, and the ecclesiastical court in Paris was even more accommodating, declaring that owing to some irregularity the marriage had never taken place at all. Free thus by action of the State and the Church he asked the Emperor of Austria for the hand of his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, and received it. This political marriage was considered advantageous on both sides. It seemed likely to prevent any further trouble between the two countries, to serve as a protection to Austria, to raise Napoleon's prestige by his connection with one of the oldest and proudest reigning houses of Europe, and to insure the continuance of the régime he had established with such display of genius. Thus only seventeen years after the execution of Marie Antoinette, another Austrian princess sat upon the throne of France. The marriage occurred in 1810 and in the following year was born the son for whom the title "King of Rome" stood ready.

Napoleon marries the Archduchess Marie Louise (April, 1810)

EMPRESS MARIE LOUISE
From a picture by Prudhon.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon was now at the zenith of his power. He ruled directly over an empire that was far larger than the former Kingdom of France. In 1809 he annexed what remained of the Papal States in Italy, together with the incomparable city of Rome, thus ending, for the time at least, the temporal power of the Pope. In 1810 he forced his brother Louis to abdicate the kingship of Holland, which country was now incorporated in France. He also, as has been already stated, extended the empire along the northern coasts of Germany from Holland to Lübeck, thus controlling Hamburg, Bremen, and the mouths of the important German rivers. Each one of these annexations was in pursuance of his policy of the Continental Blockade, closing so much more of the coastline of Europe to the commerce of England, the remaining enemy which he now expected to humble. He was Emperor of a state that had 130 departments. He was also King of Italy, a state in the northeastern part of the peninsula. He was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, which included all Germany except Prussia and Austria, a confederation which had been enlarged since its formation by the addition of Westphalia and Saxony and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, extending, therefore, clear up to Russia. His brother Joseph was King of Spain, his brother Jerome King of Westphalia, his brother-in-law Murat King of Naples. All were mere satellites of his, receiving and executing his orders. Russia was his willing ally. Prussia and Austria were his allies, the former because forced to be, the latter at first for the same reason, and later because she saw an advantage in it. No ruler in history had ever dominated so much of Europe. This supreme, incomparable preëminence had been won by his sword, supplemented by his remarkable statesmanship and diplomacy.

Napoleon at the zenith of his power

Napoleon's power outside of France

England alone remained outside the pale, England alone had not been brought to bend the knee to the great conqueror. Even she was

EUROPE IN 1811
AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER
Empire of the French
Annexations to the French Empire
Independent States
States allied with Napoleon
States under Napoleonic control
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150 200 250
20 15 10 5 0 5 10
55
50
45
40
35
Long. East 10 of
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SKAGERRACK
GULF OF BISCAY
ENGLISH CHANNEL
St. George's Channel
Irish Sea
The Hebrides
Shetland
Orkney Is.
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Fredrikshald
Arendal
Christiansand
Aberdeen
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Durham
IRELAND
Armagh
Dublin
Limerick
Cork
Liverpool
York
Hull
Chester
Nottingham
Newark
Norwich
Cambridge
Oxford
Worcester
Cardiff
Gloucester
Southampton
Exeter
Plymouth
London
Dover
Boulogne
Calais
Cherbourg
Havre
Dieppe
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Ghent
Aix la Chapelle
Cologne
Osnabrück
Utrecht
Minden
Münster
Bremen
Hamburg
Lübeck
Kingdom of Denmark
Brest
Caen
St. Germain
Rouen
Paris
Versailles
Amiens
Compiegne
Reims
Metz
Strasburg
Mainz
Stuttgart
Rennes
Chartres
Le Mans
Fontainebleau
Angers
Nantes
Blois
Orleans
Tours
Dijon
Mülhausen
Besançon
Basel
Berne
Switzerland
Cholet
Loudun
Nevers
La Rochelle
Montpensier
Rochefort
Angoulême
Geneva
Lyon
Chambery
Grenoble
Turin
Milan
Pompadour
Valence
Bordeaux
Corunna
Oviedo
Espinosa
Bayonne
Agen
Montauban
Nimes
Avignon
Nice
Piacenza
Vigo
Leon
Vitoria
Toulouse
Montpellier
Marseilles
Toulon
Oporto
Braganza
Burgos
Pau
Pamplona
Narbonne
Medina de Rioseco
Tudela
Cardona
Lerida
Busaco
Coimbra
Salamanca
Duero R.
Saragossa
Somosierra
Tortosa
Gerona
Barcelona
Tarragona
Ajaccio
Corsica
Bastia
Elba
Bonifacio
Torres Vedras
Vimeiro
Ciudad Rodrigo
Puentes de Onoro
Tagus R.
Madrid
Viciosa
Cuenca
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
Balearic Is.
Sassari
Kingdom of Sardinia
Oristono
Cagliari
Elvas
Alcantara
Aranjuez
Lisbon
Albuera
Guadiana R.
Ciudad Real
Almansa
Beja
Lagos
Guadalquivir R.
Bailen
Cordova
Murcia
Seville
Malaga
Granada
Cartagena
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Algiers
Bona
Bizerta
Tunis
Oran
Portugal
Spain
France
Empire
Switzerland
Kingdom of Denmark

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Lake Ladoga
Viborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Kronstadt
St. Petersburg
Peterhof
Sveaborg
Aland
Stockholm
Dagö
Reval
Dorpat
Pskov
Ostrov
Novgorod
Valdai
Tver
Volga R.
Vologda
Suchona R.
Nijni Novgorod
Volga R.
Vladimir
Oka R.
Preobrazhensk
Moscow
Tula
Kaluga
Borodino
Viasma
Smolensk
Andrussov
Orsha
Mohilev
Polotsk
Dwina R.
Mitau
Libau
Riga
Gulf of Riga
Ösel
Wisby
Gothland
Memel
Kovno
Vilna
Grodno
Minsk
Berezina R.
Dniepr R.
Desna R.
Voronezh
Don R.
Tilsit
Friedland
Königsberg
Elbing
Danzig
Thorn
Bromberg
Pultusk
Bialystok
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Bug R.
Brest
Bielgorod
Kiev
Poltava
Donetz R.
Ekaterinoslav
Dnieper R.
Berditchev
Azov
Praga
Warsaw
Macijowice
Lodz
Kalisz
Radom
Lublin
Breslau
Oppeln
Rawka
Kielce
Posen
Prussia
Duchy of Warsaw
Silesia
Olmütz
Moravia
Brünn
Austerlitz
Neusohl
Kaschau
Munkacs
Cracow
Lemberg
Halicz
Galicia
Kamenetz
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Czernowitz
Pruth R.
Jassy
Hushi
Kherson
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Kertch
Crimea
Sevastopol
Black Sea
Wagram
Aspern
Vienna
Presburg
Erlau
Buda
Pest
Austria
Hungary
Gross Wardein
Szegedin
Lugos
Hermanstadt
Kronstadt
Galatz
Wallachia
Bucharest
Danube R.
Silistria
Varna
Sinope
Pemesvar
Zenta
Agram
Slavonia
Belgrade
Save R.
Drave R.
Semendria
Krajova
Widin
Nicopol
Shumla
Bosnia
Turkish Empire
Nish
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Scutari
Angora
Brusa
Kavala
Salonika
Berat
Brindisi
Naples
Bari
Taranto
Otranto
Corfu
Larissa
Janina
Arta
Prevyza
Smyrna
Cephalonia
Patras
Corinth
Zante
Tripolitza
Navarino
Rhodes
Cyprus
Reggio
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Cerigo
Crete
Malta
Mediterranean Sea
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breathing heavily, because the Continental System was inflicting terrible damage upon her. Factories were being forced to shut down, multitudes of laborers were being thrown out of work or were receiving starvation wages, riots and other evidences of unrest and even desperation seemed to indicate that even she must soon come to terms.

England shows signs of strain

But this vast and imposing fabric of power rested upon uncertain bases. Built up, story upon story, by this highly imaginative and able mind, the architect left out of reckoning or despised the strains and stresses to which it was increasingly subjected. The rapidity with which this colossal structure fell to pieces in a few years shows how poorly consolidated it was, how rickety and precarious its foundations. Even a slight analysis will reveal numerous and foreboding elements of weakness beneath all this pomp and pageantry of power. Erected by the genius of a single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes — and fortune is notoriously fickle. Built up by war, by conquest, it was necessarily environed by the hatred of the conquered. With every advance, every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discontent. Based on force, it could only be maintained by force. There could be and there was in all this vast extent of empire no common loyalty to the Emperor. Despotism, and Napoleon's régime was one of pitiless despotism, evoked no loyalty, only obedience based on fear. Europe has always refused to be dominated by a single nation or by a single man. It has run the risk several times in its history of passing under such a yoke, but it always in the end succeeded in escaping it. Universal dominion is an anachronism. The secret of Great Britain's hold upon many of the component parts of her empire lies in the fact that she allows them liberty to develop their own life in their own way. But such a conception was utterly beyond Napoleon, contrary to all his instincts and convictions. His empire meant the negation of liberty in the various countries which he dominated, France included. Napoleon's conquests necessarily ranged against him his powerful and unconquerable spirit. The more conquests, the more enemies, only waiting intently for the moment of liberation, scanning the horizon everywhere for the first sign of weakness which to them would be the harbinger of hope. This they found in Spain, and in the Austrian campaign in 1809

Elements of weakness in the Napoleonic structure

Napoleon's system based on despotism

All Europe waits for the hour of liberation

in which the machinery of military conquest had creaked, had worked clumsily, had threatened at one moment to break down.

There was a force in the world which ran directly counter to Napoleon's projects, the principle of nationality. Napoleon despised this feeling, and in the end it was his undoing. He might have seen that it had been the strength of France a few years earlier, that now this spirit had passed beyond the natural boundaries and was waking into a new life, was nerving to a new vigor, countries like Spain, even Austria and, most conspicuously, Prussia.

Napoleon's contempt for the spirit of nationality

Prussia after Jena underwent the most serious humiliation a nation can be called to endure. For several years she was under the iron heel of Napoleon, who kept large armies quartered on her soil, who drained her resources, who interfered peremptorily in the management of her government, who forbade her to have more than 42,000 soldiers in her army. But out of the very depths of this national degradation came Prussia's salvation. Her noblest spirits were aroused to seek the causes of this unexpected and immeasurable national calamity and to try to remedy them. From 1808 to 1812 Prussians, under the very scrutiny of Napoleon, who had eyes but did not see, worked passionately upon the problem of national regeneration. The result surpassed belief. A tremendous national patriotism was aroused by the poets and thinkers, the philosophers and teachers, all bending their energies to the task of quickening among the youth the spirit of unselfish devotion to the fatherland. An electric current of enthusiasm, of idealism, swept through the educational centers and through large masses of the people. The University of Berlin, founded in 1809, in Prussia's darkest hour, was, from the beginning, a dynamic force. It and other universities became nurseries of patriotism.

Prussia after Jena

Prussia underwent regeneration in other ways. Particularly memorable was the work of two statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg. Stein, in considering the causes of Prussia's unexampled woes, came to the conclusion that they lay in her defective or harmful social and legal institutions. The masses of Prussia were serfs, bound to the soil, their personal liberty gravely restricted, and, as Stein said, "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." He persuaded the King to issue an edict of emancipation, abolishing serfdom. The Prussian King, he said, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of

Abolition of serfdom in Prussia (1807)

free men." Many other reforms were passed abolishing or reducing class distinctions and privileges. In all this Stein was largely imitating the French Revolutionists who by their epoch-making reforms had released the energies of the French so that their power had been vastly augmented. The army, too, was reorganized, opportunity was opened to talent, as in France, with what magical results we have seen. As Napoleon forbade that the Prussian army should number more than 42,000 men, the ingenious device was hit upon of having men serve with the colors only a brief time, long enough to learn the essentials of the soldier's life. Then they would pass into the reserve and others would be put rapidly through the same training. By this method several times 42,000 men received a military training whose effectiveness was later to be proved.

Stein's reforms show the influence of the French Revolution

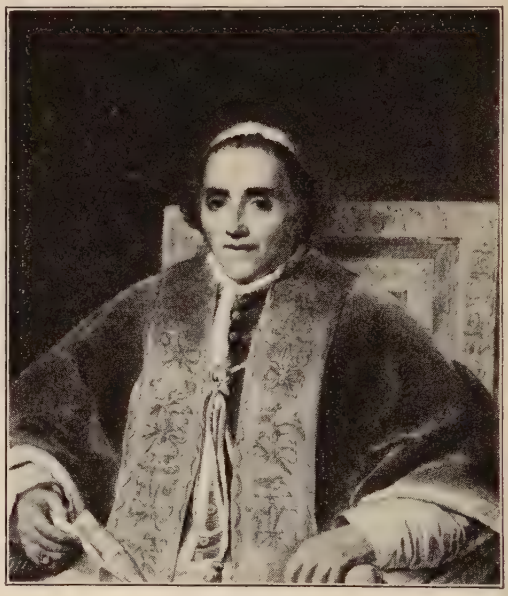
Army reforms in Prussia

BARON VOM STEIN
From an engraving by Lützenkirchen.

Thus Prussia's regeneration went on. The new national spirit, wonderfully invigorated, waited with impatience for its hour of probation. It should be noted, however, that these reforms, which resembled in many respects those accomplished in France by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention, and which were in fact suggested by them, rested however, on very different principles. There was in Prussia no assertion of the Rights of Man, no proclamation of the people as sovereign. In Prussia it was the king who made the reforms, not the people. The theory of the divine right of the monarch was not touched but was maintained as sacred as ever. There was reform in Prussia but no revolution. Prussia took no step toward democracy.

No yielding by Prussia to democratic principles of government

This distinction has colored the whole subsequent history of that kingdom and colors it today. "Everything for the people, nothing by the people," was evidently the underlying principle in this work of national reorganization. Even these reforms were not carried out completely, owing to opposition from within the kingdom and from without. But, though incomplete, they were very vitalizing.



Pope Pius VII
From an engraving by Oudaille, after the painting by David.

Napoleon's policies had created other enmities in abundance which were mining the ground beneath him. His treatment of the Pope, whom he held as a prisoner and whose temporal power he had abolished by incorporating his states, a part in the French Empire and a part in the Kingdom of Italy, made the Catholic clergy everywhere hostile, and offended the faithful.

The Church hostile to Napoleon

Rome, hitherto the papal capital, was declared the second city of the Empire and served as a title for Napoleon's son. All rights of the Pope were thus cavalierly ignored. The vast and subtle influence of the Church was of course now directed to the debasement of the man it had previously conspicuously favored and exalted. In addition to combatting the rising tide of nationality, Napoleon henceforth also had his quarrel with the Papacy.

Into these entanglements he had been brought by the necessities of his conflict with England, by the Continental Blockade. For it was that system that drove him on from one aggression to another, from annexation to annexation. That system, too, created profound discontent in all the countries of the conti-

Disastrous effects of the Continental Blockade

nent, including France itself. By enormously raising the price of such necessaries as cotton and sugar and coffee and tea, products of Britain's colonies or of the tropical countries with which she traded, they introduced hardship and irritation into every home. The normal course of business was turned inside out and men suddenly found their livelihood gone and ruin threatening or already upon them. To get the commodities to which they were accustomed they smuggled on a large and desperate scale. This led to new and severe regulations and harsher punishments, and thus the tyrannical interference in their private lives made multitudes in every country hate the tyranny and long for its overthrow. Widespread economic suffering was the inevitable result of the Continental System and did more to make Napoleon's rule unpopular throughout Europe than did anything else except the enormous waste of life occasioned by the incessant warfare. That system, too, was the chief cause of the rupture of the alliance between Russia and France, in 1812, a rupture which led to appalling disaster for Napoleon and was the beginning of the end. The whole stupendous superstructure of Napoleonic statecraft and diplomacy fell like a house of cards in the three years 1812, 1813, and 1814.

Widespread economic suffering

The Franco-Russian Alliance, concluded so hastily and unexpectedly at Tilsit in 1807, lasted nominally nearly five years. It was however unpopular from the beginning with certain influential classes in Russia and its inconveniences became increasingly apparent. The aristocracy of Russia, a powerful body, hated this alliance with a country which had abolished its own nobility, leaving its members impoverished by the loss of their lands and privileges. There could be no sympathy between the Russian nobility, based upon the grinding serfdom of the masses, and the country which had swept all traces of feudalism aside and proclaimed the equality of men. Moreover, the Russian nobility hated the Continental System, as it nearly destroyed the commerce with England in wheat, flax, and timber, which was the chief source of their wealth. Furthermore, the Czar Alexander I, having obtained some of the advantages he had expected from his alliance, was irritated, now that he did not obtain others for which he had hoped. He had gained Finland from Sweden and the Danubian Principalities from Turkey, but the vague

The Franco-Russian alliance

Its unpopularity in Russia

Relations between Napoleon and Alexander I

though alluring prospect of a division of the Turkish Empire still remained unfulfilled and was, indeed, receding into the limbo of the unlikely. He wanted Constantinople, and Napoleon made it clear he could never have it. Moreover Alexander was alarmed by Napoleon's schemes with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a state made out of the Polish provinces which had been acquired by Prussia and Austria. Alexander had no objection to Prussia and Austria losing their Polish provinces, but he himself had Polish provinces and he dreaded anything that looked like a resurrection of the former Kingdom of Poland, any appeal to the Polish national feeling.

The alliance undermined by the Continental System

But the main cause of Alexander's gradual alienation from his ally was the Continental Blockade. This was working great financial loss to Russia. Moreover its inconveniences were coming home to him in other ways. To enforce the system more completely in Germany Napoleon seized in 1811 the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, which belonged to Alexander's brother-in-law.

The Franco-Russian alliance breaks down in 1812

Thus the alliance was being subjected to a strain it could not stand. In 1812 it snapped, and loud was the report. Napoleon would not allow any breach of the Continental Blockade if he could prevent it. He resolved to force Russia, as he had forced the rest of the continent, to do his bidding. He demanded that she live up to her promises and exclude British commerce. The answers were evasive, unsatisfactory, and in June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen with the largest army he ever commanded, over half a million men, the "army of twenty nations," as the Russians called it. About one-half were French. The rest were a motley host of Italians, Danes, Croatians, Dalmatians, Poles, Dutchmen, Westphalians, Saxons, Bavarians, Würtembergers, and still others. For the first time in his military career Napoleon commanded the coöperation of Austria and Prussia, both of which were compelled to send contingents. There were 100,000 cavalry and a numerous and powerful artillery. He had around him a brilliant staff of officers, Murat, Ney, Eugène Beauharnais and others. It seemed as if no power on earth could resist such an engine of destruction. Napoleon himself spoke of the expedition as the "last act" of the play.

Napoleon invades Russia

It was not quite that, but it was a supremely important act, one full of surprises. From the very start it was seen that in numbers there is

sometimes weakness, not strength. This vast machine speedily commenced to give way beneath its own weight. The army had not advanced five days before the commissary department began to break down and bread was lacking. Horses, improperly nourished, died by the thousands, thus still further demoralizing the commissariat and imperiling the artillery. The Russians adopted the policy of not fighting but constantly retreating, luring the enemy farther and farther into a country which they took the pains to devastate as they retired, leaving no provisions or supplies for the invaders, no stations for the incapacitated, as they burned their villages on leaving them. Napoleon, seeking above everything a battle, in which he hoped to crush the enemy, was denied the opportunity. The Russians had studied the Duke of Wellington's methods in Portugal and profited by their study. It was 700 miles from the Niemen to Moscow. Napoleon had had no intention of going so far, but the tactics of his enemy forced him steadily to proceed. The Czar had announced that he would retire into Asia if necessary, rather than sign a peace with his enemy on the sacred soil of Russia. Napoleon hoped for a battle at Smolensk but only succeeded in getting a rear-guard action and a city in flames.

Disorganization in the commissary department

The Russians continually retreat

NAPOLEON'S CAMP BED
Redrawn from a photograph.

This policy of continual retreat, so irritating to the French Emperor, was equally irritating to the Russian people, who did not understand the reason and who clamored for a change. The Russians therefore took up a strong position at Borodino on the route to Moscow. There a battle occurred on September 7, 1812, between the French army of 125,000 men and the Russian of 100,000. The battle was one of the bloodiest of the whole epoch. The French lost 30,000, the Russians 40,000 men. Napoleon's victory was not overwhelming, probably because he could not bring himself to throw in the Old Guard. The

The battle of Borodino

Russians retreated in good order, leaving the road open to Moscow, which city Napoleon entered September 14. The army had experienced terrible hardships all the way, first over roads soaked by constant rains, then later over roads intensely heated by July suns and giving forth suffocating clouds of dust. Terrible losses, thousands a day, had characterized the march of seven hundred miles from the Niemen to Moscow.

Napoleon enters Moscow September 14, 1812

Napoleon had resolved on the march to Moscow expecting that the Russians would consent to peace, once the ancient capital was in danger. But no one appeared for that purpose. He found Moscow practically deserted, only 15,000 there, out of a population of 250,000. Moreover the day after his entry fires broke out in various parts of the city, probably set by Russians. For four days the fearful conflagration raged, consuming a large part of the city. Still Napoleon stayed on, week after week, fearing the effect that the news of a retreat might produce, and hoping, against hope, that the Czar would sue for peace. Finally there was nothing to do, after wasting a month of precious time, but to order the retreat. This was a long-drawn-out agony, during which an army of 100,000 men was reduced to a few paltry thousands, fretted all along the route by which they had come by Russian armies and by Cossack guerilla bands, horrified by the sight of thousands of their comrades still unburied on the battlefield of Borodino, suffering indescribable hardships of hunger and exhaustion and finally caught in all the horrors of a fierce Russian winter, clad, as many of them were, lightly for a summer campaign. The scenes that accompanied this flight and rout were of unutterable woe, culminating in the hideous tragedy of the crossing of the Beresina, the bridge breaking down under the wild confusion of men fighting to get across, horses frightened, the way blocked by carts and wagons, the bridges raked by the fire of the Russian artillery. Thousands were left behind, many fell or threw themselves into the icy river and were frozen to death. In the river, says one writer, when the Russians came up later they saw "awful heaps of drowned soldiers, women, and children, emerging above the surface of the waters, and here and there rigid in death like statues on their ice-bound horses." A few thousand out of all the army finally got out of Russia and across the Niemen. Many could only crawl to the hospitals asking for "the rooms where people die." History has few ghastlier pages in all its annals.

The burning of Moscow

The retreat from Moscow

The crossing of the Beresina

Napoleon himself left the army in December, and traveled rapidly incognito to Paris, which he reached on the 18th. "I shall be back on the Niemen in the spring," was the statement with which he tried to make men think that the lost position would be soon recovered.

Napoleon plans a new campaign

NAPOLEON RETURNING TO FRANCE, DECEMBER, 1812
Redrawn from a sketch by Faber du Faur.
Not made on the spot but probably presenting approximately the kind of equipage in which Napoleon travelled. He was accompanied by five other persons only.

He did not quite keep the promise. He did not get as far back again as the Niemen. But 1813 saw him battling for his supremacy in Germany, as 1812 had seen him battling for it in Russia. The Russian disaster had sent a thrill of hope through the ranks of his enemies everywhere. The colossus might be, indeed appeared to be, falling. Had not the auspicious moment arrived for annihilating him? Particularly violent was the hatred of the Prussians who had, more than other peoples, felt the ruthlessness of his tyranny for the last six years. They trembled with eagerness to be let loose and when their King made a treaty of alliance with Russia and subsequently made a more direct and personal appeal to his people than any Prussian monarch had ever made before, they responded enthusiastically. There was a significant feature about this Treaty of Kalisch with Russia. Russia was not to lay down her arms against Napoleon until Prussia had recovered an area equal to that which she had

Prussia joins Russia against Napoleon (February 1813)

possessed before the battle of Jena. But the area was not to be the same, for Russia was to keep Prussia's Polish provinces, now included in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose doom was decreed. Prussia should have compensation in northern Germany.

Could Napoleon rely on the Confederation of the Rhine and on his ally Austria? This remained to be seen. A reverse would almost surely cost him the support of the former and the neutrality of the latter. Their loyalty would be proportioned to his success. There was with them not the same popular wrath as with the Prussians. On the other hand their princes had a keen eye for the main chance. Austria surely would use Napoleon's necessities for her own advantage. The princes of the Rhenish Confederation wished to retain the advantages they had won largely through their complaisant coöperation with Napoleon during recent years. Austria wished to recover advantages she had lost, territory, prestige, badly tattered and torn by four unsuccessful campaigns.

Napoleon's doubtful allies

Napoleon, working feverishly since the return from Russia, finally got an army of over 200,000 men together. But to do this he had to draw upon the youth of France, as never before, calling out recruits a year before their time for service was due. A large part of them were untrained, and had to get their training on the march into Germany. The army was weak in cavalry, a decisive instrument in following up a victory and clinching it.

The campaign of 1813 in Germany

Napoleon was back in central Germany before the Russians and Prussians were fully prepared. He defeated them at Lützen and at Bautzen in May, 1813, but was unable to follow up his victories because of the lack of sufficient cavalry, and the campaign convinced him that he could accomplish nothing decisive without reinforcements. He therefore agreed, in an unlucky moment, as it later proved, to a six weeks' armistice. During that time he did get large reinforcements but his enemies got larger. And during that interval the diplomatic intriguing went against him so that when the armistice was over Austria had joined the alliance of Russia, Prussia, and England, against him. He defeated the Austrians at Dresden (August 26–27), his last great victory. His subordinates were, however, beaten in various subsidiary engagements and he was driven back upon Leipsic. There occurred a decisive three days' battle, the "Battle of

A fatal armistice in mid-campaign

Austria joins the alliance against Napoleon

he Nations," as the Germans call it (October 16–18). In point of numbers involved this was the greatest battle of the Napoleonic era. Over half a million men took part, at most 200,000 under Napoleon, 300,000 under the commanders of the allies. Napoleon was disastrously defeated and was sent flying back across the Rhine with only a small remnant of his army. The whole political structure which he had built up in Ger-

The battle of Leipsic (October 16–18, 1813)

NAPOLEON'S WAR HORSE, "MARENGO"

many collapsed. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine deserted the falling star, and entered the alliance against him, on the guarantee of their possessions by the allies. Jerome fled from Westphalia and his brief kingdom disappeared. Meanwhile Wellington, who for years had been aiding the Spaniards, had been successful and was crossing the Pyrenees into Southern France. The coils were closing in upon the lion, who now stood at bay.

The crash of the Napoleonic system

The allies moved on after the retreating French toward the Rhine. It had been no part of their original purpose to demand Napoleon's abdication. They now, in November, 1813, offered him peace on the basis of the natural frontiers of France, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. He would not accept but procrastinated,

To yield, or not to yield?

and made counter-propositions. Even in February, 1814, he could have retained his throne and the historic boundaries of the old Bourbon monarchy, had he been willing to renounce the rest. He dallied with the suggestion, secretly hoping for some turn in luck that would spring the coalition apart and enable him to recover the ground he had lost. In thus refusing to recognize defeat, refusing to accept an altered situation, he did great harm to France and completed his own downfall. His stiff, uncompromising, unyielding temper sealed his doom. He was no longer acting as the wise statesman, responsible for the welfare of a great people who, by their unstinted sacrifices, had put him under heavy obligations. His was the spirit of the gambler, thinking to win all by a happy turn of the cards. He was also will incarnate. With will and luck all might yet be retrieved.

He had said on leaving Germany, "I shall be back in May with 250,000 men." He did not expect a winter campaign and he felt confident that by May he could have another army. The allies, however, did not wait for May but at the close of December, 1813 streamed across the Rhine and invaded France from various directions. France, victorious for eighteen years, now experienced what she had so often administered to others. The campaign was brief, only two months, February and March, 1814. Napoleon was hopelessly outnumbered. Yet this has been called the most brilliant of his campaigns. Fighting on the defensive and on inner lines, he showed marvellous mastery of the art of war, striking here, striking there, with great precision and swiftness, undaunted, resourceful, tireless. The allies needed every bit of their overwhelming superiority in numbers to compass the end of their redoubtable antagonist, with his back against the wall and his brain working with matchless lucidity and with lightning-like rapidity. They thought they could get to his capital in a week. It took them two months. However there could be but one end to such a campaign, if the allies held together, as they did. On the 30th of March Paris capitulated and on the following day the Czar Alexander and Frederick William III, the King of Prussia, made their formal entry into the city which the Duke of Brunswick twenty-two years before had threatened with destruction if it laid sacrilegious hands upon the King or Queen. Since that day much water had flowed under the bridge, and France and Europe had had a strange, eventful history, signifying much.

The campaign in France (1814)

The allies enter Paris (March 31, 1814)

The victors would not longer tolerate Napoleon. He was forced to abdicate unconditionally. He was allowed to retain his title of Emperor but henceforth he was to rule only over Elba, an island nineteen miles long and six miles wide, lying off the coast of Tuscany whence his Italian ancestors had sailed for Corsica two centuries and a half before he was born. Thither he repaired, having said farewell to the Old Guard in the courtyard of the palace of Fontainebleau, kissing the flag of France made lustrous on a hundred fields. "Nothing but sobbing was heard in all the ranks," wrote one of the soldiers who saw the scene, "and I can say that I too shed tears when I saw my Emperor depart."

On the day that Napoleon abdicated, the Senate, so-called guardian of the constitution, obsequious and servile to the Emperor in his days of fortune, turned to salute the rising sun, and in solemn session proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. The allies, who had conquered Napoleon and banished him to a petty island in the Mediterranean, thought they were done with him for good and all. But from this complacent self-assurance they were destined to a rude awakening. Their own errors and wranglings at the Congress of Vienna, whither they repaired in September, 1814 to divide the spoils and determine the future organization of Europe, and the mistakes and indiscretions of the Bourbons whom they restored to rule in France, gave Napoleon the opportunity for the most audacious and wonderful adventure of his life.

Louis XVIII becomes King of France

Louis XVIII, the new king, tried to adapt himself to the greatly altered circumstances of the country to which he now returned in the wake of foreign armies after an absence of twenty-two years. He saw that he could not be an absolute king as his ancestors had been, and he therefore granted a charter to the French, giving them a legislature and guaranteeing certain rights which they had won and which he saw could not safely be withdrawn. His régime assured much larger liberty than France had ever experienced under Napoleon. Nevertheless certain attitudes of his and ways of speaking, and the actions of the royalists who surrounded him, and several unwise measures of government, soon rendered him unpopular and irritated and alarmed the people. He spoke of himself as King *by the grace of God*, thus denying the sovereignty of the people; he dated his first document, the Constitutional Charter, from "the nineteenth year of my reign," as if there had never been a Republic and a Napoleonic Empire; he re-

The mistakes of the Bourbons

stored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been carried in triumph throughout Europe. What was much more serious, he offended thousands of Napoleon's army officers by retiring or putting them on half pay, many thus being reduced to destitution, and all feeling themselves dishonored. Moreover many former nobles who had early in the Revolution emigrated from France and then fought against her received honors and distinctions. Then, in addition, the Roman Catholic clergy and the nobles of the court talked loudly and unwisely about getting back their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the peasants, although both the Concordat of 1802 and the Charter of 1814 distinctly recognized and ratified these changes and promised that they should not be disturbed. The peasants were far and away the most numerous class in France and they were thus early alienated from the Bourbons by these threats at their most vital interest, their property rights, which Napoleon had always stoutly maintained. Thus a few months after Napoleon's abdication the evils of his reign were forgotten, the terrible cost in human life, the burdensome taxation, the tyranny of it all, and he was looked upon as a friend, as a hero to whom the soldiers had owed glory and repute and the peasants the secure possession of their farms. In this way a mental atmosphere hostile to Louis XVIII, and favorable to Napoleon was created by a few months of Bourbon rule.

The peasantry alarmed

Napoleon, penned up in his little island, took note of all this. He also heard of the serious dissensions of the allies now that they were trying to divide the spoils at Vienna, of their jealousies and animosities, which, in January, 1815, rose to such a pitch that Austria, France, and England prepared to go to war with Prussia and Russia over the allotment of the booty. He also knew that they were intriguing at the Congress for his banishment to some place remote from Europe.

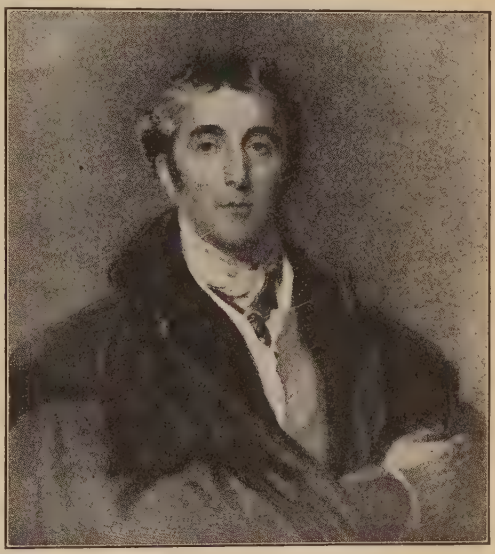
Dissension among the allies at Vienna

For ten months he had been in his miniature kingdom. The psychological moment had come for the most dramatic action of his life. Leaving the island with twelve hundred guards and escaping the vigilance of the British cruisers, he landed at Cannes on March 1. That night he started on the march to Paris and on March 20 entered the Tuileries, ruler of France once more. The return from Elba will always remain one of the most romantic episodes of history. With a force so small that it could

Napoleon resolves to try again

The return from Elba

asily have been taken prisoner, he had no alternative and no other vish than to appeal directly to the confidence of the people. Never was here such a magnificent response. All along the route the peasants re-eived him enthusiastically. But his appeal was particularly to the rmy, to which he issued ne of his stirring bulle-ins. "Soldiers," it be-an, "we have not been onquered. We were be-rayed. Soldiers! Come nd range yourselves nder the banner of your hief: his existence de-ends wholly on yours: is interests, his honor, nd his glory are your nterests, your honor, your lory. Come! Victory will march at double uick. The eagle with the ational colors shall fly rom steeple to steeple to he towers of Nôtre Dame. hen you will be able to how your scars with honor: then you will be able to boast of what you ave done: you will be the liberators of your country."



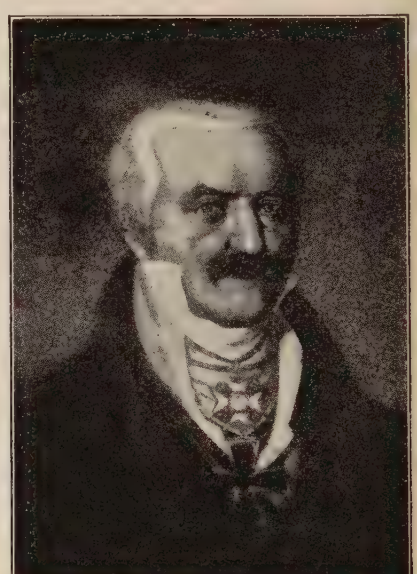
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Regiment after regiment went over to him. The royalists thought e would be arrested at Grenoble where there was a detachment of the rmy under a royalist commander. Napoleon went straight p to them, threw open his grey coat and said, "Here I m: you know me. If there is a soldier among you who ishes to shoot his Emperor, let him do it." The soldiers ocked over to him, tearing off the white cockades and putting on the icolor, which they had secretly carried in their knapsacks. Opposition elted away all along the route. It became a triumphant procession. hen lies would help, Napoleon told them—among others that it was ot ambition that brought him back, that "the forty-five best heads of he government of Paris have called me from Elba and my return is sup-

The soldiers flock to Napoleon's standard

ported by the three first powers of Europe." He admitted that he had made mistakes and assured the people that henceforth he desired only to follow the paths of peace and liberty. He had come back to protect the threatened blessings of the Revolution. The last part of this intoxicating journey he made in a carriage attended by only a half dozen Polish lancers. On March 20, Louis XVIII fled from the Tuileries. That evening Napoleon entered it.

Napoleon enters the Tuileries (March 20, 1815)



BLÜCHER
After a miniature by Müller.

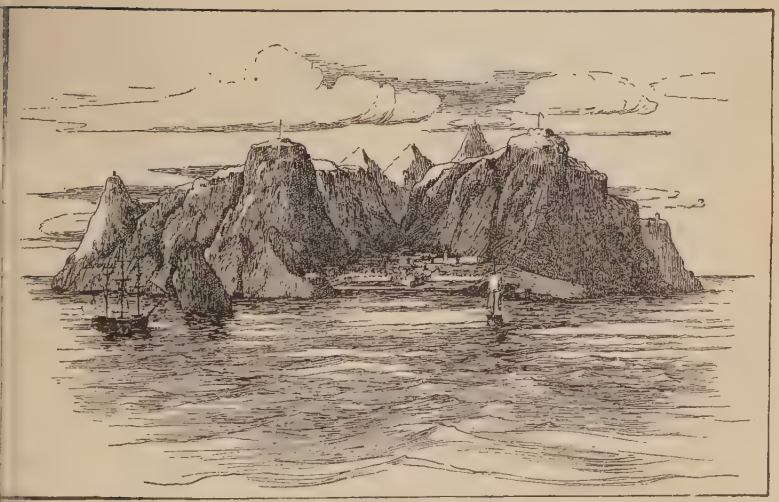
"What was the happiest period of your life as Emperor?" some one asked him at St. Helena. "The march from Cannes to Paris," was the quick reply.

His happiness was limited to less than the "Hundred Days" which this period of his reign is called. Attempting to reassure France and Europe, he met from the former, tired of war, only half-hearted support, from the allies only remorseless opposition. When the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna heard of his escape from Elba they immediately ceased their contentions and banded themselves together against "this disturber of the peace of Europe." They declared him an outlaw and set their armies in motion. He saw that he must fight to maintain himself. He resolved to attack before his enemies had time to effect their union. The battlefield was in Belgium, as Wellington with an army of English, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans, and, at some distance from them, Blücher with a large army of Prussians, were there. If Napoleon could prevent their union, then by defeating each separately, he would be in a stronger position when the Russian and Austrian armies came on. Perhaps, indeed, they would think it wiser not to come on at all but to conclude peace. In Belgium consequently occurred a four

The "Hundred Days"

The campaign in Belgium

NAPOLEON EMBARKING ON THE "BELLEROPHON"
Designed and engraved by Baugeau.



THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA
After the drawing by F. Clementson.

days' campaign culminating on the famous field of Waterloo, twelv

The Battle of Waterloo

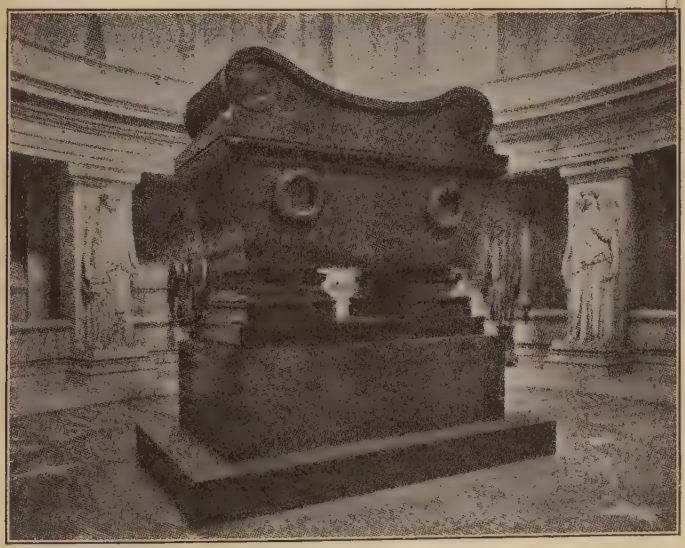
miles south of Brussels. There, on a hot Sunday in June Napoleon was disastrously defeated (June 18, 1815). Th sun of Austerlitz set forever. The battle began at half past eleven in th morning, was characterized by prodigies of valor, by tremendous charge of cavalry and infantry back and forth over a sodden field. Wellingto held his position hour after hour as wave after wave of French troop

Longwood, Napoleon's House at St. Helena

rushed up the hill, foaming in and about the solid unflinching Britis squares, then, unable to break them, foamed back again. Wellingt held on, hoping, looking for the Prussians under Blücher, who, at t beginning of the battle, were eleven miles away. They had promised join him, if he accepted battle there, and late in the afternoon they ke the promise. Their arrival was decisive, as Napoleon was now great outnumbered. In the early evening, as the sun was setting, the la charge of the French was repulsed. Repulse soon turned into a ro and the demoralized army streamed from the field in utter panic, fierce pursued by the Prussians. The Emperor, seeing the utter annihilati of his army, sought death, but sought in vain. "I ought to have di

Waterloo," he said later, "but the misfortune is that when a man seeks death most he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind — everywhere. But there was no bullet for me." He fled to Paris, then toward the western coast of France hoping to escape to the United States, but the English cruisers off the shore rendered that impossible. Making the best of necessity he threw himself upon the generosity of the British. "I have come," he announced, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation." Instead of receiving it, however, he was sent to rock in the South Atlantic, the island of St. Helena, where he was kept under a petty and ignoble surveillance. Six years later he died of

Napoleon banished to St Helena



Napoleon's Tomb in the Invalides, Paris

cancer of the stomach at the age of fifty-two, leaving an extraordinary legend behind him to disturb the future. He was buried under a slab that bore neither name nor date and it was twenty years before he was borne to his final resting-place under the dome of the Invalides in Paris, although in his last will and testament he had said: "My wish is to be buried on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well."

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Tomb of Napoleon at St. Helena

CHAPTER XII

THE CONGRESSES

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The overthrow of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult problems ever presented to statesmen and diplomatists. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by his enterprises, so all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic régime must be followed by the reconstruction of Europe.

Effects of the overthrow of Napoleon

This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September, 1814 — June, 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. "The city of Vienna," wrote one of the participants, "presents at this moment an overwhelming spectacle; all the most illustrious personages in Europe are represented here in the most exalted fashion." There were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and all the diplomats of Europe, of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most conspicuous. All the powers were represented except Turkey. There were representatives of the great European banking houses too, "money-changers," Wellington called them, and a multitude of adventurers and hangers-on of every stripe.

The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the Allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, and needed now but to be carried out. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, was restored to his throne, and Genoa was given him that thus the state which borders France on the southeast might be the stronger to resist French aggression. Belgium, previously an Austrian

possession, was annexed to Holland and to the House of Orange, now restored, that this state might be a barrier in the north. It was understood that, in general, the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the rearrangement of Europe, that is, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should receive them back again at the hands of collective Europe, though this principle was ignored whenever it so suited the interests of the Great Powers.

Principle of legitimacy

The Allies who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt that they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the eighteenth century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian Emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Russia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces if only she could be indemnified elsewhere. She therefore fixed her attention upon the rich Kingdom of Saxony to the south, with the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, as her compensation. To be sure there was a King of Saxony, and the doctrine of legitimacy would seem clearly to apply to him. But he had been faithful to his treaty obligations with Napoleon down to the battle of Leipsic, and thus, said Prussia, he had been a traitor to Germany, and his state was lawful prize.

Demands of Prussia

Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims but Austria and England and France opposed them stoutly, in the end even agreeing to go to war to prevent this aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favorable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the Allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
After the painting by Isabey.

They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

Russia emerged from the Congress with a goodly number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks; also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever, and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Russian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received, as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.

Austrian acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the Allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as has been already stated.

English acquisitions

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, and as princes connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also reëstablished.

The future of Italy

No union or federation of these states was effected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, should be only a "geographical expression." The doctrine of legitimacy, appealed to for the restoration of dynasties, was ignored by this congress of princes in the case of republics. "Republics are no longer fashionable," said the Czar to a Genoese deputation which came to protest against this arrangement. Genoa and Venice were handed over to others. Romilly mentioned in the English House of Commons that the Corinthian horses which Napoleon had brought from St. Mark's to Paris were restored to the Venetians, but that it was certainly a strange act of justice "to give them back their statues, but not to restore to them those far more valuable possessions, their territory and their republic," which had been wrested from them at the same time.

Italy a "geographical expression"

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these: Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden; Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all. The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavors. Great phrases, such as "the

Criticism of the Congress

reconstruction of the social order," "the regeneration of the political system of Europe," a "durable peace based upon a just division of power" were used by the diplomats of Vienna in order to impress the peoples of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage, but the peoples were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of peoples, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

Character of the Congress of Vienna

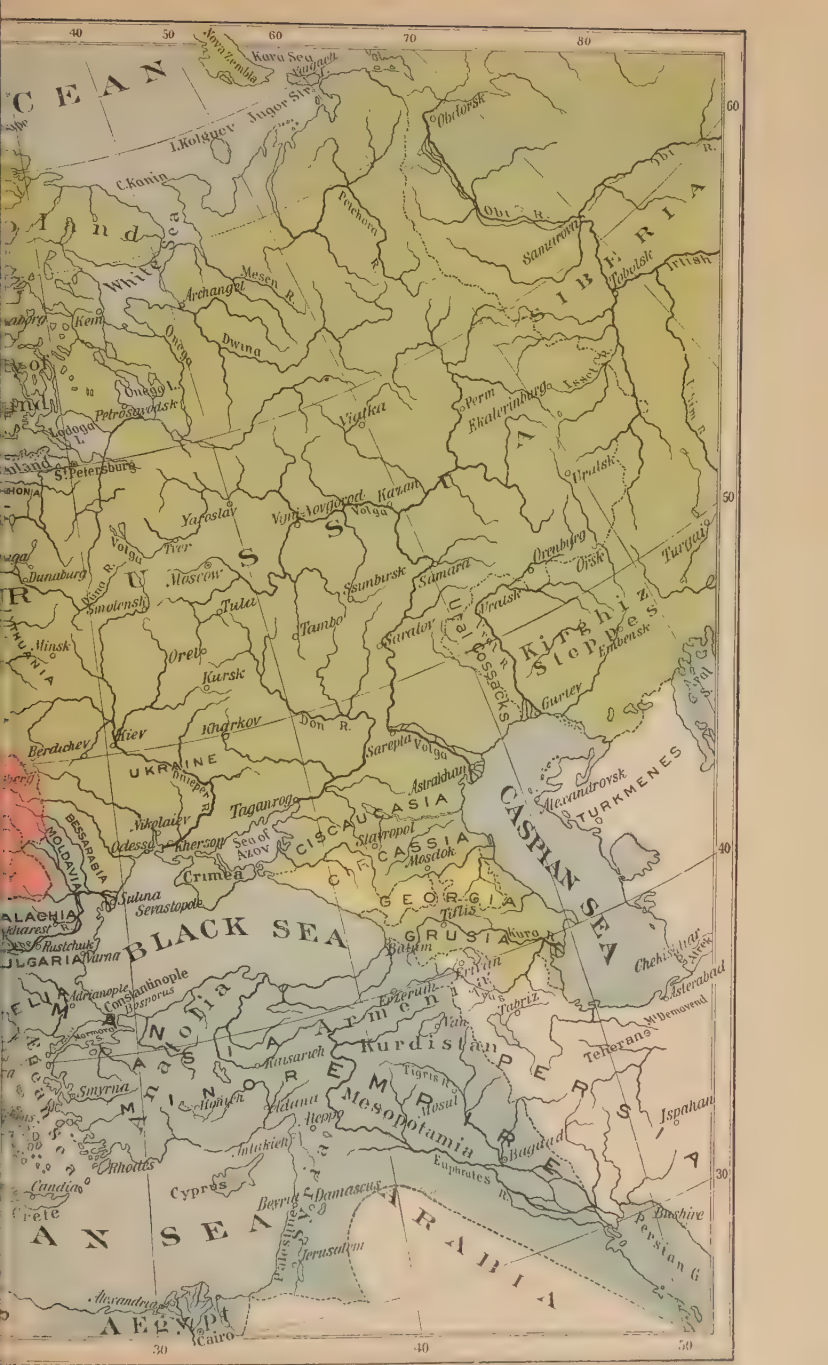
The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats, to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution were incomprehensible or loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their own desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. The people were treated as children incapable of thought in such high matters as their own destiny, with no right, because of their inexperience and immaturity, to be heard. The world was to be held in tutelage as always hitherto by men who considered themselves appointed to that end, the anointed of the Lord. They did not strive so to draw the boundaries of the different states as to satisfy the aspirations of the various peoples and thus to lay the foundations of a permanent peace. They aimed rather in their adjustments to create a so-called "balance of power." Theirs could be no "settlement" because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe from 1815 to the present day has been the attempt to undo this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

The principle of nationality ignored

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna the allies signed in 1815 two other documents of great significance in the future history of Europe, that establishing the so-called Holy Alliance, and that establishing the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I, of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a

The Holy Alliance

EUROPE
in 1815.
English Miles
Greenland
Iceland
Arctic Circle
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BRITISH ISLES
England
Scotland
Ireland
DENMARK
Christiania
Stockholm
Gothenburg
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stavanger
Skagerrack
Helgoland
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
Hamburg
Berlin
Dresden
Leipsic
Nuremberg
Prague
Vienna
Munich
Strasburg
Paris
Brest
Nantes
Havre
Lille
Brussels
LUXEMBURG
English Channel
Channel Is
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marseilles
Nice
Genoa
Milan
LOMBARDY-VENETIA
Trieste
Adriatic Sea
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
Naples
Tyrrhenian Sea
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Tangier
SPAIN
Madrid
Burgos
Bilbao
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Balearic Is
Palma
Iviza
Murcia
Granada
Seville
Malaga
Toledo
ANDORRA
C. of Lion
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
Bona
Constantine
Oran
Mostagan
Fez
Morocco
ALGERIA
Tunis
Malta
Gabes
Tripoli
Barca
Mesurata
Augila
TRIPOLI
Ghadames
Mequinez
Mogador
Tetuan
Ceuta
Tarifa
Lisbon
Reykiavik
Hecla
Faroe Is
Shetland Is
Orkney Is
Hebrides
Rockall
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Belfast
Dublin
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
London
Portsmouth
Southampton
Landsend
St. George's Channel
Ostend
Antwerp
Rotterdam
Hanover
Bremen
Frankfort
Wurtemburg
Ratisbon
Munich
Inspruck
Milan
Turin
Nice
Genoa
Parma
Modena
Florence
Leghorn
Pisa
Lucca
Rome
Naples
Gaeta
Capua
Sardinia
Corsica
Bastia
Ajaccio
Bonifacio
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Trapani
Girgenti
Sicily
Malta
Gozo
Corfu
Ionian Is
Zante
Cephalonia
Ithaca
Santa Maura
Prevesa
Albania
Scutari
Durazzo
Valona
Janina
Salonica
Thessaly
Larissa
Volo
Lepanto
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Negropont
Candia
Cerigo
Cerigotto
Milo
Scio
Smyrna
Ephesus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Nicosia
Larnaca
Paphos
Alexandria
Rosetta
Cairo
Suez
Red Sea
Mecca
Medina
Jidda
Mocha
Aden
Abyssinia
Gondar
Sennaar
Dongola
Nubia
Sahara
Fezzan
Mourzouk
Ghadames
Ghat
Augila
Barca
Derna
Bengazi
Tripoli
Gabes
Tunis
Bona
Algiers
Oran
Mostagan
Fez
Morocco
Mequinez
Mogador
Tetuan
Ceuta
Tarifa
Lisbon
Oporto
Coimbra
Santarem
Elvas
Badajoz
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Malaga
Granada
Murcia
Valencia
Alicante
Carthagena
Barcelona
Tarragona
Saragossa
Tortosa
Tudela
Pampeluna
Bilbao
Burgos
Valladolid
Madrid
Toledo
Aranjuez
Salamanca
Ciudad Rodrigo
Almeida
Abrantes
Coimbra
Oporto
Braga
Viana
Vigo
Corunna
Ferrol
Santander
Oviedo
Gijon
Leon
Zamora
Toro
Tordesillas
Valladolid
Segovia
Escurial
Madrid
Aranjuez
Toledo
Ciudad Real
Cordova
Seville
Xeres
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Algeciras
Tarifa
Ronda
Malaga
Granada
Jaen
Murcia
Carthagena
Alicante
Valencia
Xativa
Requena
Cuenca
Albacete
Chinchilla
Almanza
Villena
Alcoy
Denia
Gandia
Alcira
Murviedro
Sagunto
Castellon de la Plana
Tortosa
Tarragona
Barcelona
Gerona
Figueras
Rosas
Cape de Creus
Perpignan
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Toulouse
Montauban
Agen
Bordeaux
Libourne
Blaye
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Niort
Poitiers
Angouleme
Limoges
Perigueux
Brive
Tulle
Aurillac
Clermont
Riom
Moulins
Nevers
Auxerre
Sens
Fontainebleau
Melun
Paris
Versailles
Meaux
Soissons
Laon
Rheims
Chalons
Bar le Duc
Metz
Thionville
Luxemburg
Arlon
Namur
Liege
Maestricht
Bois le Duc
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leyden
The Hague
Rotterdam
Dordrecht
Middleburg
Flushing
Ostend
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Mons
Valenciennes
Lille
Arras
Amiens
Abbeville
Boulogne
Calais
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ypres
Courtrai
Tournay
Namur
Liege
Aix la Chapelle
Cologne
Coblentz
Mayence
Worms
Manheim
Carlsruhe
Rastadt
Kehl
Strasburg
Nancy
Metz
Thionville
Luxemburg
Treves
Trier
Kreuznach
Bingen
Frankfort
Hanau
Aschaffenburg
Wurtzburg
Bamberg
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Passau
Inspruck
Brixen
Botzen
Trent
Verona
Mantua
Peschiera
Legnano
Milan
Pavia
Alessandria
Turin
Susa
Mont Cenis
Chambery
Grenoble
Lyons
Vienne
Valence
Montelimart
Orange
Avignon
Nismes
Montpellier
Beziers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C E A N
Nova Zemblia
Kara Sea
Samoyeds
Jugor Str.
I.Kolguev
C.Kanin
Obdorsk
Obi R.
Petchora R.
Obi R.
Sanatrova
S I B E R I A
Tobolsk
Irtish
White Sea
Archangel
Mesen R.
Kem
Onega
Dwina
Onega L.
Petrosavodsk
Ladoga L.
St.Petersburg
Viatka
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Issetsk
Uralsk
Yaroslav
Nizni-Novgorod
Kazan
Volga
Orenburg
Orsk
Turuntai
Tver
Volga
Dunaburg
Dnieper R.
Moscow
Simbursk
Samara
Smolensk
Tula
Tambov
Saratov
Uralsk
Kirghiz Steppes
Minsk
Orel
Kursk
Ural R.
Cossacks
Gurlev
Embeusk
Kharkov
Don R.
Berdichev
Kiev
Saretpa
Volga
UKRAINE
Dniepr R.
Astrakhan
Alexandrovsk
TURKMENES
Taganrog
CISCAUCASIA
Nikolaiev
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Stavropol
Mosdok
CASPIAN SEA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
Crimea
Sebastopole
CIRCASSIA
GEORGIA
Tiflis
ALACHIA
Bucharest
Rustchuk
BLACK SEA
GRUSIA
Kuro R.
Batum
Chekishlar
Krasnovodsk
ULGARIA
Varna
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Erivan
Erzeroum
Tabriz
Asterabad
Mt Demavend
Nolia
Armenia
Kurdistan
Tehran
PERSIA
Ansarieh
Tigris R.
Smyrna
Konieh
Adana
Mosul
Ispahan
Aleppo
Mesopotamia
Bagdad
Orontes
Euphrates R.
Cyprus
Candia
Beyrut
Damascus
Persian G.
Bushire
Crete
Palestine
Jerusalem
ARABIA
Alexandria
EGYPT
Cairo

document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria, which was famous for a generation, and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign. The document stated that it was the intention of the powers henceforth to be guided, both in their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. All those powers which might wish to make avowal of these "sacred principles shall be received into the Holy Alliance with as much cordiality as affection." The other powers, thus asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Czar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state even made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the "Holy Allies."

The Quadruple Alliance (November 20, 1815)

The other document signed in 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time to time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the influence of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

Metternich, 1773–1859

Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance is shown in the phrases, "Era of Metternich," "System of Metternich." He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century.

A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing of European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born "to prop up the decaying structure" of European society. He felt the world resting on his shoulders. "My position has this peculiarity," he says, "that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be." He asks the question: "Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?" He himself admitted at the end of a long career that he had "never strayed from the path of eternal law," that his mind had "never entertained error." He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

Metternich's self-esteem

METTERNICH
After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long rôle was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in rabid and lurid phrases. It was "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be

Metternich's historical importance

urned out with the hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up he social order." He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered imself "God's lieutenant" in supporting it. He hated parliaments and epresentative systems of government. All this talk of liberty, equality, onstitutions, he regarded as pestilential, the odious chatter of revolu- ionary French minds. He defined himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness, such was the con- tant burden of his song. He was the convinced and resourceful op- onent of all struggles for national independence, of all aspirations for elf-government. Democracy could only "change daylight into darkest ight."

Napoleon once said of Metternich that "he mistook intrigue for tatesmanship." The acuteness of this characterization will be seen as e watch him at work upon his "system" in Austria, Germany, Italy, nd Spain in the decade following the overthrow of the French Emperor.

REACTION IN EUROPE AFTER 1815

AUSTRIA

"The battle of Waterloo," remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, "will e as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was angerous to the liberties of Rome." Napoleon was not exactly an au- hority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened espotism and unenlightened. His was, in the main, of the former ort. The kind that succeeded his in central Europe could not be so haracterized. The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the ontinent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation, like rance, but was composed of many races. To the west ere the Austrian duchies, chiefly German, the ancient ossessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north Bohe- nia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 526; to the east the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense lain of the middle Danube; to the south the Kingdom of Lombardy- enetia, purely Italian. The two leading races were the Germans, rming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars, riginally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the nth century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were any branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There ere also Roumanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Lack of unity in the Austrian Empire

To rule so conglomerate a realm of twenty-eight or twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792–1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different basis. Of these the nobility occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand the condition of the peasants, who formed the immense mass of the people, was deplorable in the extreme. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favored few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815.

Austria a land of the Old Régime

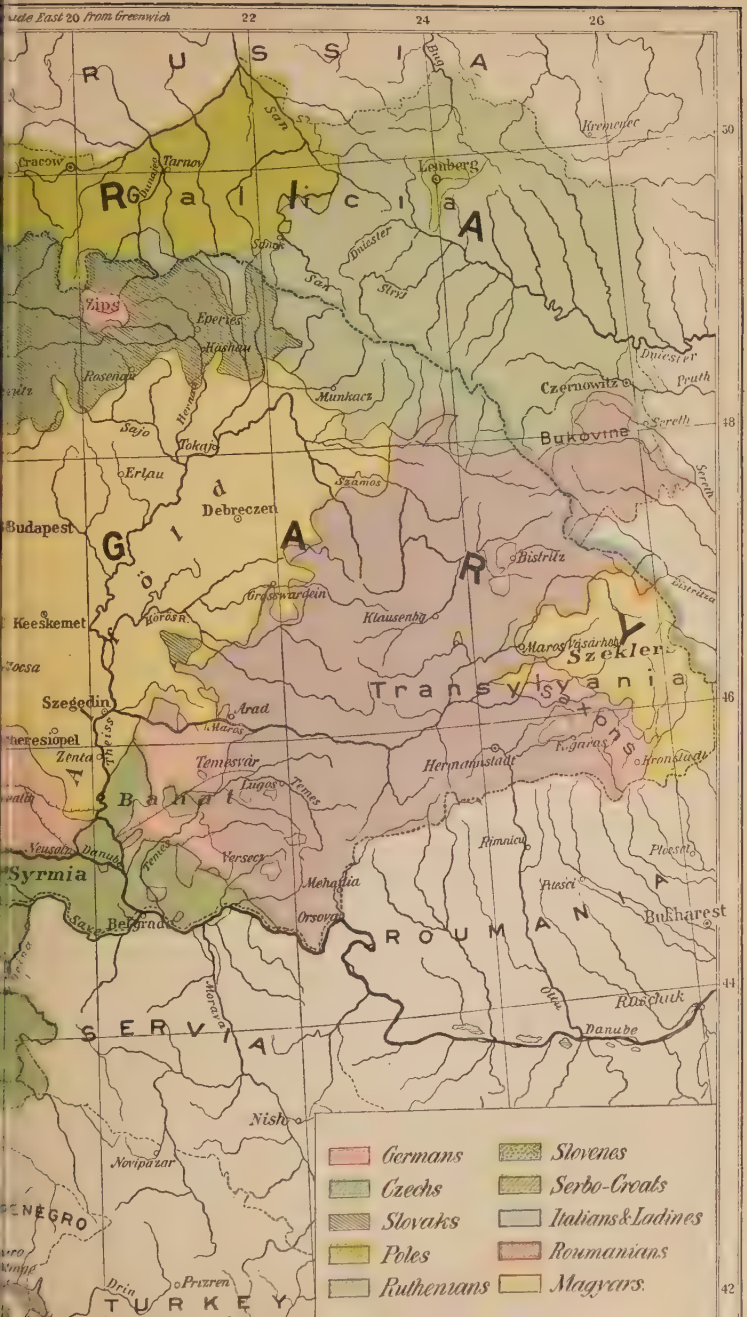
It was the fixed purpose of the government to maintain things as they were and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor, Ferdinand I (1835–48). During all this period Metternich was the chief minister. His system, at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship was applied to theaters, newspapers, books. The frontiers were guarded that foreign books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this government fear the universities, because it feared ideas. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures. The government insisted on having a complete list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Text-books were prescribed. Students might not study abroad, nor might they have societies of their own. Austrians might not travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best pro-

The police system

DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

0 62.5 125

English Miles


ude East 20 from Greenwich
22
24
26
RUSSIA
Bug
Sen
Przemysl
Cracow
Tarnov
Lemberg
Galicia
Dniester
Stry
Sambor
Zips
Eperies
Hasmas
Rosenau
Munkacz
Czernowitz
Pruth
Bukovine
Sereth
Bajo
Tokaj
Erlau
Szamos
Debreczen
Budapest
Bistritz
Kronstadt
Keeskemet
Koros R.
Klausenburg
Maros Vasarhely
Szekler
Transylvania
Szegedin
Arad
Maros
Temesvar
Hermannstadt
Kis Karos
Zenta
Banat
Lugos
Temes
Veusatz
Danube
Versecz
Pitesti
Bukharest
Syrmia
Mehadia
Orsova
Belgrad
ROUMANIA
Rustchuk
Danube
SERVIA
Nisch
Novipazar
MONTENEGRO
Drin
Prezren
TURKEY
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Poles
Ruthenians
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians & Ladines
Roumanians
Magyars
50
48
46
44
42

ection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich labored with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, in Germany through the Diet and the late governments, in Italy through interventions and treaties, binding Italian states not to follow policies opposed to the Austrian, and in general by bringing about a close accord of the Great Powers on this illiberal basis.

Application of the Metternich system in other countries

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian Empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

GERMANY

One of the important problems presented to the Congress of Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by the different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed. The federal government was remarkable mainly for its defects. The legislature, or Diet of Frankfort, was most inefficient. In all important legislation each state had practically a veto. In addition there was

Germany a loose confederation

The Diet

really no executive, and the judicial branch was extremely rudimentary. It was left to the rulers of the separate states to carry out the decisions of the Diet. As a matter of fact they executed them only when they wished to.

The Confederation a union of princes

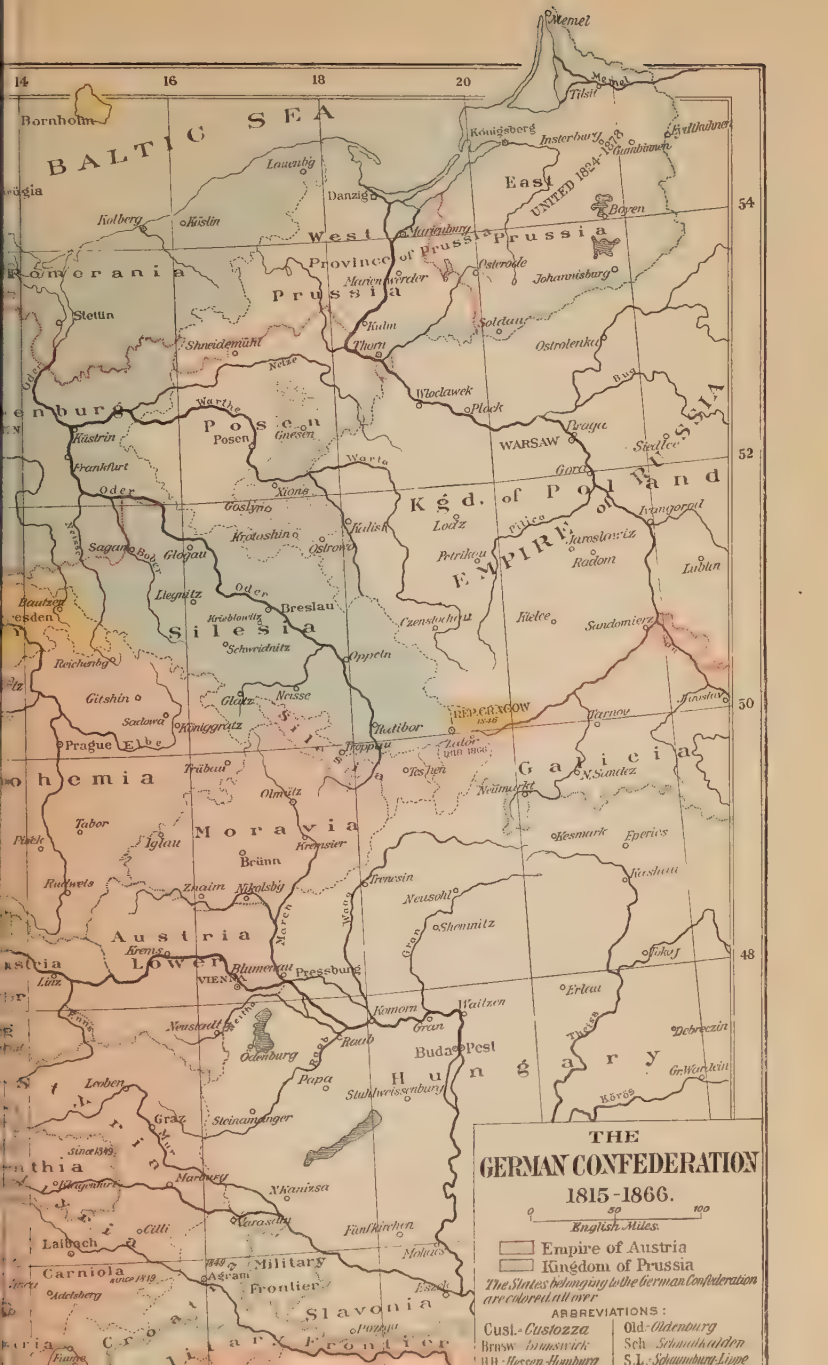
The Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an "infamous object" and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers, not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all Liberals at what they called this "great deception" of Vienna.

The demand for constitutions

The Liberals experienced another disappointment too. As they desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; they wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. It had seemed at one moment as if this might be achieved. In appealing to his people to rally around him in the war against Napoleon, the King of Prussia had very recently promised his people a constitution and had urged at the Congress of Vienna that the Federal Act should require every member of the Confederation to grant a representative constitution to his subjects within a year. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point also, by having this explicit and mandatory declaration made vague and lifeless. Thus the famous Article XIII of the Federal Act which established the Confederation was made to read: "A constitution based upon the system of estates will be established in all the states of the union." The character of the promised constitution was not sketched; and the time limit was omitted. A journalist was justified in saying that all that was guaranteed to the German people was an "unlimited right of expectation." The future was to show the vanity even of expectation, the hollowness of even so mild a promise. The Liberals had desired some

Metternich's successful opposition

NORTH SEA
KGD. of DENMARK
Duchy Holstein
Lubeck
Altona
HAMBURG
Lauenburg
Lüneburg
Bremen
KGD. OLDENBURG
KGD. of HANOVER
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeb
Groningen
Emden
Zuider Sea
Haarlem
AMSTERDAM
Leyden
The Hague
Utrecht
Rotterdam
Deventer
Arnhem
Münster
Osnabrück
Minden
Lippe
Detmold
Paderb.
Hildesheim
Göttingen
Kassel
D. WALDECK
Arolsen
Wesel
Hamm
Dortmund
Essen
Westphalia
Aix-la-Chapelle
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Courtray
Brussels
Mecheln
Limburg
Liege
Maastricht
Aachen
Cologne
Bonn
Coblenz
Düsseldorf
Cleve-Berg
Jülich
Ruhr
Siegen
Marburg
Hesse
Electorate of
Frankfurt
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Nassau
Mainz
Worms
Old
Lower Rhine
Grd. Dy
Luxemburg
Namur
Maas
Moselle
Trier
Kreuznach
Mannheim
Heidelb.
Baden
Carlsruhe
Rastadt
Offenburg
Kehl
Strassburg
Metz
Nancy
Toul
Lunéville
Thionville
Sarrebruck
Nov. 1815
Bav. Palatinate
Kingd. of Bavaria
Würtemberg
Stuttgart
Ulm
Augsb.
Munich
Rosenheim
Rohenzollern
Sigmaringen
Constance
Kempten
Zurich
Basel
Aarau
Solothurn
Bienne
Neufchatel
Lucerne
Bern
Switzerland
Lausanne
Geneva
Sitten
Bellinzona
Chur
Vorarlberg
D. Liechtenstein
Innsbruck
Tyrol
Bozen
Trent
Riva
Sondrio
Lombardy
Bergamo
Brescia
Milan
Verona
Vicenza
Mantua
Cremona
Pavia
Lodi
Novara
Vercelli
Turin
Kgd. of Sardinia
To 1861
Savoy
Lyon
Grenoble
Annecy
Vienne
St. Etienne
Aosta
Ivrea
Susa
Valence
Reims
Sedan
Chalons
Vitry
Bar le Duc
Troyes
Epinal
Colmar
Gemarck
Freiburg
Mülhausen
Belfort
Besançon
Dijon
Chalon
Dy-Neufchatel
Doubs
Saône
Yonne
Seine
Meuse
Moselle
Rhine
Rhone
Loire
Isère
Kgd. of France
Republic 1848-1852
Empire since 1852
Helgoland
Brit. since 1808
Sylt
Flensburg
Schleswig
Apenrade
Tondern
Husum
Tönning
Eckernförde
Kiel
Oldenburg
Elsfleth
Bremerhaven
Cuxhaven
Stade
Ostfriesland
Aurich
Leer
Papenburg
Meppen
Lingen
Coesfeld
Warendorf
Soest
Arnsberg
Siegen
Wetzlar
Giessen
Fulda
Hünfeld
Meiningen
Coburg
Gotha
Erfurt
Eisenach
Weimar
Sondershausen
Rudolstadt
Schwarzburg
Reuss
Saxe
Leipzig
Dresden
Bautzen
Görlitz
Prussia
Posen
Silesia
Bohemia
Austria
Hungary
Moravia
Galicia
Poland
Russia
Kingd. of Saxony
Kingd. of Bavaria
Kingd. of Hanover
Kingd. of Wurtemberg
Kingd. of Hesse
Kingd. of Prussia
Kingd. of Belgium
Kingd. of the Netherlands
Grd. Dy Luxemburg
Grd. Dy Nassau
Grd. Dy Hesse
Grd. Dy Baden
Electorate of Hesse
Duchy Holstein
Duchy Brunswick
Duchy Nassau
Lippe
Waldeck
Reuss
Schwarzburg
Saxe
Hesse
Baden
Nassau
Brunswick
Oldenburg
Hanover
Westphalia
Limburg
Luxemburg
Lower Rhine
Jülich
Cleve-Berg
Nassau
Hesse
Baden
Bav. Palatinate
Würtemberg
Hohenzollern
Liechtenstein
Switzerland
Savoy
Kgd. of Sardinia
Lombardy
Tyrol
Bohemia
Moravia
Galicia
Poland
Russia
Austria
Hungary
Prussia
Saxony
Thuringia
Franconia
Swabia
Bavaria
Alsace
Lorraine
Champagne
Burgundy
Normandy
Brittany
Picardy
Flanders
Artois
Hainaut
Namur
Liege
Limburg
Luxemburg
Gelderland
Overijssel
Friesland
Groningen
Drenthe
Utrecht
Holland
Zeeland
North Brabant
Antwerp
East Flanders
West Flanders
Hainaut
Namur
Liege
Limburg
Luxemburg
Lombardy
Venetia
Piedmont
Liguria
Tuscany
Modena
Parma
Lucca
Papal States
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
Corsica
Sardinia
Malta
Ionian Islands
Greece
Turkey
Albania
Montenegro
Serbia
Bosnia
Herzegovina
Dalmatia
Croatia
Slavonia
Transylvania
Wallachia
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Crimea
Caucasus
Georgia
Armenia
Persia
Kurdistan
Mesopotamia
Syria
Palestine
Egypt
Arabia
Abyssinia
Nubia
Sudan
Tripoli
Tunis
Algeria
Morocco
Fez
Sahara
Canary Islands
Madeira
Azores
Cape Verde Islands
Gambia
Senegal
Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Dahomey
Benin
Niger
Timbuctoo
Lake Chad
Bornu
Kanem
Darfur
Kordofan
Nile
Khartoum
Abyssinia
Somaliland
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Zambesi
Lake Nyassa
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Victoria
Lake Albert
Lake Rudolf
Uganda
Unyoro
Congo
Angola
Benguela
Cape Colony
Natal
Transvaal
Orange Free State
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Damaraland
Ovampoland
Great Namaqualand
Walfisch Bay
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
East London
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
Bloemfontein
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Mafeking
Delagoa Bay
Lourenço Marques
Beira
Quelimane
Tete
Zumbo
Victoria Falls
Zambesi River
Limpopo River
Orange River
Vaal River
Indian Ocean
Atlantic Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Aden
Gulf of Guinea
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Irish Sea
Strait of Gibraltar
Strait of Dover
Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb
Strait of Hormuz
Suez Canal
Panama Canal
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Horn
Cape Verde
Cape Guardafui
Cape Bon
Cape Spartivento
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Sunium
Cape Colonna
Cape Passero
Cape Trafalgar
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Finisterre
Cape Ortegal
Cape Clear
Cape Wrath
Cape Farewell
Cape Race
Cape Breton
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
Cape Canaveral
Cape Florida
Cape Sable
Cape Cod
Cape Ann
Cape Elizabeth
Cape Sable
Cape Chidley
Cape Farewell
Cape Walsingham
Cape Parry
Cape Barrow
Cape Lisburne
Cape Prince of Wales
Cape North
Cape Breton
Cape Race
Cape Ray
Cape Spear
Cape Bonavista
Cape Freels
Cape Bauld
Cape Norman
Cape Anguille
Cape Ray
Cape Race



THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION 1815-1866.

0 50 100

English Miles.

Empire of Austria

Kingdom of Prussia

The States belonging to the German Confederation are colored all over

ABBREVIATIONS:

Cust.-*Custozza*	Old-*Oldenburg*
Brnsw-*Brunswick*	Sch *Schaumburg*
HH-*Hesse-Homburg*	S.L.-*Schaumburg-Lippe*

aing more substantial than hope. Austria and Prussia, the two lead- g states, governing the great mass of the German people, never ecuted this provision. Nor did many of the smaller states. A few the princes, however, did, notably the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, e patron of Goethe and Schiller.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany the same principles that prevailed in Austria. He believed that to low the people to participate in government was to flood the state ith ignorance, passion, envy, and all uncharitableness: that any con- ssions to democracy would lead straight to anarchy. His purpose was o instill this idea into the minds of those sovereigns who did not have ; also to arouse timid rulers, like the King of Prussia, to such a itch of fear, that they would actively coöperate with him in his efforts o stamp out liberal ideas wherever they might appear. Certain inci- nts of the day gave him favorable occasions to apply the system of pression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills of is world.

The years immediately succeeding 1815 were years of restlessness d discontent. The disappointment of Liberals was intense, their iticism bitter, when they saw their hopes turned to ashes. **Disappointment of German Liberals** he chief seat of disaffection was found in the universities d in newspapers edited by university men. Student socie- es kept alive the exalted feelings for unity aroused by the wars with apoleon, and were ardently patriotic and democratic in sentiment. n the year 1817 a large number of delegates from these student socie- es in the various universities held a patriotic festival at the Wartburg, castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. Their stival was religious as well as patriotic and was a com- **The Wartburg Festival** emoration of the battle of Leipsic and of the Reforma- n. Its members partook of the Lord's Supper together d listened to impassioned speeches commemorating the great moments German history. They showed their enthusiastic admiration of the uke of Weimar. In the evening they built a bonfire and threw into various symbols of the hated reaction, notably an illiberal pamphlet which the King of Prussia had expressed his approval. Such was the artburg Festival, which Metternich described in gloomy **The murder of Kotzebue** nguage to the rulers of Germany. Somewhat later a stu- nt killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue, who was hated in

university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the Carlsbad Decrees (1819). These decrees were rushed through the Diet by illegal and violent methods. By them Metternich became the conqueror of the Confederation. They were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to a close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate "harmful doctrines," that is, who should in any way criticise Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions and once so removed could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany. The student societies were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

The Carlsbad Decrees

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning-point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all Liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull drab period of oppression.

Reaction the order of the day in Germany

Let us now see how the same ideas were applied in other countries.

SPAIN

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain and until 1814 had kept the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne

ne Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years carried on a vigor-
us guerilla warfare, aided by the English, and ending finally in success.
s their King was in the hands of the enemy they proceeded in his name
frame a government. Being liberal-minded they drew up a consti-
tion, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on
e French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people,
us discarding the rival theory of the monarchy by divine right which
ad hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document however did not have long to live, as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Ferdinand VII (1814–1833)

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve conditions. Moreover it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Inefficiency of the government

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and which forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise henceforth to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Revolution of 1820

Thus revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo. An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze

forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were quickly forthcoming.

ITALY

Italy, like other countries, had been profoundly affected by the liberal ideas of the French Revolution, and particularly by the restless activity of Napoleon who, from the beginning of his career to its close, had drawn her within the range of his policies and manipulations. At first the Italians had hailed him as the looked-for deliverer from oppression, a feeling that gave way to hatred when the youthful conqueror set up, in the place of the despotism overthrown, a despotism more severe, although at the same time more intelligent. For many years the fate of Italy was determined by his will. He did much to improve the laws, much to stimulate industry, much to break up musty old habits and conventions. New ideas, political and social, penetrated the peninsula with him. He shook the Italians out of their somnolence and imparted to them an energy they had not known for centuries. But he offended them by his heavy exactions of men and money for his constant wars, by his shameless robbery of their works of art, and by his treatment of the Pope.

Napoleon's activity in Italy

The awakening of Italy

Then he fell, and the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were henceforth ten of them: Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not "fashionable." The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

The ten Italian states

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was for nearly fifty years the sport of foreign powers, dependent, henceforth, not upon France but upon Austria. This is the cardinal fact in the situation and is an evidence, as it is a partial cause, of the commanding position of the Austrian monarchy after the fall of Napoleon. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive

The dominance of Austria in Italy

eaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in ombardy and Venetia. Naples was thus but a satellite in the great ustrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only alian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with that of ygmies.

Thus the restoration was accomplished. Italy became again a col- ction of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. Each the restored princes was an absolute monarch. In none of the states as there a parliament. Italy had neither unity nor constitutional rms, nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. he use which the restored princes made of their unfettered liberty of tion was significant.

Hating the French, they undertook to extinguish all reminders of at odious people. They abolished all constitutions and many laws and stitutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illu- **Universal reaction** ination were forbidden for the simple reason that the rench had introduced them. In Piedmont French plants in the otanic Gardens of Turin were torn up, French furniture in the royal alace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. n every one of the states there was distinct retrogression and the alians lost ground all along the line—politically, industrially, socially. n general the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of every- ing that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention "the class called thinkers."

Thus Italy was ruled by petty despots and in a petty spirit. More- er most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of ose policies we have already examined. The natural re- **Widespread discontent** lt of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. the progressive elements of the population which believed in free- m in education, in religion, in business were disaffected, as were also ny who were dismissed from the army or from governmental posi- ns on the ground that they had been contaminated with the previous rench régime. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, d bided their time.

That time came when the news reached Italy of the successful and

bloodless Spanish Revolution of 1820. In Naples a military insurrection broke out. The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it save that it was very democratic and possessed the advantage of being ready-made. The King immediately yielded and the constitution was proclaimed.

The Revolution of 1820 in Naples

THE CONGRESSES

Thus in 1820 the Revolution, so hateful to the diplomats of 1815, had resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples had overthrown the régime that had been in force five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There had likewise been a revolution against the established régime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential personage in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. Metternich recommended as a sure cure the doctrine of the "right of intervention," a doctrine new in international law but which he succeeded in having applied for several years. The doctrine was that, as modern Europe was based upon opposition to revolution, the powers had the right and were in duty bound to intervene to put down revolution, not only in their own states respectively, but in any state of Europe, against the will of the people of that state, even against the will of the sovereign of that state, in the interests of the established monarchical order. A change of government within a given state was not a domestic but an international affair.

The powers prepare to suppress these revolutions

The doctrine of the right of intervention

Metternich won the support of Russia, Prussia, and Austria for this doctrine, which virtually denied the independence of every nation, the right of the people of any state to change their form of government to any other model than that of absolute monarchy. These were the original "Holy Allies," all absolute monarchs, and it was their steady

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Magenta
Novara
Como
Bergamo
Brescia
Lombardy
AUSTRIA
Mt Cenis
Susa
Turin
Piedmont
Milan
Pavia
Peschiera
Solferino
Villafranca
Verona
R. Isère
Grenoble
Casale
Mantua
R. Po
Piacenza
Alessandria
Parma
Reggio
Modena
Ferrara
Saluzzo
Cuneo
Genoa
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Romagna
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Gulf of
Spezia
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Pistoja
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Marseilles
Toulon
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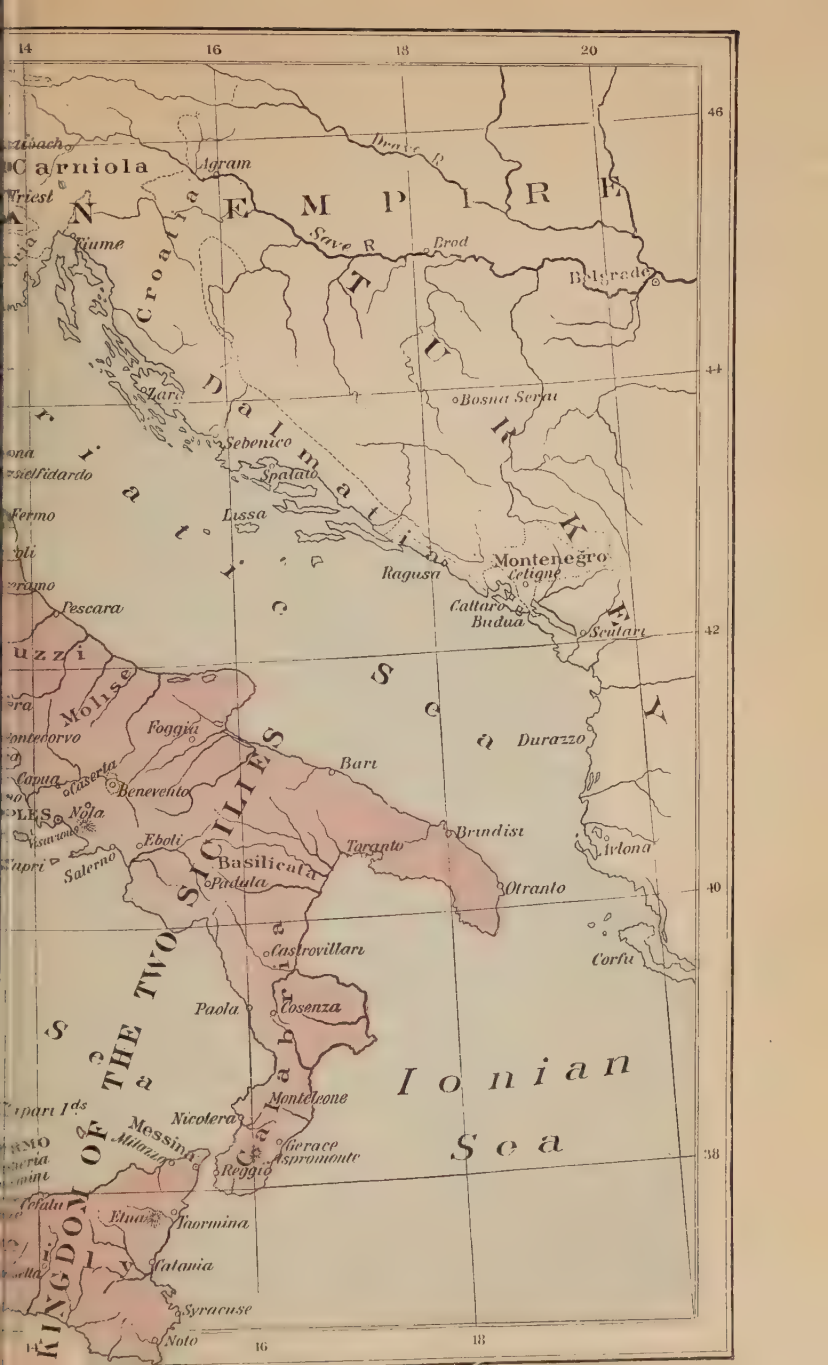
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Budua
Scutari
Durazzo
Adriatic Sea
Pescara
Molise
Foggia
Bari
Brindisi
Otranto
Corfu
Ionian Sea
Capua
Caserta
Benevento
Nola
Naples
Eboli
Salerno
Basilicata
Tarento
Ivlona
Padula
Castrovillari
Paola
Cosenza
Calabria
Montelione
Nicotera
Messina
Milazzo
Cotrone
Aspromonte
Reggio
Etna
Taormina
Catania
Syracuse
Noto
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

deviating support of the ominous principle which made the Holy liance a synonym everywhere for tyranny, odious to all liberals in urope and America.

A Congress was held at Troppau in 1820 and at Laibach in 1821 to nsider the question of Naples. It was participated in by the three wers mentioned and by France and England. The two st named did not join in the declaration of the new doc- ne but they remained passive and the absolute powers, ustria, Prussia, and Russia had their way. They com- issioned Austria to send an army into the Kingdom of Naples, to abolish e constitution, and to restore absolutism. This was done. The results ere for the Neapolitans most deplorable. The reaction that ensued as unrestrained. Hundreds were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbi- ary government of the worst kind was meted out to this unfortunate ople.

The Congress of Troppau, 1820

Just as this Neapolitan revolution was being snuffed out a similar volution blazed up at the opposite end of the peninsula, in Pied- ont, the revolutionists demanding the Spanish Consti- tion of 1812, as the most liberal one they knew of, and ar against Austria as the great enemy of Piedmont and aly. The King, Victor Emanuel I, rather than yield to the demand for revolution abdicated and was succeeded by his brother, Charles Felix March 13, 1821). The new King was a despot by nature and he now d the support of the same powers that had shown their intentions in gard to revolutions. Charles Felix, assisted by the Austrians, routed e revolutionists at Novara. The revolution was over. Once more e demand for constitutional freedom had been suppressed, once more etternich had triumphed. Needless to say he was quite satisfied. I see the dawn of a better day," he wrote. "Heaven seems to will hat the world shall not be lost."

The Revolution in Piedmont

The two Italian revolutions had been suppressed. The doctrine of ervention was working satisfactorily to its authors. It was now ap- ed again, this time to Spain, in which country, as we ve seen, the revolutionary movement of these years had gun. The consideration of Spanish affairs had had to e way to the more immediate and pressing affairs of Italy. The inciple there, however, was the same and the Allies now prepared to ert it. This was the work of the Congress of Verona (1822). Austria,

The Congress of Verona

Russia, and Prussia regarded a constitutional government in Spain as a menace to their own system of absolutism. They therefore commissioned France, now a thoroughly reactionary country, to restore Ferdinand to his former power. England opposed this policy with high indignation, but in vain. The French sent an army of a hundred thousand men into the peninsula which was easily victorious. The war was soon over and Ferdinand was back on his absolute throne, by act of France, supported by the Holy Alliance.

Reaction in Spain

There now began a period of odious reaction. All the acts passed by the Cortes since 1820 were annulled. An organization called the "Society of the Exterminating Angel" began a mad hunt for Liberals, throwing them into prison, shooting them down. The war of revenge knew no bounds. "Juntas of Purification" urged it on. Thousands were driven from the country, hundreds were executed. The French government, ashamed of its protégé, endeavored to stop the savagery, but with slight success. It is an odious chapter in the history of Spain.

The triumph of the Holy Alliance

The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine

Having restored absolutism in Spain the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (December 2, 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the

The "Metternich system" checked

nited States." This attitude of England and the United States pro-ced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy lliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and sup-rting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished e system of Metternich beyond all possible repair.

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CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE UNDER THE RESTORATION

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVIII

The House of Bourbon had been put back upon the throne of France by the Allies who had conquered Napoleon in 1814. It was put back a second time in 1815, after Waterloo. But the new monarch, Louis XVIII, recognized, as did the Allies, that the restoration of the royal line did not at all mean the restoration of the Old Régime. He saw that the day of the absolute monarchy had passed forever in France. The monarchy must be constitutional and must safeguard many of the acquisitions of the Revolution or its life would certainly be brief. The King, recognizing that he must compromise with the spirit of the age, issued in 1814 the Constitutional Charter. This established a parliament of two houses, a Chamber of Peers, appointed for life, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected for a term of five years, but by a restricted body of voters, for the suffrage was so limited by an age and property qualification that there were less than 100,000 voters out of a population of 29,000,000 and not more than 12,000 were eligible to become deputies. The Charter proclaimed the equality of all Frenchmen, yet only a petty minority were given the right to participate in the government of the country. France was still in a political sense a land of privilege, only privilege was no longer based on birth but on fortune. Nevertheless, this was a more liberal form of government than she had ever had under Napoleon, and was the most liberal to be seen in Europe, outside of England.

The restoration of the Bourbons not a restoration of the Old Régime

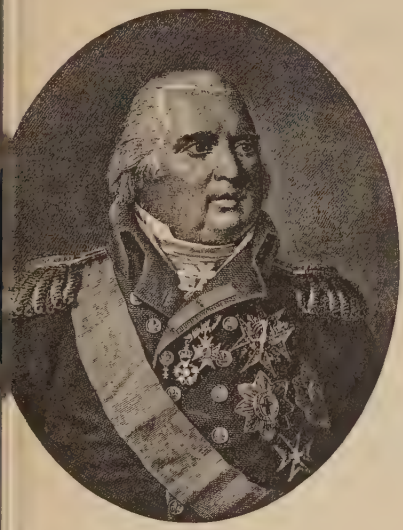
The Constitutional Charter of 1814

There was another set of provisions in this document of even greater importance than those determining the future form of government, namely, that in which the civil rights of Frenchmen were narrated. These provisions showed how much of the work of the Revolution and of Napoleon the Bourbons were prepared to accept. They were intended to reassure the people

Provisions concerning civil rights

France, who feared to see in the Restoration a loss of liberties or rights which had become most precious to them. It was declared that all Frenchmen were equal before the law, and thus the cardinal principle of the Revolution was preserved; that all were equally eligible to civil and military positions, that thus no class should monopolize public service, as had largely been the case before the Revolution; that no one should be arrested or prosecuted save by due process of law, that thus the day of arbitrary imprisonment was not to return; that there should be complete religious freedom for all sects, although Roman Catholicism was declared to be the religion of the state; that the press should be free. Those who had purchased the confiscated property of the crown, the church, and the nobles, during the Revolution were assured that their titles were inviolable.

Recognition of the work of the Revolution



Louis XVIII
From an engraving by P. Audouin, after the bust by A. Valois.

The personality of Louis XVIII seemed admirably adapted to the situation in which France found itself. A man of moderate opinions, cold-blooded, skeptical, free from illusions, free from the passion of revenge, indolent by nature, Louis desired to avoid conflicts and to enjoy his power in peace. But there were difficulties in the way. He had been restored by foreign armies. His presence on the throne was a constant reminder of the humiliation of France. But a more serious feature was the character of the persons with whom he was in constant contact. The court was now composed of the nobles who had suffered greatly from the Revolution, who had been robbed of their property, who had seen many of their relatives executed by the guillotine. It was but natural that these men should have come back full of hatred for the authors of their woes, that they should detest the ideas of the Revolu-

Louis XVIII (1814–1824)

tion and the persons who had been identified with it. These men were not free from passion, as was Louis XVIII. More eager to restore the former glory of the crown, the former rank of the nobility and the clergy, more bitter toward the new ideas than the King himself, they were the Ultra-royalists, or Ultras — men more royalist than the King, as they claimed. They saw in the Revolution only robbery and sacrilege and gross injustice to themselves. They bitterly assailed Louis XVIII for granting the Charter, a dangerous concession to the Revolution, and they secretly wished to abolish it, meanwhile desiring to nullify its liberal provisions as far as possible. Their leader was the Count of Artois, brother of Louis XVIII, who, the King being childless, stood next in line of succession.

The Ultras

For some years Louis XVIII was able to hold this extreme party in check and to follow a moderate policy. He was supported in this by the large majority of Liberals, moderate like himself, who until 1820 controlled Parliament. Much useful work was thus accomplished. The enormous war indemnity which the Allies had imposed in 1815 was paid off and this liberated the country from the army of occupation also imposed by them. The military system of France was reorganized and provision was made for an army of about 240,000 men. Promotion was to be for service and merit alone, a principle that was violently opposed by the Ultras as it destroyed all chances of the nobility securing a monopoly of the best positions. The legislation enacted at this time concerning the press and the electoral system was also of a liberal character.

The work of reorganization

The Ultras were indignant at the moderation of the King and Parliament and did their best to break it down. They were alert to seize upon every incident that might discredit the party in power. A number of radicals were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. The Ultras raged against them, painting a lurid future. The murder in 1820 of the Duke of Berry who stood in line for the throne gave them their chance. The King was so horrified by this crime, as were also many moderate members of Parliament, that he offered less and less resistance to the Ultras. The closing years of the reign were less liberal than the earlier ones. Louis XVIII died in 1824 and was succeeded by his brother, the Count of Artois, who assumed the title of Charles X.

Activity of the Ultras

Death of Louis XVIII (1824)

THE REIGN OF CHARLES X

The characteristics of the new King were well known. He was the nvinced leader of the reactionaries in France from 1814 to 1830. He d been the constant and bitter opponent of his brother's eralism, and had finally seen that liberalism forced to ld to the growing strength of the party which he led. He was not ely to abandon lifelong principles at the age of sixty-seven, and at e moment when he seemed about to be able to put them into force.

Charles X (1824–1830)

The coronation of the King revealed the temper of the new reign. ance was treated to a spectacle of mediæval mummery that amused d at the same time disgusted a people that had never been known to k an appreciation of the ridiculous. Charles was anointed on seven rts of his person with sacred oil, miraculously preserved, it was serted, from the time of Clovis.

The legislation urged by the King and largely enacted showed the lated political and social ideas of this government. Nearly a billion ncs were voted as an indemnity to the nobles for their nds which had been confiscated and sold by the state ring the Revolution. Many Frenchmen thought that ance had more urgent needs than to vote money to ose who had deserted the country and had then fought ainst her. But the King had been leader of the *émigrés* and was in tire sympathy with their point of view.

The nobles indemnified for property confiscated during the Revolution

Another law that cast discredit upon this reign, and helped under- ne it with the great mass of Frenchmen, was the law against sacrilege. this act burglaries committed in ecclesiastical buildings d the profanation of holy vessels were, under certain nditions, made punishable with death. This barbaric law is, as a matter of fact, never enforced, but it bore striking witness to e temper of the party in power, and has ever since been a mark of ame upon the Bourbon monarchy. It helped to weaken the hold of e Bourbons upon France. It created a feeling of intense bitterness ong the middle and lower classes of society, which were still largely minated by the rationalism of the eighteenth century. These classes gan to fear the clerical reaction more even than the polit- l and social. Their apprehension was not decreased en a little later they saw the King himself, clad in the violet robe of a

The law against sacrilege

Clerical reaction

prelate and accompanied by the court, walking in a religious procession and carrying a lighted candle through the streets of Paris. Was it the purpose of the aristocratic and clerical party to restore both the nobility and the church to the proud position they had occupied before the Revolution?

The Polignac ministry

That it was, was proclaimed by Polignac, the most reactionary minister of this reign, who declared, on his accession to office in 1829, that his object was "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with privileges."

The appointment of this ministry, indeed, aroused a remarkable exhibition of hostile feeling, vastly intensified by this declaration which was a direct challenge to Liberals of every shade, since it stated, as clearly as language could, that all the characteristic work of the French Revolution must be undone, that the pre-Revolutionary state and society should be restored, that the constitutional, political, social, and economic reorganization, the large installment of freedom achieved during that momentous and fruitful period, should be swept aside, and that older ideas and ideals were to be enthroned once more.

The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis, which shortly exploded in a revolution.

Conflict between Charles X and the Chamber of Deputies

The Chamber of Deputies practically demanded the dismissal of the unpopular ministry. The King replied by declaring that "his decisions were unchangeable" and by dissolving the Chamber, hoping by means of new elections to secure one subservient to his will. But the voters thought otherwise. The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the King and his ministry. Charles would not yield. His own brother, Louis XVI, had come to a tragic end, he said, because he had made concessions. Charles thought that he himself had learned something from history. In fact, he had learned the wrong lesson.

Other methods of gaining his ends having failed, he now determined upon coercion. On July 26, 1830, he issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections. In other words, the King was the supreme lawgiver, not a

The Ordinances of July

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BARRICADE
After a lithograph by Victor Adam.

all hampered by the Charter. If these ordinances were to stand the people would enjoy their liberties simply at the humor of the monarch. Not to have opposed them would have been to acquiesce quietly in the transformation of the government into the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

But the people of Paris did not acquiesce. As the significance of the ordinances became apparent, popular anger began to manifest itself.

The July Revolution (1830)

Crowds assembled in the streets shouting "Down with the Ministry"; "Long live the Charter." On Wednesday, July 28, civil war broke out. The insurgents were mainly old soldiers, Carbonari, and a group of republicans and workmen — men who hated the Bourbons, who followed the tri-color flag as the true national emblem, rather than the white flag of the royal house. This war lasted three days. It was the July Revolution — the Glorious Three Days. It was a street war and was limited to Paris. The insurgents were not very numerous, probably not more than ten thousand. But the government had itself probably not more than fourteen thousand troops in Paris. The insurrection was not difficult to organize. The streets of Paris were narrow and crooked. Through such tortuous lanes it was impossible for the government to send artillery, a weapon which it alone possessed. The streets were paved with large stones. These could be torn up and piled in such a way as to make fortresses for the insurgents. In the night of July 27–28 the streets were cut up by hundreds of barricades made in this manner of paving stones, of overturned wagons, of barrels and boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of every description. Against such obstacles the soldiers could make but little progress. If they overthrew a barricade and passed on, it would immediately be built up again behind them more threatening than before because cutting their line of reinforcements and of possible retreat. Moreover, the soldiers had only the flint-lock gun, a weapon no better than that in the hands of the insurgents. Again, the officers had no knowledge of street fighting, whereas the insurgents had an intimate knowledge of the city, of its streets, and lanes. Moreover, the soldiers were reluctant to fight against the people.

The character of fighting

Abdication of Charles X

The fighting continued amid the fierce heat of July. On July 31 Charles, seeing that all was lost, abdicated in favor of his nine year old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family. For two years he

STREET FIGHTING ON JULY 28, 1830
After a lithograph.

lived in Great Britain, keeping a melancholy court in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, of somber memory in the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Removing later to Austria, he died in 1836.

What was the future government to be, now that triumphant revolution had swept for the second time a Bourbon monarch from his throne? No serious consideration was given to the claims of the little Duke of Bordeaux, unimpeachable from the point of view of monarchical theory and practice. He was the legitimate sovereign of France but he was quietly ignored by a people who were tired of the legitimate monarchy. Those who had done the actual fighting undoubtedly wanted a republic. But the journalists and deputies and the majority of the Parisians were opposed to such a solution, having vivid and unpleasant memories of the former republic, and believing that the proclamation of the republic would embroil France with monarchical Europe. They favored Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented a younger branch of the royal family, a man who had always sympathized with liberal opinions. With such a man as king, it was said, there would be no more attempts to reënthrone the nobility and the clergy, but the government would be liberal, resting on the middle classes, and the Charter would be scrupulously observed.

The House of Bourbon or the House of Orleans?

The final decision between monarchy and republic lay in the hands of Lafayette, the real leader of the Republicans. He finally threw his influence in favor of Louis Philippe, arguing that a monarchy under so liberal and democratic a prince would after all be "the best of republics." On August 7 the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the legitimate ruler.

Louis Philippe King

Such was the July Revolution, an unexpected, impromptu affair. Not dreamed of July 25, it was over a week later. One king had been overthrown, another created, and the Charter had been slightly modified. Parliamentary government had been preserved; a return to aristocracy prevented.

This ends the Restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe now begins. Those who brought about the final overthrow of the elder Bourbons received no adequate reward. They had the tri-color flag once more, but the rich bourgeoisie had the government. The Republicans yielded, but without renouncing their

The end of the Restoration

rinciples or their hopes. Cavaignac, one of their leaders, when thanked r the abnegation of his party, replied, "You are wrong in thanking us; e have yielded because we are not yet strong enough. Later it will e different." The Revolution, in fact, gave great impetus to the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

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CHAPTER XIV

REVOLUTIONS BEYOND FRANCE

The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe — in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands.

Widespread influence of the July Revolution

It was the signal and encouragement for widespread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 at Vienna. It created an immediate problem for the rulers of Europe. They had bound themselves in 1815 to guard against the outbreak of "revolution," to watch over and assure the "general tranquillity" of Europe. They had adopted and applied since then, as we have seen, the doctrine of intervention in the affairs of countries infected by revolutionary fever, as the great preservative of public order. Would this self-constituted international police acquiesce in the overthrow of the legitimate king of France by the mob of Paris? Now that revolution had again broken out in that restless country, would they "intervene" as they had done in Spain and Italy? At first they were disposed to do so. Metternich's immediate impulse was to organize a coalition against this "king of the barricades." But when the time came this was seen to be impracticable,

Powerlessness of the Holy Alliance

for Russia was occupied with a revolution in Poland, Austria with revolutions in Italy, Prussia with similar movements in Germany, and England was engrossed in the most absorbing discussion of domestic problems she had faced in many decades. Moreover, England approved the revolution. All the powers, therefore, recognized Louis Philippe, though with varying indications of annoyance. In one particular, consequently, the settlement of 1815 was undone forever. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon, put upon the throne of France by the Allies of 1815, was now pushed from it, and the revolution, hated of the other powers, had done it.

Another part of the diplomatic structure of 1815 was now overthrown. The Congress of Vienna had created an essentially artificial state to the north of France, the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It had done this explicitly for the purpose of having a barrier against France. The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen that state in order that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers should come to its rescue.

The Congress of Vienna and the Kingdom of the Netherlands

But it was easier to declare these two peoples formally united under one ruler than to make them in any real sense a single nation. Though it might seem by a glance at the map that the peoples of this little corner of Europe must be essentially homogeneous, such was not at all the case. There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them. They spoke different languages. They belonged to different religions, the Dutch being Protestant, the Belgians Catholic. They differed in their economic life and principles. The Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people and inclined toward free trade, the Belgians were a manufacturing people and inclined toward protection.

A union of two dissimilar peoples

For the Belgians the union with the Dutch was an unhappy one from the start. They saw themselves added to and subjected to another people inferior in numbers to themselves, whereas the feeling of nationality had been aroused in them as in other peoples by the spirit and example of the French Revolution and they had hoped for a larger and more independent life than they had ever had before.

A union so inharmoniously begun was never satisfactory to the Belgians. Friction was constant. The Belgians resented the fact that the officials in the state and army were nearly all Dutch. They objected to the King's attempts to force the Dutch language into a position of undue privilege. The evident desire of the King to fuse his two peoples into one was a constant irritation. The system was more and more disliked by the Belgians as the years went by.

Friction between the Belgians and the Dutch

The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this inflammable material. There was street fighting in Brussels as there had been in Paris. The revolution spread rapidly. The royal troops were driven out and on October 4, 1830, Belgium declared itself independent. A congress was called to deter-

The Belgians declare their independence

mine the future form of government. It decided in favor of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected as king Leopold of Coburg who, in July, 1831, was crowned.

Would the Great Powers which in 1815 had added Belgium to Holland consent to the undoing of their work? Would they recognize the new kingdom? They had suppressed revolutions in Spain and Italy, as we have seen. Would they do it again in the interest of their handiwork, the treaties of Vienna? Now, however, they were divided, and in this division lay the salvation of the new state. The Czar wished to intervene and Prussia seemed similarly inclined, but Louis Philippe, knowing that his own throne would be overthrown by the Parisians if he allowed these absolute monarchies to crush the new liberties of the Belgians, gave explicit warning that if they intervened France also would intervene "in order to hold the balance even."

LEOPOLD I
Engraved by Levy after the painting by Winterhalter.

The powers therefore made the best of the situation. At a conference in London, Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and England recognized the independence of Belgium; they went further and formally promised to respect its neutrality forever.

Recognition of the Kingdom of Belgium

This part of the work of the Congress of Vienna had consequently been undone. A new state had arisen in Europe, as a result of revolution.

The success of the Belgian revolution had to a considerable extent been rendered possible by a revolution in Poland, which ended in disastrous failure. Neither Russia, nor Prussia, nor Austria would have acquiesced so easily in the dismemberment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands had they not feared that if they went to war with France concerning it, France would in turn aid the Poles, and the future of the Poles was of far greater immediate importance to them than the future

the Netherlanders. The French Revolution of 1830 was followed by the rise of the Kingdom of Belgium; but it was also followed by the reappearance of the Kingdom of Poland.

REVOLUTION IN POLAND

In the Middle Ages Poland had been a more powerful state than Russia and included territory which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from the Oder to the Dnieper. It had remained an independent state down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During that quarter its independence had been destroyed and its territory seized by its three neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in the famous, or rather infamous, partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. Nothing was left of Poland on the map. The Poles made a brave and desperate resistance but "freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell." "No sophistry in the world," writes a recent historian, "can extenuate the villainy of the Second Partition," which was the critical one. "The theft of territory is its least offensive feature. It is the forcible suppression of a national movement for reform, the hurling back into the abyss of anarchy and corruption of a people who, by incredible efforts and sacrifices, had struggled back to liberty and order, which makes this great political crime so wholly infamous. Yet here again the methods of the Russian Empress were less vile than those of the Prussian King. Catherine openly took the risk of a bandit who attacks an enemy against whom he has a grudge; Frederick William II came up, when the fight was over, to help pillage a victim whom he had sworn to defend." [1]

The destruction of Poland

The crime of 1793

The effects of this assassination of an independent state by the three absolute monarchies of eastern Europe were destined to be momentous and far-reaching. The Polish question has been a factor in all the subsequent history of Europe. It is an important factor to-day. The Poles, naturally, like any freedom-loving people, refused to acquiesce in a fate so unmerited, so cruel. But they could only wait and hope.

A permanent Polish question

"No wise or honest man," wrote Edmund Burke at the time, "can approve of that partition, or can contemplate it without prognosticating great mischief from it to all countries at some future date." The

[1] Nisbet Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, p. 404.

particular effect of this odious act of the royal and titled highwaymen was the extraordinary intensification it gave to what was to prove one of the most vital and troublesome tendencies of modern history. As Lord Acton says: "This famous measure, the most revolutionary act of the old absolutism, awakened the theory of nationality in Europe, converting a dormant right into an aspiration, and a sentiment into a political claim."

The destruction of Poland arouses the spirit of nationality

The Polish people's passionate love of country was given an imperishable ideal, a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night, riveting the attention of the nation so wantonly destroyed, pointing the way, not yet traversed, to a happy issue out of their troubles.

The Poles had hoped that the French Revolution, and, later, that Napoleon might restore their nationality. In this they were disappointed; but in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna they found unexpected aid, though it proved in the end illusory. Alexander I, Czar of Russia, was at that time aglow with generous and romantic sentiments and was for a few years a patron of liberal ideas in various countries. Under the influence of these ideas he conceived the plan of restoring the old Kingdom of Poland. Poland should be a kingdom entirely separate from the Empire of Russia. He would be Emperor of Russia and King of Poland. The union of the two states would be simply personal.

The restoration of the Kingdom of Poland in 1815

ALEXANDER I
From an engraving by Allais.

Alexander had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. To render this possible Prussia and Austria must relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. This, however, was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna. Although Prussia and Austria did give back some of their Polish possessions, they retained some. The tragedy of Poland, then as now, was that the Poles, in spirit a single people, were subjects of

three nations and as such might be forced to fight each other, in that most dreadful of conflicts, that of brother against brother.

The new Polish Kingdom, erected in 1815, was simply a part, therefore, of historic Poland, nor did it include all of the Polish territories that Russia had acquired. Of this new state Alexander was to be king. To it he granted a constitution, establishing a parliament of two chambers, with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of toleration was given to other sects. Liberty of the press was guaranteed, subject to laws designed to prevent its abuse. The Polish language was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians. No people in central Europe possessed such liberal institutions as those with which the Poles were now invested. A prosperous career as a constitutional monarchy seemed about to begin. The Poles had never enjoyed so much civil freedom, and they were now receiving a considerable measure of home-rule. But this régime, well-meant and full of promise, encountered obstacles from the start. The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland, and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution. Why should their old enemy be so greatly favored when they, the real supporters of the Czar, were not? The hatred of Russians and Poles, a fact centuries old, continued undiminished. Moreover, what the dominant class of Poles desired, far more than liberal government, was independence. They could never forget the days of their prosperity. Unfortunately they had not the wisdom or self-control to use their present considerable liberties for the purpose of building up the social solidarity which Poland had always lacked, by redressing the crying grievances of the serfs against the nobles, by making all Poles feel that they were a united people rather than two classes of oppressors and oppressed. They did not seek gradually to develop under the protection of their constitution a true and vigorous nationality, which might some day be strong enough to win its independence, but they showed their dissatisfaction with the limited powers Alexander had granted. They criticised the Czar's government for various things and were immediately warned by the Czar. Friction developed and grew at the very time that Alexander's early liberalism was fading away.

Alexander I grants a constitution to Poland

Friction between the Poles and the Russians

The Poles divided into two classes

His successor, Nicholas I, who came to the throne in 1825, was a thorough-going absolutist, animated by an entirely different temper. The spirit of unrest was strong among the mass of the lesser Polish nobility, a class little accustomed to self-control and also strongly influenced by the democratic ideas of western Europe. This party was now inflamed by the reports of the successful revolution in France; by the belief that the French would aid them if they strove to imitate their example. When, therefore, the Czar summoned the Polish army to prepare for a campaign whose object was the suppression of the Belgian revolution, the determination of the Liberals was quickly made. They rose in insurrection toward the end of 1830, declared that the House of Romanoff had ceased to rule in Poland, and prepared for a life and death struggle.

Influence of the July Revolution

Russia's military resources, however, were so great that Poland could not hope alone to achieve her national independence. The Poles expected foreign intervention, but no intervention came. Enthusiasm for the Poles was widespread among the people in France, in England, and in Germany. But the governments, none of which was controlled by public opinion, refused to move.

The Polish expectation of foreign aid disappointed

Thus Poland was left to fight alone with Russia and of the outcome there could be no doubt. The Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to military authorities. The war went on from January, 1831, until September of that year, when Warsaw fell before the Russians. The results of this ill-advised and ill-executed insurrection were deplorable in the extreme. Poland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom and became merely a province of the Russian Empire. Its constitution was abolished and it was henceforth ruled with great severity and arbitrariness. The insurgents were savagely punished. Many were executed, many sent to Siberia. Thousands of Polish officers and soldiers escaped to the countries of western Europe and became a revolutionary element in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, always ready to fight for liberty. They were the sworn foes of tyranny everywhere as they were its most conspicuous victims. Even the Polish language seemed doomed, so repressive was the policy now followed by Russia. The Poles' sole satisfaction was a highly altruistic one, that by their revolt they had contributed greatly to the

The failure of the insurrection

cess of the revolutions in France and Belgium. They had prevented Holy Alliance from intervening to suppress the revolutions of 1830, it had suppressed those of 1820.

REVOLUTION IN ITALY

Another country which felt the revolutionary wave of 1830 was ly. Revolutions broke out in the duchies of Modena and Parma, ose rulers were forced to flee, and in parts of the Papal tes. Hatred of Austria and dissatisfaction with local itrary and despotic governments were the causes. The olutionists expected the hostility of Austria but they ed for the support of France as well as of the people of other Italian tes. But none was forthcoming, Louis Philippe feeling too insecure self at home. The result was that Austrian troops appeared upon scene and easily restored the exiled rulers. The Pope recovered provinces. The episode was over. Reaction again held sway in ly.

Revolutions in Italy easily suppressed in 1831

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

Thus in 1830 revolution raged with varying vehemence all about rmany — in France, in Belgium, in Poland, and in Italy. The move- nt also affected Germany itself. In Brunswick, Saxony, sse-Cassel, and in two Saxon duchies revolutionary vements broke out with the result that several new constitutions re added to those already granted. The new ones were chiefly in rth German, whereas the earlier ones had been mainly in South Ger- n states. But the two great states, Austria and Prussia, passed un- thed and set themselves to bring about a reaction, as soon as the more ssing dangers in Poland and Italy and France were over, and they mselves felt secure. Using certain popular demonstrations, essen- ly insignificant, with all the effect with which he had previously d the Wartburg festival, Metternich succeeded in carrying reaction ther than he had been able to even in the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. ose decrees were aimed chiefly at the universities and the press. New ulations were adopted in 1832 and 1834 by which he secured not only renewal of these but the enactment of additional repressive measures, tricting the rights of such parliaments as existed in various states d still further muzzling the universities and the press. Constitutional in the few states where it existed was reduced to a minimum. The

Revolution in Germany

political history of Germany offers but little interest until the great mid-century uprising of 1848 shook this entire system of negation and repression to the ground.

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CHAPTER XV

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

Louis Philippe, the new monarch of the French, was already in his y-seventh year. He was the son of the notorious Philippe Egalité, o had intrigued during the Revolution for the throne upied by his cousin, Louis XVI, had, as a member of Convention, voted for the latter's execution, and had nself later perished miserably on the scaffold. In 1789 uis Philippe was only sixteen years of age, too young to take part politics, although he became a member of the Jacobin Club. Later joined the army and fought valiantly for the Republic at Valmy l Jemappes. Becoming suspected of treason he fled from France in 93 and entered upon a life of exile that was to last twenty-one years. went to Switzerland, where he lived for a while, teaching geography ll mathematics in a school in Reichenau. Leaving Switzerland when incognito was discovered he traveled as far north as the North Cape, l as far west as the United States. He finally settled in England and ed on a pension granted by the British government. Returning to ance on the fall of Napoleon he was able to recover a large part of the nily property, which, though confiscated during the Revolution, had been actually sold. During the Restoration he lived in the famous lais Royal in the very heart of Paris, cultivating relations that might ne day prove useful, particularly appealing to the solid, rich bour- isie by a display of liberal sentiments and by a good- mored, unconventional mode of life. He walked the eets of Paris alone, talked and even drank with workmen with en- ing informality, and sent his sons to the public schools to associate h the sons of the bourgeoisie — a delicate compliment fully appre- ted by the latter. But beneath this exterior of republican simplicity re lay a strong ambition for personal power, a nature essentially ocratic.

The career of Louis Philippe (1773–1850)

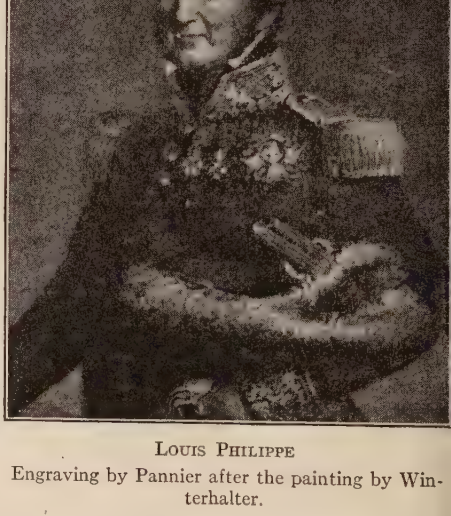
His liberalism

His legal title to his position was very weak. He was invited to ascend the throne by only 219 members of the Chamber of Deputies out of 430, a bare majority. Moreover, the Chamber had never been authorized to choose a king. The first part of the reign was troubled. It was very doubtful whether it could long endure. As the people were never asked whether they wished Louis Philippe as their king, his rule always lacked any popular sanction, such as Napoleon's had always possessed. It had many enemies who denied its right to exist, Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans.

His legal title to the throne

The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux. This party was numerically small, so thoroughly had the reign of Charles X offended and alienated the nation. It gave Louis Philippe little trouble save through the biting sarcasms with which aristocratic society regaled itself at the expense of his honor and chivalry; also at the expense of his personal appearance. It attempted only one insurrection, which was easily put down.

Opposition of the Legitimists



LOUIS PHILIPPE
Engraving by Pannier after the painting by Winterhalter.

But Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced in his rule at first on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that that rule would really constitute the best of republics, that the King was essentially democratic, that the popular

Opposition of the Republicans

rone would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both they d Lafayette were shortly undeceived. They had expected that the w government would adopt a broad, liberal, national policy, would nsider the interests of all sections of the population, and would favor a mocratic evolution of the country. Instead, they saw rapidly set up a rrow class system, which opposed democracy as it opposed aristocracy. he July Monarchy early asserted that its policy would be that of the golden mean," neither conservative nor radical, but oderate. At the beginning the suffrage was broadened, a reduction of age and property qualifications, so that e electorate was doubled and there were now about 0,000 voters, where there had formerly been 100,000. This might ve been tolerable as a mere beginning in the right direction. But e government soon made it manifest that it was not only the begin- ng but the end, that there would be no further enlargement of the ectorate. As a matter of fact this meant that it was the upper bour- oisie who were henceforth to rule France, the wealthy or well-to-do ankers, manufacturers, merchants. The great mass of the eople were to have no power. The argument was put rth that the propertied and educated were the only people fit to rule, at legislation considered wise for them was for the best of all as its nefits were diffused naturally through all classes. It was virtually ne argument of the employer that what is good for him is good for the mployee.

The policy of the "golden mean"

The reign of the wealthy

The July Monarchy was liberal, in one way. It was an assurance at there should be no return toward the Old Régime, no attempt to estore, more or less, directly or indirectly, the aristocracy nd the clergy to their former position. That much was efinitely settled, once for all. On the other hand it would e ve nothing to do with democracy, even as a remote ideal. Democracy eant anarchy, disorder, violence, as the Revolution had own. What was wanted was moderation, the golden ean. The July Monarchy was the reign of the upper iddle class, considered now, by itself, the only safe depository of power. o reversion to outworn, aristocratic ideals, no gradual progression ward democracy, but the steady maintenance, without further change, the system established by the Charter as revised in 1830, such was ne policy of the July Monarchy from which it never deviated.

No return to the Old Régime

No progress toward democracy

The Republicans did not share this opinion that all wisdom was limited to the bourgeoisie. They wished to press forward from present liberties to larger liberties, to educate the people more and more to self-government, to legislate with a view to the interests of all the classes and conditions of men that are contained in a great nation. To them it seemed that the July Monarchy was making a grotesque simplification of what was in reality a very tangled and complex problem in identifying the welfare of France with simply the welfare of a prosperous and educated class. The Republicans therefore became the enemies of the July Monarchy. They attempted insurrections which were serious, but which were put down. The Government adopted vigorous measures for their suppression, breaking up their societies, restricting the right of association, prosecuting their editors, crushing their newspapers under heavy fines, finally forbidding by law any argument for, or defense of, any other form of government than that of the existing monarchy, and forbidding anyone to declare himself an adherent of any fallen royal house.

Republican insurrections

These laws greatly weakened the moral position of the July Monarchy as they made individual liberty only an empty word. But they were successful in their immediate aim. They drove all rival parties, the Republicans included, to cover, and France was governed for eighteen years by the propertied classes, by an aristocracy of wealth. The Republicans, duped, seeing that the July Monarchy promised no growth in liberty, were the bitter enemies of the régime, but were effectually silenced for many long years. Their enmity however was a factor in the ultimate overthrow of this system.

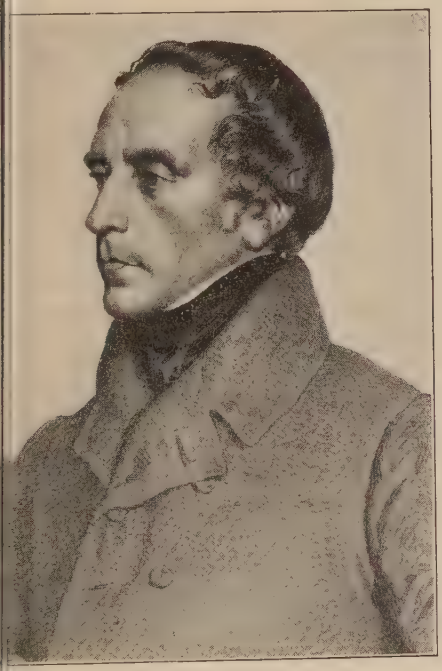
The September Laws, 1835

The parliamentary history of France during the ten years from 1830 to 1840 was marked by instability. There were ten ministries within ten years. But from 1840 to 1848 there was only one, that of Guizot. For several years after his accession to the throne Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from all appearance of assuming personal power. But now that his enemies were overthrown and crushed he began to reveal his real purpose of being monarch in fact as well as in name. He had no intention of following the English theory that, in constitutional as distinguished from absolute monarchies, the king reigns but does not govern. He now found in Guizot a man who sympathized with his views of kingship,

The Guizot Ministry (1840–1848)

l who did not believe that the monarch should be simply an orna-ntal head of the state. Louis Philippe had in his chief minister a n after his own heart. Guizot, eminent as a professor, an historian, d an orator, held certain political principles with the tenacity of a mathematician. He refused to recognize that France needed any alteration in her political institutions. He believed in the Charter of 1814, as revised in 1830. Any further reform would be unnecessary and dangerous. Guizot's policy was one of stiff, unyielding conservatism. He opposed any extension of the suffrage, he opposed any legislation for the laboring classes, he opposed this, he opposed that. All discontent appeared to him frivolous, fictitious, merely the devious device of designing men bent on feathering their own nests.

Guizot's political principles



GUIZOT
ter a lithograph by Lassalle from the portrait by Delaroche.

Year after year this negative policy, this policy of mere inertia, was pursued, arousing more and more disgust. "What have they done for the past seven years?" claimed a deputy in 1847, "Nothing, nothing, nothing." "France is coming bored," said Lamartine. Yet this stagnant government was ing in a world fermenting with ideas, apparently oblivious of the t. The July Monarchy was a government of the bourgeoisie, of the ell-to-do, of the capitalists. They alone possessed the suffrage. Consequently, the remainder of the population was, in a political sense, of o importance. The legislation enacted during these eighteen years as class legislation, which favored the bourgeoisie and which made no

Guizot's policy of rigid conservatism

attempt to meet the needs of the masses. Yet the distress of the masses was widespread and deep and should have received the careful and sympathetic attention of the government.

Their situation provoked discussion and many writers began to preach new doctrines concerning the organization of industry and the crucial question of the relations of capital and labor, doctrines henceforth called socialistic, and appealing with increasing force to the millions of laborers who believed that society weighed with unjustifiable severity upon them, that their labor did not by any means receive its proportionate reward. St. Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the reorganization of society in the interest of the most numerous class. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of "Labor according to capacity and reward according to services." St. Simon was a speculative thinker, not a practical man of affairs. His doctrine gained in direct importance when it was adopted by a man who was a politician, able to recruit and lead a party, and to make a programme definite enough to appeal to the masses. Such a man was Louis Blanc, who was destined to play a great part in the overthrow of the July Monarchy and in the Republic that succeeded. In his writings he tried to convince the laborers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. Louis Blanc proclaimed the right of every man to employment and the duty of the state to provide it. This it could do if it would organize industry. Let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops, let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the laborers would get the full result of their labor. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created. It believed in a republic; but it differed from the other republicans in that, while they desired simply a change in the form of government, it desired a far more sweeping change in society.

Growth of socialism

Louis Blanc (1811–1882)

The amount of discontent with the government of France was great and growing. Yet it could accomplish nothing because the ministry

s steadily supported by the Chamber of Deputies and that Chamber s elected by the two hundred thousand voters. On examination it s seen that Guizot obtained his never-failing majority corrupt methods. The electoral assemblies which chose e deputies were so small, frequently consisting of not ore than two hundred members, many of them office lders, that they could be bribed, in one way or another, to elect depus pleasing to the ministry. Then within the Chamber the same meths would be used. About two hundred of the four hundred and thirty puties were at the same time office holders. The ministry controlled em, as all promotions or increases of salary were dependent upon favor. It needed to gain only a few more votes to have a majority d this was easy, as it had so many favors to distribute.

The Guizot ministry and parliamentary corruption

A reform party thus gradually grew up which did not at all wish overthrow the monarchy but which did demand a change in the mposition of the Chamber of Deputies and in the manner electing it, parliamentary reform and electoral reform. eputies should be forbidden to be at the same time office olders, and the number of voters should be so increased at it would be impossible to corrupt them. Against both these propotions, renewed year after year, during his entire ministry, Guizot solutely set his face. He asserted that the reform movement was only ae work of a few, that the people as a whole were entirely indifferent it. To prove the falsity of this assertion the Opposition instituted, 1847, a series of "reform banquets" which were attended y the people and addressed by the reformers. These anquets were instituted by those loyal to the monarchy, but hostile its policy. Similar meetings, however, were instituted by the Republcans, who were opposed to the very existence of the monarchy.

Demand for electoral and parliamentary reform

The "reform banquets"

Great enthusiasm was aroused by these meetings all over the country. was conclusively shown that the people were behind this demand for eform. But the ministry refused to budge and the King denounced he agitation as pernicious. He even denied the legal right of the people hold such meetings. To test this right before the courts of law the Opposition arranged a great banquet for February 22, 1848, in Paris. Eighty-seven prominent deputies promised to attend. All were to meet in ront of the church of the Madeleine and march to the banquet hall. In he night of February 21–22 the Government posted orders forbidding

this procession and all similar meetings. Rather than force the issue the deputies who had agreed to attend yielded, though under protest. But a vast crowd congregated, of students, workingmen, and others. They had no leader, no definite purpose. The crowd committed slight acts of lawlessness, but nothing serious happened that day. But in the night barricades arose in the workingmen's quarters of the city. Some shots were fired. The Government called out the National Guard. It refused to march against the insurgents. Some of its members even began to shout, "Long live Reform!" "Down with Guizot!" The King, frightened at this alarming development, was willing to grant reform.

Resignation of Guizot

Guizot would not consent and consequently withdrew from office. This news was greeted with enthusiasm by the crowds and, in the evening of February 23, Paris was illuminated and the trouble seemed ended. The contest thus far had been simply between Royalists, those who supported the Guizot ministry, and the reformers, and the fall of Guizot was the triumph of the latter. But the movement no longer remained thus circumscribed. The Republicans now entered aggressively upon the scene, resolved to arouse the excited people against Louis Philippe himself and against the monarchy. They marched through the boulevards and made a hostile demonstration before Guizot's residence. Some unknown person fired a shot at the guards. The guards instantly replied, fifty persons fell, more than twenty dead. This was the doom of the monarchy. The Republicans seized the occasion to inflame the people further. Several of the corpses were put upon a cart which was lighted by a torch. The cart was then drawn through the streets. The ghastly spectacle aroused everywhere the angriest passions; cries of "Vengeance!" followed it along its course. From the towers the tocsin sounded its wild and sinister appeal.

Thus began a riot which grew in vehemence hourly, and which swept all before it. The cries of "Long live Reform!" heard the day before,

The overthrow of Louis Philippe

now gave way to the more ominous cries of "Long live the Republic!" Finally, on February 24th, the King abdicated in favor of his grandson, the little Count of Paris, and, under the incognito of "Mr. Smith" finally reached England. Guizot followed, as did Metternich somewhat later for reasons of his own. The King's life of exile was ended two years later by his death at Claremont.

He had abdicated in favor of his grandson, but the Republicans and

ialists who had forced the abdication would not consent to the con-
uance of the monarchy. They were able to procure
creation of a Provisional Government, composed of
leaders of both parties, with Lamartine at its head
l Louis Blanc as one of the members. The Provisional Government
mediately proclaimed the Republic, subject to ratification by the
ople.

The rise of the second Republic

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CHAPTER XVI

CENTRAL EUROPE IN REVOLT

Central Europe at the opening of 1848 was in a restless, disturbed, expectant state. Everywhere men were wearied with the old order and demanding change. A revolutionary spirit was at work, the public mind in Germany, Italy, and Austria was excited. Into a society so perturbed and so active came the news of the fall of Louis Philippe. It was the spark that set the world in conflagration. The French Revolution of 1848 was the signal for the most wide-reaching disturbance of the century. Revolutions broke out from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from France to the Russian frontier. The whole system of reaction, which had succeeded Waterloo and which had come to be personified in the imperturbable Metternich, crashed in unutterable confusion. The great mid-century uprising of the people had begun, the most widespread convulsion Europe was destined to know until 1914. The storm center of this convulsion was Vienna, hitherto the proud bulwark of the established order. Here in the Austrian Empire one of the most confused chapters in European history began. It seemed for a time as if Austria was doomed to complete disruption, as if she was about to disappear as a great state.

The great mid-century uprising

Vienna the storm center

The immediate impulse came from Hungary where for several years a nationalistic movement had been in progress. With this tendency toward a sharper assertion of the national spirit had been coupled an increasingly aggressive reform movement. The institutions of Hungary were thoroughly mediæval. The nobility alone possessed political power, at the same time being entirely exempt from taxation. A liberal and democratic party, nourished on the ideas of western Europe, had grown up, led by Louis Kossuth, one of Hungary's greatest heroes, and Francis Deák, whose personality is less striking, but whose services to his country were to be more solid and enduring. Kossuth had first come into notice as the editor of a paper

Louis Kossuth. (1802–1894)

nich described in vivid and liberal style the debates in the Hungarian iet. When it was forbidden to print these reports he had them litho-aphed. When this was forbidden he had them written out by hand v a corps of amanuenses and distributed by servants. Finally he was rested and sentenced to prison. During his imprisonment of three ears Kossuth applied himlf to serious studies, particurly to that of the English nguage, with such success iat he was able later to adress large audiences in Engnd and the United States ith great effect. In 1840 he as released and obtained perission to edit a daily paper.

LOUIS KOSSUTH.

Kossuth was the very inrnation of the great demoatic ideas of the age. He ished to erase all distincons between noble and nonoble, to fuse all into one ommon whole. He demanded emocratic reforms in every epartment of the national ife; abolition of the privileges f the nobility and of their exemption from taxation; equal rights and qual burdens for all citizens; trial by jury; reform of the criminal ode. Kossuth's impassioned appeals were made directly to the people. Ie sought to create, and did create, a powerful public opinion clamorus for change. This vigorous liberal opposition to the established rder, an opposition ably led and full of fire, grew rapidly. In 1847 it ublished its programme, drawn up by Deák. This demanded the taxation of the nobles, the control by the iet of all national expenditures, larger liberty for the ress, and a complete right of public meeting and associaion; it demanded also that Hungary should not be subordinate to ustrian policy, and to the Austrian provinces. Such was the situation hen the great reform wave of 1848 began to sweep over Europe.

The demands of the Hungarians in 1847

The effect of the news of the fall of Louis Philippe was electrifyin
The passion of the hour was expressed in a flaming speech by Kossut

The decisive intervention of Hungary

who proved himself a consummate spokesman for a peop
in revolt. Of impressive presence, and endowed with
wonderful voice, he was revolutionary oratory incarnat
In a speech in the Diet, March 3, 1848, he voiced t
feelings of the time, bitterly denouncing the whole system of Austria
government. The effect of this speech was immediate and profoun
not only in Hungary but in Austria proper. Translated into Germa
and published in Vienna, it inflamed the passions of the people. Te
days later a riot broke out in Vienna itself, organized largely by studen
and workingmen. The soldiers fired and bloodshed resulted. Barr
cades were erected and the people and soldiers fought hand to han
The crowd surged about and into the imperial palace, and invaded th

The overthrow of Metternich

hall in which the Diet was sitting, crying "Down wit
Metternich!" Metternich, who for thirty-nine years ha
stood at the head of the Austrian states, who was the ver
source and fount of reaction, imperturbable, pitiless, masterful, wa
now forced to resign, to flee in disguise from Austria to England, t
witness his whole system crash completely beneath the onslaught o
the very forces for which he had for a generation shown contempt.

The effect produced by the announcement of Metternich's fall wa
prodigious. It was the most astounding piece of news Europe had re
ceived since Waterloo. His fall was correctly heralded as the fall o
a system hitherto impregnable.

As Hungary, under the spell of Kossuth's oratory, had exerted a
influence upon Vienna, so now the actions of the Viennese reacted upo

The March Laws

Hungary. The Hungarian Diet, dominated by the reform
and national enthusiasm just unchained and constantly
fanned by Kossuth, passed on March 15th and the days succeedin
the famous March Laws, by which the process of reforming an
modernizing Hungary, which had been going on for some years
was given the finishing touch. These celebrated laws represented th
demands of the Hungarian national party led by Kossuth. They swep
away the old aristocratic political machinery and substituted a mod
ern democratic constitution. Feudal dues were abolished, and liberty
of the press, religious liberty, trial by jury were established. The March
Laws also demanded a separate Hungarian ministry, composed exclu

rely of Hungarians. All this was conceded by Austria under the compulsion of dire necessity (March 31).

The example of Hungary was speedily followed by Bohemia. Here were two races: the Germans, wealthy, educated, but a minority, and the Czechs, a branch of the great Slavic race, poorer, but a majority, ambitious to make Bohemia a separate state, subject only to the Emperor. The Bohemians demanded (March) practically the same things that the Hungarians had demanded. The Emperor conceded them.

Revolution in Bohemia

The Austrian provinces west of Vienna made somewhat similar demands. These too were granted, of course because of the helplessness of the government. That helplessness was due chiefly to the critical situation in Italy. For the Italians had utilized the propitious moment to attempt the overthrow of Austrian influence in Italy. Lombardy and Venetia rose against the hated foreigner. Venice, under the inspiring leadership of Daniel Manin, restored the republic which Napoleon had suppressed after his first campaign. Piedmont threw in its lot with these rebels and sent its army forward to aid in the war of liberation. So did other Italian states, under popular pressure, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples. At the same time several of these states gained liberal constitutions. Italy had thus practically declared her independence.

Revolution in the Austrian provinces.

Italy renounces Austrain control

Meanwhile there were March Days in Germany, too. The King of Prussia promised a constitution, intimidated thereto by an uprising of the people of Berlin, which was marked by the erection of barricades, great turbulence, and some bloodshed. He also promised to lead in the attempt to achieve unity for Germany. Preliminary steps were immediately taken to bring this about by a great German National Assembly or Parliament, popularly elected for the purpose. This Assembly met two months later in Frankfort amid the high hopes of the people. Constitutions were granted by their princes to several German states.

Revolution in Germany

Thus by the end of March, 1848, revolution, universal in its range, was everywhere successful. The famous March Days had demolished the system of government which had held sway over Europe for a generation. Throughout the Austrian Empire, in Germany and in Italy the revolution was triumphant.

The March revolutions everywhere triumphant

Hungary and Bohemia had obtained sweeping concessions; a constitution had been promised the Austrian provinces; several Italian states had obtained constitutions; the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom had declared itself independent of Austria, and the rest of Italy was moving to support the rebels; a constitution had been promised Prussia, and a convention was about to meet to give liberty and unity to Germany.

But the period of triumph was brief. At the moment of greatest humiliation Austria began to show remarkable powers of recovery. In the rivalries of her races, and in her army lay her salvation.

Austria begins the work of restoration

The Government won its first victory, not in Italy, which was the critical point, but in Bohemia. There, in March, the Germans and the Czechs had worked together for the acquisition of the reforms described above. But shortly serious differences drove the two races apart. These racial animosities, vigorously fanned by designing individuals, resulted in a clash between Germans and Czechs in the streets of Prague. Windischgrätz, commander of the imperial troops in Prague, seized this occasion to bombard the city (June, 1848). He subdued it and became dictator. The army had won its first victory, and that, too, by taking advantage of the bitter racial antagonisms in which the Austrian Empire so abounded.

Bohemia conquered

In Italy also the army was victorious. The Italians, after the first flush of enthusiasm, began to be torn by jealousies and dissensions. The rulers of Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States deserted the national cause, leaving Charles Albert of Piedmont, and the Lombard rebels, alone confronting the Austrians under Radetzky, a man who had served with credit in every Austrian war for sixty years and who now, at the age of eighty-two, was to increase his reputation. Radetzky defeated Charles Albert at Custozza, on July 25, 1848, and then agreed to an armistice of several months, expecting to complete his work later. Thus by the middle of the summer of 1848 the Austrian government was again in the saddle in Bohemia, and had partially recovered its power in Italy. It was only waiting for an opportunity to win back the ground it had lost in Hungary. The opportunity came with the outbreak of civil dissension in that country. The racial and national rivalries rose to the highest pitch. The Magyars, though a minority of the whole people, had always been dominant and the vic-

Italy partially conquered

Civil dissension in Hungary

y of March had been their victory. But the national feeling was ong and growing with Serbs, Croatians, and Roumanians. These, the summer of 1848, demanded of the Hungarian Diet much the same vileges which the Magyars had won for themselves from the Vienna vernment. They wished local self-government and the recognition their own languages and peculiar customs. To this the Magyars uld not for a moment consent. They intended that there should be t one nationality in Hungary — that of the Magyars. Individual il equality should be guaranteed to all the inhabitants of the kingdom whatever race, but no separate or partly separate nations, and no ner official language than their own. They, therefore, refused these mands point-blank. As a consequence, the bitterest race hatreds oke out in this Hungarian state, whose power had been so recently ablished and was so lightly grounded.

The Magyars would not grant to others the fundamental right which ey had long so stoutly asserted for themselves, and which after vig- ous struggles they had won, the right of nationality. They began, deed, forthwith a policy of oppression, a policy of Magyarization, of mpressing all these various peoples into one common mould, of for- ble assimilation. This has ever since been the open sore in Hungarian litics.

The Magyars insisted that the Magyar language should be taught all the schools in Croatia and should be used in all official com- unications between that province and the central gov- nment in Budapest. The Croatians resented this compromising and ungenerous policy and their resent- nt rapidly became rebellion. The Austrian government saw in this ssension the chance to regain its lost control. By indirect and tortuous ethods it fanned this racial hatred, hoping to profit from the anger of e Magyars against the Slavs and of the Slavs against the Magyars. eedless to say the tension between Hungary and Austria increased ily. Finally in September, 1848, matters were precipitated when Jella- ich, a man who had been appointed by the Austrian Emperor as governor of oatia, began a civil war by leading an army of Croatians and Serbs ainst the Magyars. The Magyars, the dominant class in Hungary, re resolved to maintain their position against the rebellious Slavs and, Austria supported them, against Austria herself.

Austria exploits the situation

On its side the reactionary party in Austria, emboldened by the partial successes of the army in Bohemia and Italy, resolved to tighten its grip upon the state. First it forced the Emperor Ferdinand to abdicate. He was succeeded December 2, 1848, by his nephew Francis Joseph I, a lad of eighteen, destined to a long and eventful reign.

Accession of Francis Joseph I

The purpose of this manoeuvre was to permit by a show of legality the abrogation of the March Laws in Hungary. Promises made by Ferdinand, it was held, were not binding upon his successor, and the promises of March were henceforth to be repudiated. Matters went rapidly from bad to worse. Austria prepared to subdue Hungary as she had subdued Bohemia. Hungary stiffened for the conflict.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I
At the time of his accession.

Thus it came about that the year 1849 saw a great war in Hungary. The Hungarians, in a frenzy of excitement, led by Kossuth, took the momentous step of declaring that the House of Hapsburg, as false and perjured, had ceased to rule; and that Hungary was an independent nation. Kossuth was appointed President of the indivisible state of Hungary. While the word republic was not uttered, such would probably be the future form of government if the Hungarians succeeded in achieving their independence.

Hungarian Declaration of Independence (April 14, 1849)

But this was not to be. The ungenerous conduct of the Magyars toward the other races in Hungary now received is natural reward. Not only did the Hungarian armies have to face Austrian troops but they had to fight the Slavs of Hungary who, eager for revenge, aided the Austrians. The Hungarians achieved some victories despite these odds, but their action in declaring their country independent complicated the situation disastrously. The matter be-

War in Hungary

ne international. Foreign intervention brought this turbulent chap- abruptly to a close. The young Francis Joseph I made an appeal aid to the Czar of Russia. Nicholas I showed the greatest alacrity responding. The reasons that determined him were various. He s both by temperament and conviction predisposed to aid his fellow- vereigns against revolutionary movements, if asked. He was an tocrat and interested in the preservation of autocracy wherever it isted. Also he had no desire to see a great republic on his very rders. Furthermore, a successful Hungary might make a restless land. Many Poles were fighting in the Hungarian armies.

Russian troops, variously estimated at from 100,000 to 200,000, w poured into Hungary from the east and north. The Austrians ain advanced from the west. The Hungarians fought **Hungary conquered** illiantly and recklessly, urged on by the eloquence of ossuth. They sought the aid of the Turks but did not receive it. ey even appealed to the Slavs, promising them in adversity the rights ey had refused in prosperity, but in vain. The overwhelming numbers their opponents rendered the struggle hopeless. Kossuth resigned favor of Görgei, a leading general. The latter was forced to capitu- te at Világos, August 13, 1849. The war of Hungarian independence as over. Kossuth and others fled to Turkey, where they were given fuge. Nicholas proudly handed over to Francis Joseph his trouble- me Hungary, which Austria, if left to her own resources, would prob- ly have been unable to conquer. The punishment meted out to the ungarians had no quality of mercy in it. Many generals and civilians ere hanged. The constitutional privileges were entirely abolished. ungary became a mere province of Austria, and was crushed beneath e iron heel. The catastrophe of 1849 seemed the complete annihila- on of that country.

Meanwhile Italy also had been reconquered by the revived military wer of Austria. As we have seen, the Italian campaign of 1848 against ustria had been led by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. **The conquest of Italy completed** e had not been successful and had been forced to sign armistice at Custozza in August. But there were many publicans in Italy who believed that Charles Albert had been only lf-hearted, that Italy could never be saved by constitutional mon- chists. These republicans now decided to carry out their own views. hey effected revolutions in both Florence and Rome and declared both

of those states republics. The Grand Duke of Tuscany fled to the Kingdom of Naples, as did the Pope. The temporal power of the Pope was abolished.

The result of all these changes was that when the armistice was over and Charles Albert took the field in the spring of 1849 against Austria he took it alone. The republicans were neither able nor disposed to aid him. The Italians at this critical moment were divided among themselves. Had they been united they would have had difficulty enough in their struggle for independence. As it was, the case was hopeless. No help came to Charles Albert from the states to the south of Piedmont. At Novara, March 23, 1849, the Sardinian army was utterly overthrown. The King himself sought death on the battlefield, but in vain. "Even death has cast me off," he said. Believing that better terms could be made for his country if another sovereign were on the throne, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, whose reign, begun in the darkest adversity, was destined to be glorious. Passing into exile, Charles Albert died a few months later. He had rendered, however, a great service to his house and to Italy, for he had shown that there was one Italian prince who was willing to risk everything for the national cause. He had enlisted the interest and the faith of the Italians in the government of Piedmont, in the House of Savoy. He was looked upon as a martyr to the national cause.

Abdication of Charles Albert

In the succeeding months the republics of Florence, Rome, and Venice were, one after the other, overthrown. The radiant hopes of 1848 had withered fast. A cruel reaction soon held sway throughout most of the peninsula. The power of Austria was restored, greater apparently than ever. Piedmont alone preserved a real independence, but was for the time being crushed beneath the burdens of a disastrous war and a humiliating peace.

Overthrow of the republics

Meanwhile the victories of the Liberals in Germany were being succeeded by defeats. Their hope had centered in the deliberations of the Parliament of Frankfort, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives, elected by universal suffrage. The assembly was composed of many able men, but it possessed only a moral authority. Though its existence had not been prevented by the rulers of the various states, because they had not dared to oppose what the people so plainly desired, still those rulers

The Parliament of Frankfort

e it no positive support and played a waiting game, hoping to be e to prevent the execution of any decisions unfavorable to themves. The Frankfort Parliament had been summoned in response to opular demand for a real German nation, in place of the hollow mock- of the Confederation established in 1815 at Vienna. It was expected draw up a constitution and it was also expected that this constitun would be democratic. Its aim was to achieve not only German ity but German political freedom, popular government in place of vernment by absolute monarchs or privileged classes. It was hoped at a great free German state would issue from its deliberations, unity sting upon a large measure of democracy.

The task was very difficult for various reasons. The union must federal because there were nearly forty states in Germany, each th its own history, its own traditions, its own dynasty, s own fears of the others. Moreover, a federation is fficult even between states that are equal in political velopment, and the political development of the German ates was unequal. Some states possessed constitutions and parliaents and the people had had some experience in self-government. ut the leading states, Prussia and Austria, had none of those things nd were in their political development backward. Moreover these wo states were rivals and neither was willing to sacrifice its identity nd power for any such thing as a common German fatherland. There an be no federation without a sacrifice of power by the states entering . Moreover the governing classes of both of these states hated everyning that savored of democracy.

Why the problem of German unity was so difficult

The Frankfort Parliament failed and the two streams of tendency, characteristic of the century, the tendency toward unity and the ndency toward democracy were dammed up for a long while in Germany. Indeed the tendency toward democracy has remained dammed p to this very day. While unity was achieved a generation later, popur self-government has not yet been achieved.

The Parliament failed, to some extent because of the mistakes of s members, but chiefly because of the resolute opposition the princes of Germany, and, in particular, of Prussia nd Austria. It however succeeded in drafting a constiution of many high merits, a constitution nobly planned, which guaranteed civil liberty to every German, equality before the

Hostility of the German princes to unity and democracy

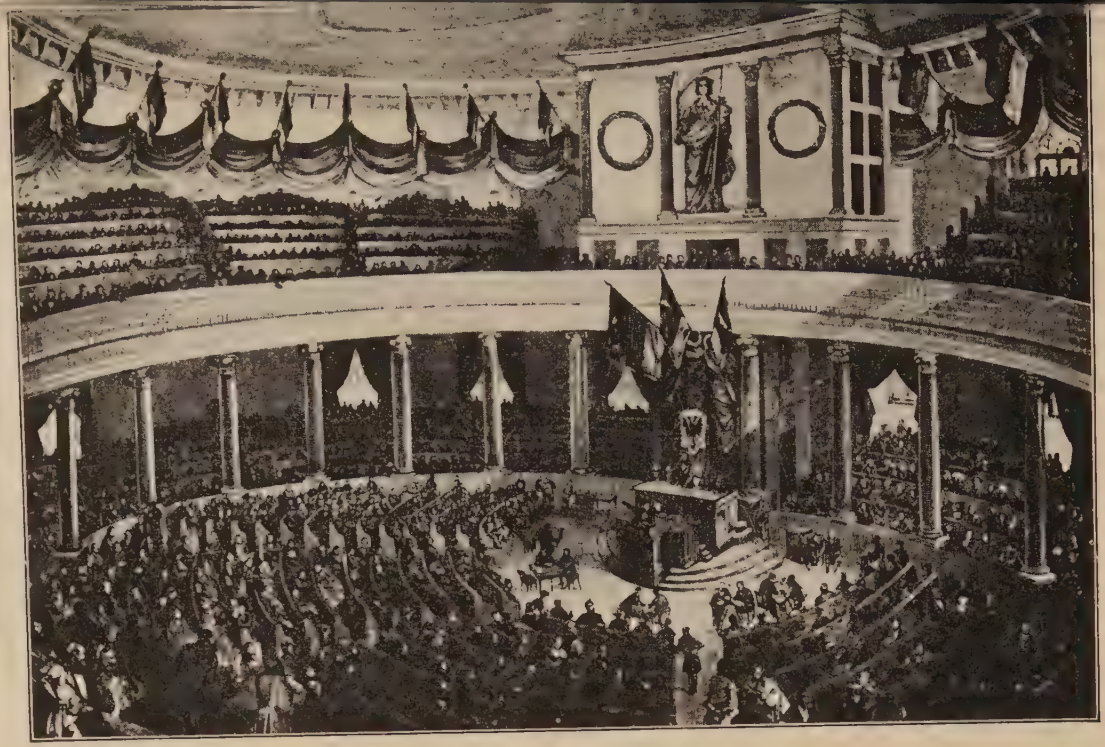
law, responsible parliamentary control for the central government and for the government of the separate states. It was decided that the new German nation should have the same boundaries as the old Confederation, a decision which displeased Austria as she wished to be included with all her territories, not with simply a part of them. A most important question was what should be the form of the new government and who should be the executive? Should there be an emperor or a president or a board, and if an emperor, should his office be hereditary, or for life, or for a term of years? Should he be the monarch of Prussia or Austria, or should first one and then the other rule? The final decision was that Germany should be an hereditary empire, and on March 28, 1849, the King of Prussia was chosen to be its head. Austria announced curtly that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the German Confederation, nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible monarchy."

The center of interest now shifted to Berlin, whither a delegation went to offer to Frederick William IV the imperial crown of a united Germany. Would he accept it? If he would, the new scheme to which twenty-eight minor states had already assented would go into force, though this might involve a war with Austria, by this time largely recovered from her various troubles. Frederick William IV had declared in 1847 that he was willing to settle the German question, "with Austria, without Austria, yes, if need be, against Austria." Now, however, he was in a very different mood. He declined the offer of the Frankfort Parliament. The reasons were varied. Austria protested that she would never accept a subordinate position, and this protest alarmed him. And he disliked the idea of receiving a crown from a revolutionary assembly; rather, in his opinion, ought such a gift to come from his equals, the princes of Germany.

Thus the two great German powers, Austria and Prussia, rejected the work of the Frankfort Parliament. Rebuffed in such high quarters, that body was unable to impose its constitution upon Germany, and it finally ended its existence wretchedly. In session for over a year it accomplished nothing. But the responsibility for the failure of Germans to achieve a real unity in 1848 and 1849 rests primarily not with it, but with the rulers of Prussia and Austria.

Rejection of the work of the Frankfort Parliament

The collapse of the Frankfort Parliament was a bitter disappoint-



THE PARLIAMENT OF FRANKFORT
After the lithograph by May of the drawing by Bamberger.

ment. It drove a number of the more radical Germans to a bold and desperate attempt to establish a republic by force of arms, since these monarchs of Germany spurned the work of the Parliament.

A republican rising

An insurrection broke out in southwest Germany, a section devoted to the cause of liberty. The regular troops of Baden joined the insurgents, and the movement spread down the Rhine. "Some of the noblest and most generous spirits in Germany were to be found in this last and most desperate venture to maintain the cause of liberal unity against the sinister opposition of the German crowns. It was all in vain. Democratic idealism fell, not for the first or last time, before the trained battalions of Prussia."[1] The republicans were shot down or dispersed by Prussian troops in May, 1849. The republican party in Germany has never recovered from this blow.

Emigration of German Liberals to the United States

For men who held democratic and republican ideas and ideals intensely there was no hope in Germany. Many, not willing to abandon their convictions, their belief in liberty, not wishing to live under a régime which denied the most elementary rights to individuals, moreover not safe in such states and not desired, had only the sad resource of leaving the land of their birth, esteeming liberty more precious than subjection to absolute monarchs. One of these was Carl Schurz, a Prussian, whose part in the revolution of 1848 was most romantic and honorable. He, like many others, emigrated to the United States, with a heavy heart, because he believed that the cause of liberty was lost in Germany and in Europe, and that he had to make the poignant choice between liberty and his native land. Great was the gain of America. If these men could not have democratic institutions at home they would find them in the New World and could enjoy the opportunities they ensure.

The King of Prussia had refused the headship of a united Germany offered him by the Frankfort Parliament and had thus rendered its labors fruitless. But he now attempted to secure the leadership in another way, proposing a union of the purely German states under his own direction. This meant the exclusion of Austria, so largely non-German in her composition. Most of the smaller states joined this Prussian Union (1849). This action brought Prussia into sharp conflict with Austria, which had no desire to be edged out of Germany and which naturally resented this attempt of Prussia to snatch the leader-

[1] Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe*, p. 265.

p away from her. Austria, therefore, having finally set her Hun-ian house in order, peremptorily ordered the King of Prussia abandon his schemes, which he forthwith did. This was the famous umiliation of Olmütz." Austria then demanded that e old German Confederation of 1815, which had been spended in 1848, be revived with its Diet at Frank-rt. This was done in 1851. Austria was stronger than ever in the iet. The short-lived Prussian Union was dissolved.

The "humiliation of Olmütz"

The permanent results of this mid-century uprising of central Europe ere very slight. Everywhere the old governments slipped back into e old grooves and resumed the old traditions. Two ates, however, emerged with constitutions which they ept, Sardinia, whose Constitutional Statute granted y Charles Albert on March 4, 1848, established a real constitu-onal and parliamentary government, the only one in Italy; and russia, whose Constitution issued by the King in its final form in 1850 as far less liberal, yet sufficed to range Prussia among the constitu-onal states of Europe. By it the old absolutism of the state was hanged, at least in form. There was henceforth a parliament consist-ng of two chambers. In one respect this document was a bitter disap-ointment to all Liberals. In the March Days of 1848 the King had romised universal suffrage, but the Constitution as finally promulgated endered it illusory. It established a system unique in the world. Uni-ersal suffrage was not withdrawn, but was marvelously nanipulated. The voters were divided in each electoral listrict throughout Prussia into three classes, according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district was livided into three equal parts. Those voters who paid the first third were grouped into one class, those, more numerous, who paid the second hird into another class, those who paid the remainder into still another lass. The result was that a few very rich men were set apart by them-elves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these three groups, voting separately, elected an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chose the delegates of that onstituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament. Thus in very electoral assembly two-thirds of the members belonged to the wealthy class. There was no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system, established by the Constitution of 1850, still

Results of the revolutions of 1848

Prussia's three-class system of election

exists in Prussia. It gives an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consists of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second class is sometimes twenty times as numerous; the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus though every man twenty-five years of age has the suffrage, the vote of a single rich man may have as great weight as the votes of a thousand workingmen. Thus is universal suffrage manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and as to consolidate a privileged class in power, in the only branch of the government that has even the appearance of being liberal. Bismarck, no friend of Liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice is shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, secured only seven seats out of a total of over four hundred.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

The Second Republic lasted nominally nearly five years, from February 24, 1848, to December 2, 1852, when the Second Empire was proclaimed. Practically, however, as we shall see, it came to an end one year earlier, December 2, 1851. During this period the state was administered successively by the Provisional Government, chosen on February 24th, and remaining in power for about ten weeks, then for about a year by the National Constituent Assembly, which framed the Constitution of the Republic, and then by the President and Legislative Assembly, created by this constitution. The history of the Republic was to be a very troubled one.

Stages in the history of the Second Republic

The Provisional Government was from the first composed of two elements. The larger number, led by Lamartine, were simply Republicans, desirous of a republican form of government in place of the monarchical. The other element was represented particularly by Louis Blanc who believed in a republic, but as a means to an end, and that end a social, economic revolution; who wished primarily to improve the condition of the laboring classes, to work out in actual laws and institutions the socialistic theories propounded with such effectiveness during the later years of the reign of Louis Philippe, and particularly the principle represented in the famous phrase, "the right to employment." What he most desired was not a mere political change, but a thoroughgoing reconstruction of society in the interest of the largest and weakest class, the poor, the wage-earners.

Two elements in the Provisional Government

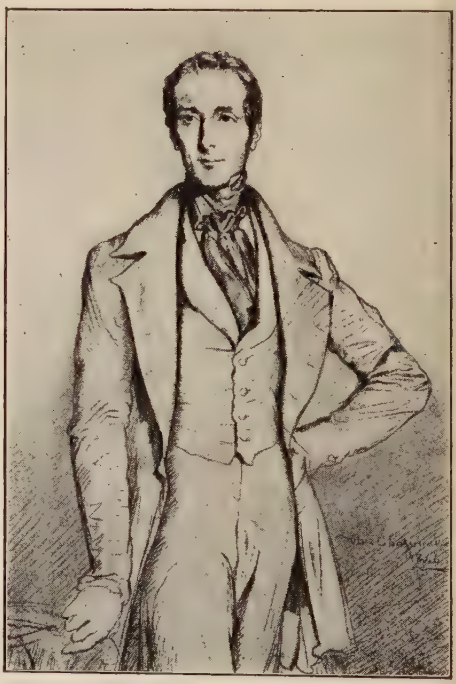
The Provisional Government, divided as it was into Socialists and Anti-Socialists, ran the risk of all coalitions, that of being reduced to

impotence by internal dissensions. Conflicts between the two great currents of opinion began on the very day of the proclamation of the Republic. Armed workmen came in immense numbers to the Hôtel de Ville and demanded that henceforth the banner of France should be the red flag, emblem of Socialism. Lamartine repelled this demand in a speech so brilliant and so persuasive that the workmen themselves stamped upon the red flag.

The question of the flag

But the Government, achieving an oratorical victory, saw itself forced to yield to the socialist party in two important respects. On motion of Louis Blanc, it recognized the so-called "right to employment." It promised work to all citizens, and as a means to this end it established, against its own real wishes, the famous National Workshops. It also established a Labor Commission, with Blanc at its head and with its place of meeting the Luxembourg Palace. This was a mere debating society, a body to investigate economic questions and report to the Government. It had no power of action, or of putting its opinions into execution. Moreover, by removing Louis Blanc from the Hôtel de Ville to another part of Paris, the Government really reduced his influence and that of his party. Naturally this irritated the Socialists.

The Labor Commission



LAMARTINE IN 1832
After a lithograph by Chasseriau.

The National Workshops, too, were a source of ultimate disappointment to those who had looked to them to solve the complex labor problems of the modern industrial system. Conceded by the Provisional Government against its will, and to gain

The National Workshops

ne, that Government did not intend that they should succeed. Their eation was intrusted to the Minister of Commerce, Marie, a personal nemy of Louis Blanc, who, according to his own admission, was willing make this experiment in order to render the latter unpopular and to ow workingmen the fallacy of his theories of production, and the angers of such theories for themselves. The scheme was represented s Louis Blanc's, though it was denounced by him, was established es- ecially to discredit him, and was a veritable travesty of his ideas. lanc wished to have every man practice his own trade in real factories, tarted by state aid. They should be engaged in productive enterprises; noreover, only men of good character should be permitted to join these ssociations. Instead of this, the Government simply set men of the nost varied sorts — cobblers, carpenters, metal workers, masons, to abor upon unproductive tasks, such as making excavations for public orks. They were organized in a military fashion, and the wages were niform, two francs a day.

It was properly no system of production that was being tried, but system of relief for the unemployed, who were very numerous owing o the fact that many factories had had to close because of the generally disturbed state of affairs. The number of men flocking to these National Workshops increased alarmingly: 25,000 n the middle of March; 66,000 in the middle of April; over 100,000 in May. As there was not work enough for all, the number of working lays was reduced for each man to two a week, and his total wage for he week fixed at eight francs. The result was that large numbers of men were kept idle most of the time, were given wretched wages, and had plenty of time to discuss their grievances. They furnished excellent material for socialist agitators. This experiment wasted the public money, accomplished nothing useful, and led to a street war of the most appalling kind.

Their rapid growth

The Provisional Government was, as the name signified, only a temporary organization whose duty was to administer the state until an assembly should be elected to frame a Constitution. The Provisional Government established universal suffrage and thus political power passed suddenly from the hands of about two hundred thousand privileged wealthy persons to over nine million electors. The elections were held on April 23, and the National Constituent Assembly met on May 4, 1848. The

The National Constituent Assembly

assembly consisted of nine hundred men, about eight hundred of them moderate Republicans. The Socialists had almost disappeared.

The Assembly showed at once that it was bitterly opposed to the opinions of the Socialists of Paris. The Provisional Government now laid down its powers, and the Assembly chose five of its members, all Anti-Socialists, with Lamartine as the head, as the new executive until the Constitution should be drawn up. All these men had been opposed to Louis Blanc. The Government, believing that the National Workships were breeding-spots of Socialism and dangerous unrest, resolved to root them out. It announced their immediate abolition, giving the workmen the alternative of enrolling in the army or going into the country to labor on public works. If they did not leave voluntarily, they would be forced to leave. The laborers, goaded to desperation, prepared to resist and to overthrow this Government which they had helped bring into existence, and which had proved so unsympathetic. Organized as a semi-military force, angered at the hostility of the bourgeoisie to all helpful social reform that could make their lives easier, they began a bitter fight. The Assembly saw the terrible nature of the conflict impending. General Cavaignac was given dictatorial powers by the Assembly, the Executive Commission of five resigning. During four June days (June 23–26, 1848) the most fearful street fighting Paris had ever known went on behind a baffling network of barricades. The issue was long doubtful, but finally the insurgents were put down. The cost was terrible. Ten thousand were killed or wounded. Eleven thousand prisoners were taken, and their deportation was immediately decreed by the Assembly. The June Days left among the poor an enduring legacy of hatred toward the bourgeoisie.

The Assembly hostile to the Socialists

Abolition of the National Workshops

The June Days

The moderate republicans had definitely triumphed over the socialistic republicans. But so narrow had been their escape, so fearful were they for the future that the dictatorship of Cavaignac was continued until the end of October. Thus the Second Republic, proclaimed in February, 1848, after ten troubled weeks under a Provisional Government, passed under military leadership for the next four months. One-man power was rapidly developing.

A military dictatorship

The results of this socialist agitation and of the sanguinary Days of June were lamentable and far-reaching. The republic was immeasurably

eakened by this dreadful fratricidal strife. It was gravely wounded the house of its friends.

After the suppression of the Socialists in June the Assembly proeeded to frame the constitution, for which task it had been chosen. It roclaimed the Republic as the definitive government of rance. It declared universal suffrage. It provided that here should be a legislature consisting of a single chamber, omposed of 750 members, chosen for three years, to be renewed in all at the end of that period

The framing of the Constitution

The executive was to be a president elected for four years and neligible for reëlection save after a four years' interval. He was iven very considerable powers. It was felt that the anger in giving him these would be neutralized by the hortness of his term and by his inability to be immediately reëlected. How he should be chosen was the most important uestion before the Constituent Assembly, and was long debated. The Assembly, dominated by its fundamental dogma of universal uffrage and popular sovereignty, was disposed to have the president hosen by all the voters. The danger in this procedure ay in the lack of political experience of the French electorate, and the probability that they would be blinded by some distinguished or famous name in making their choice, not guided by an intelligent analysis of character and of itness for the high office. It was however decided that the people should choose the president and should be entirely untrammeled in their choice. In thus leaving the choice of the president to universal suffrage, this republican assembly was playing directly into the hands of a pretender to a throne, of a man who believed he had the right to rule France by reason of his birth, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the Great Napoleon and legitimate heir to his pretensions. At the time of the February Revolution this man was practically without influence or significance, but so swiftly did events move and opinion shift in that year 1848 that by the time the mode of choosing the president was decided upon, he was already known to be a leading candidate, a fact which stamped that decision as all the more foolhardy.

The powers of the executive

Discussion concerning the presidency

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had become chief of the house of Bonaparte in 1832 at the age of twenty-four, on the death of Napoleon's son,

known as the "King of Rome." He was the son of Louis, the former King of Holland. He conceived his position with utmost seriousness. He believed that he had a right to rule over France, and that the day would come when he would. He adhered to this belief for sixteen years, though those years brought him no practical encouragement, but only the reverse. Gathering about him a few adventurers, he attempted in 1836, at Strassburg, and in 1840, at Boulogne, to seize power. Both attempts were puerile in their conception, and were bunglingly executed. Both ended in fiasco. He had gained the name of being ridiculous, a thing exceedingly difficult for Frenchmen to forgive or forget. As a result of the former attempt he had been exiled to the United States, from which country he shortly returned. As a result of the latter he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham in northern France, from which he escaped in 1846, disguised as an ordinary mason, named Badinguet. He then went to England and in 1848, at the time of the Chartist risings, he was a special constable stationed in Trafalgar Square. This was certainly no record of achievement. But the stars in their courses were fighting for him. The Revolution of 1848 created his opportunity, as that of 1789 had created that of the First Napoleon. Like his great prototype, whom he constantly sought to imitate, he offered his services to the Republic. He was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, where the impression he created was that of a mediocre man, with few ideas of his own, who could probably be controlled by others. His name, however, was a name to conjure with. This was his only capital, but it was sufficient. The word Naploeon was seen to be a marvelous vote-winner with the peasants, who, now that universal suffrage was the law of the land, formed the great majority. "How should I not vote for this gentleman," said a peasant to Montalembert, "I whose nose was frozen at Moscow?" Louis Napoleon was an avowed candidate for the presidency, and, as the most colorless, was the strongest. Cavaignac was the candidate of the democratic Republicans, who had governed France since February, but he was now hated by the workingmen for his part in the June Days. Thus when the presidential election was held in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was overwhelmingly chosen with over five million votes to Cavaignac's million and a half. The new President entered upon his duties December 20, 1848. On that day before the

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte

A member of the Constituent Assembly

A candidate for the presidency

sembly he swore "to remain faithful to the democratic republic," l said: "My duty is clear. I will fulfil it as a man of honor. I shall ard as enemies of the country all those who endeavor to change by gal means that which France has established." He kept his oath nearly three years and then he broke it, because he wished to remain power, having no desire to retire to private life; yet the Constitution bade the reëlection of the president at the end of the four-year term. uis Napoleon therefore took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon and climbed to power by carrying through a *coup d'état*, far more skillly than his uncle had engineered that of the 19th of Brumaire.

The 2d of December, 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, was chosen as the fateful day. uring the early morning hours many of the military and **The Coup d'état**
vil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were rested in bed and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent occupy the Legislative Chamber. Placards were posted on all the alls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which cluded a remodeling of the constitution in the direction of the system tablished by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. "This system, eated by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already ven to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her gain." The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these ggestions.

The significance of all this was at first not apparent to those who ad the placards. But signs of opposition began to show themselves their meaning became clearer. Some of the deputies, **Events of December 2**
oing to their hall of meeting, found entrance prevented y the military. Withdrawing to another place, and proceeding to npeach the President, they were attacked by the troops, who arrested large number, and took them off to prison. Thus the leaders of France, vil and military, were in custody, and the President saw no organized thority erect before him. This was the work of December 2. Would e people resent the high-handed acts of this usurper?

The President had not neglected to make unprecedented prepara-ons for this contingency. His police controlled all the printing estab-shments, whence usually in periods of crisis emerged flaming appeals revolt; also all the bell towers, whence in revolutionary times the ocsin was accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Never-

theless, on the 3d, barricades were raised. On the 4th occurred the famous "massacre of the boulevards." Over 150 were killed and a large number wounded. Paris was cowed. The coup d'état was crowned with success. To prevent any possible rising of the provinces martial law was proclaimed in thirty-two departments, thousands of arbitrary arrests were made and the work on which the Prince President entered on the night of December 2d was thoroughly carried out. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France. All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported, exiled, or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the Republicans, who were for years completely silenced.

The "massacre of the boulevards"

Having thus abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion as to intrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On December 20, 7,439,216 voted in favor of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, while the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

The plébiscite

The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign. It was a mere detail when a year later (November 21, 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reëstablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte emperor, under the name of Napoleon III. 7,824,189 Frenchmen voted yes; 253,145 voted no. On the anniversary of the coup d'état, December 2, a day so fortunate for Bonapartes, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and the Second Empire was established.

Napoleon III, Emperor, Dec. 2, 1852

THE SECOND EMPIRE

The President who, by the endless witchery of a name, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favorable circumstances, had known how to become an Emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years. He announced at the outset that what France needed, after so turbulent

tory, was government by an enlightened and benevolent despot. en when the necessary work of reorganization had been ried through and the national life was once more in a althy state, the autocratic would give way to a liberal rm of government which the country would then be in a ndition to manage and enjoy. As a matter of fact the history of the Second Empire falls into these two divisions — autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its programme woefully unrealized.

The programme of the new Emperor

NAPOLEON III

The political institutions of the Empire were largely based on those of the Consulate. The machinery was elaborate but was mainly designed to deceive the French people into thinking that they enjoyed self-government. The principle of universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered quite harmless to the autocrat. There was a Legislative Body and there was a Senate, but their powers were very slight. The important fact was not the activity of these various bodies but of the one man. France was no longer a land of freedom. Since 1815 under the various régimes Parliament had been a serious factor in the life of the nation and men had had a training in political affairs. That promising development was now abruptly stopped. Repression was the order of the day. Particular ruthlessness was shown in the policy of crushing the republicans, as Napoleon III had a very clear instinct that they would never forgive him for overthrowing by violence the Republic which had honored him with its highest office and which he had solemnly sworn to protect from all enemies.

The political institutions of the Empire

In politics a despot and a reactionary, stamping out every possibl spark of independence, Napoleon was, however, in many other way progressive. Particularly did he seek to develop the wealt of the country and his reign was one of increasing economi prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all wer greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business ente prises and fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknow in France. Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborat scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe In 1853 Napoleon III married a young Spanish lady of remarkabl beauty and of noble birth, Mlle. Eugénie de Montijo, "a marriage o love" as the Emperor told the French people. The Tuileries imme diately became the center of a court life the most brilliant and luxurious of the nineteenth century.

The Empire both repressive and progressive

In 1856 Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empir had been recognized by all the other states of Europe. The Emperor had, with England and Piedmont as allies, waged a suc cessful war against Russia in the Crimea.[1] He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and he was honored in the face of all the world by having Paris chosen as the seat o the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. An now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in hi day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortun seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of th coup d'état.

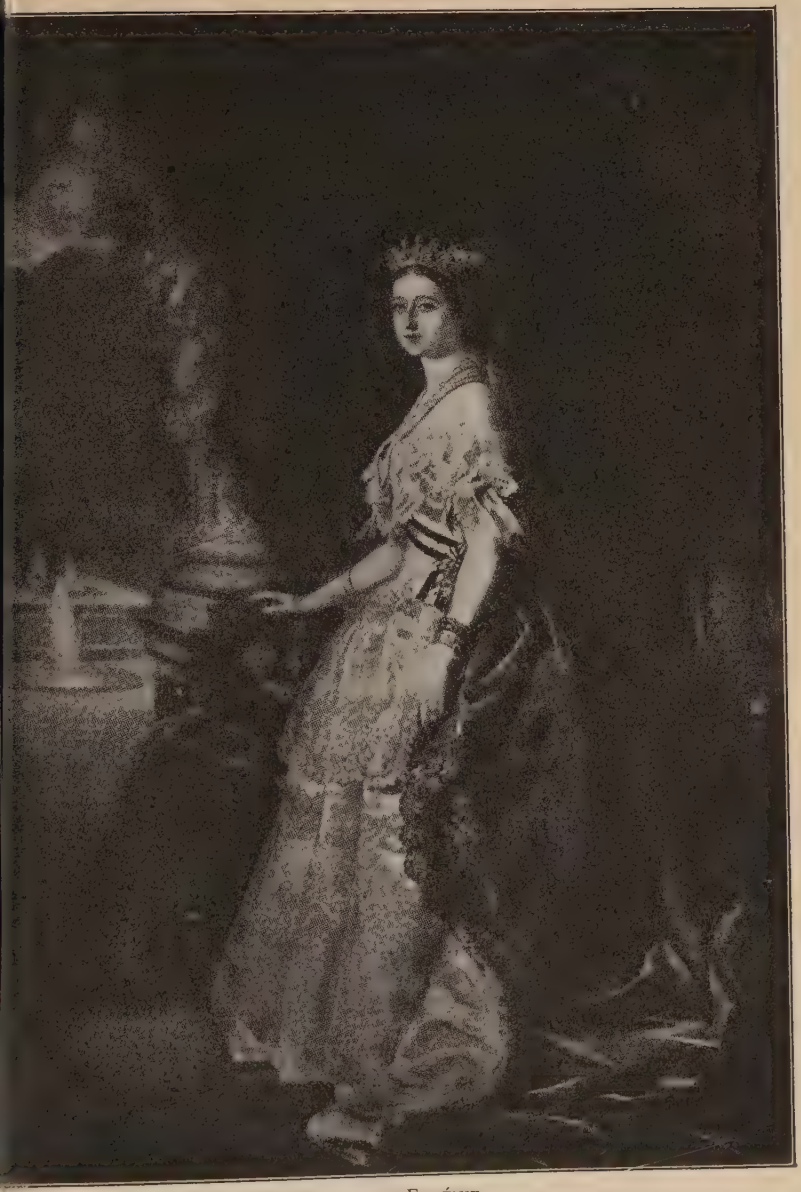
The Congress of Paris, 1856

But the Empire had already reached its apogee, though this wa not evident for some time. Had Napoleon limited his activity to th improvement and development of conditions at home hi reign might have continued successful and advantageous But he adopted a showy and risky foreign policy, whos consequences he did not foresee and which in the end entangled him i hopeless embarrassments and led directly to the violent and tragic ove throw of his Empire and the endless humiliation and suffering of France The foreign policy reacted, after 1860, upon the home policy in a decide manner. The beginning of Napoleon's serious troubles was his partic pation in the Italian war of 1859.

The foreign policy of Napoleon III

To understand the course of the Second Empire from 1860 to 187

[1] See Chapter XXXIII.



EMPRESS EUGÉNIE
After the painting by Winterhalter.

one must study the part played by Napoleon III in the making of modern Italy, the consequences of which were to be for him so unexpected, so far-reaching, and in the end so disastrous. And correctly to appraise that policy we must first trace the history of the rise of the Kingdom of Italy.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE MAKING OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

Italy as we have seen was a land of small states, of arbitrary governnt, and of Austrian domination. The spirit of nationality, the spirit freedom were nowhere recognized. Indeed, every effort s made to stamp them out whenever they appeared. us far these efforts had been successful. They were y about to break down utterly and a noble and stirring movement reform was to sweep over the peninsula in triumph, completely transming and immensely enriching a land which, greatly endowed by ture, had been sadly treated by man.

Italy lacking in unity and freedom

The deepest aspirations of the Italian people had finally found a ice, clear, bold, and altogether thrilling, in the person of Joseph Mazi. Mazzini was the spiritual force of the Italian *Risorgimento* or resurrection, as this national movement was led, the prophet of a state that was not yet but was to destined from youth to feel with extraordinary intensity a holy ssion imposed upon him. He was born in 1805 in Genoa, his father ing a physician and a professor in the university. Even in his boyod he was morbidly impressed with the unhappiness and misery of s country. "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students ound me I was," he says, in his interesting though fragmentary autography, "somber and absorbed and appeared like one suddenly own old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying yself in mourning for my country."

Joseph Mazzini (1805–1872)

As Mazzini grew up all his inclinations were toward a literary life. A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before y mental eye." But this dream he abandoned, "my first great sacrie," for political agitation. He joined the Carbonari, not because he proved even then of their methods, but because at least they were a volutionary organization. As a member of it, he was arrested in 1830. he governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that his son was "gifted

with some talent," but was "too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he at his age to think about? We don't like young people thinking without our knowing the subject of their thoughts." Mazzini was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. Here he could only see the sky and the sea, "the two grandest things in Nature, except the Alps," he said. After six months he was released, but was forced to leave his country. For nearly all of forty years he was to lead the bitter life of an exile in France, in Switzerland, but chiefly in England, which became his second home.

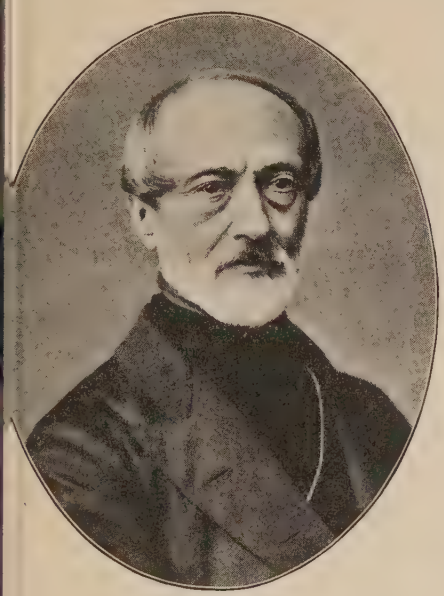
His imprisonment

After his release from prison Mazzini founded in 1831 a society, "Young Italy," destined to be an important factor in making the new Italy. The Carbonari had led two revolutions and had failed. Moreover, he disliked that organization as being merely destructive in its aim, having no definite plan of reconstruction. "Revolutions," he said, "must be made by the people and for the people." His own society must be a secret organization; otherwise it would be stamped out. But it must not be merely a body of conspirators; it must be educative, proselyting, seeking to win Italians by its moral and intellectual fervor to an idealistic view of life, a self-sacrificing sense of duty. Only those under forty were to be admitted to membership, because his appeal was particularly to the young. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude," he said; "you know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion." With Mazzini the liberation and unification of Italy was indeed a new religion, appealing to the loftiest emotions, entailing complete self-sacrifice, complete absorption in the ideal, and the young were to be its apostles. Theirs was to be a missionary life. He told them to travel, to bear from land to land, from village to village, the torch of liberty, to expound its advantages to the people, to establish and consecrate the cult. Let them not quail before the horrors of torture and imprisonment that might await them in the holy cause. "Ideas grow quickly when watered with the blood of martyrs." Never did a cause have a more dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination, of poetry, of audacity, gifted, moreover, with a marvelous command of persuasive language and with burning enthusiasm in his heart. The response was overwhelming. By 1833 the society

Founder of "Young Italy"

The methods of the society

kkoned 60,000 members. Branches were founded everywhere. Gari-di, whose name men were later to conjure with, joined it on the shores the Black Sea. This is the romantic proselyting movement of the ieteenth century, all the more remarkable from the fact that its members were unknown men, bringing to their work no advantage of wealth or social position. But, as their leader wrote later, "All great national movements begin with the unknown men of the people, without influence except for the faith and will that counts not time or difficulties."



JOSEPH MAZZINI.

The programme of this society was clear and emphatic. First, Austria must be driven out. This was the condition precedent to all success. War must come — the sooner the better. Let not Italians rely on the aid of foreign governments, upon diplomacy, but upon their own naided strength. Austria could not stand against a nation of twenty nillions fighting for their rights. "The only thing wanting to twenty nillions of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, rut *faith*," he said.

The aims of the society

At a time when the obstacles seemed insuperable, when but few talians dreamed of unity even as an ultimate ideal, Mazzini declared hat it was a practicable ideal, that the seemingly impossible was easily possible if only Italians would dare to show their power; and his great significance in Italian history is that he succeeded in imparting his burning faith to multitudes of others. Mazzini was a republican and he wished his country, when united, to be a republic. That a solution of the Italian problem lay in combining the existing states into a federation he did not for a moment believe.

Unity a practicable ideal

Every argument for federation was a stronger argument for unity "Never rise in any other name than that of Italy and of all Italy."

Mazzini worked at a great disadvantage as he was early expelle from his own country and was compelled to spend nearly all his lifetim as an exile in London, hampered by paltry resources, and cut off fro that intimate association with his own people which is so essential t effective leadership.

Italy was not made as Mazzini wished it to be, as we shall see; never theless is he one of the chief of the makers of Italy. He and the societ he founded constituted a leavening, quickening force in the realm o ideas. Around them grew up a patriotism for a country that existed a yet only in the imagination.

But to many serious students of the Italian problem Mazzini seeme far too radical; seemed a mystic and a rhetorician full of resoundin and thrilling phrases, but with little practical sense. Men of conserva tive temperament could not follow him. There was a considerabl variety of opinion. Some believed in independence as fervidly as di he but did not believe in the possibility of Italian unity for Italy had been too long divided, the divisions were to deep-seated. Some believed, not in a single state of Italy but in a federation of the various states, with the Pope as president o leader. Others criticised this as a preposterous idea and denounce the Pope's government of his own states in scathing terms. Still other held that Italy was not at all republican in sentiment but was thor oughly monarchical and that a monarchy would be the natural form o its government. Some argued that, as it was impossible to drive th Austrians out, they should be included in the federation; and som thought that, though the Austrians could not be driven out, they migh be bribed to leave by being offered fat pickings in the Balkan peninsul at the expense of the Turks. Austria might thus, for a consideration make Italy a present of her independence, certainly a fanciful idea Out of this fermentation of ideas grew a more vigorous spirit of unrest of dissatisfaction, of aspiration.

A variety of opinions and proposals

The events of 1848 and 1849 gave a decided twist to Italian evolu tion. At one moment Italy had appeared to be on th very point of achieving her independence and her unity Then the reverses had come and she relapsed into her for mer condition. It seemed as if everything was to be as it had been

Reaction in Italy after 1848

worse because of all these blasted hopes and fruitless struggles. things were not exactly as they had been. In one quarter there a change, emphatically for the better. One state in the peninsula ned a brilliant exception to this sorry system of reaction — Piednt. Though badly defeated on the battlefield at Custozza in 1848, at Novara in 1849, it had gained an important moral victory. An ian prince had risked his throne twice for the cause of Italian indedence, conduct which for multitudes marked the House of Savoy as leader of the future. Moreover, the king who had done this, Charles ert, had also granted his people a constitution. He had abdicated. r the battle of Novara, and his son, Victor Emmanuel II, then twenty-e years of age, had come to the throne.

Austria offered Victor Emmanuel easy terms of peace if he would ogate this constitution, Austria not liking constitutions anywhere l particularly in a state that was a neighbor, and pros- ts of aggrandizement were dangled before him. He solutely refused. This was a turning point in his career, the history of Piedmont, and in that of Italy. It won m the popular title of the Honest King. It made Piedmont the one pe of Italian Liberals. She was national and constitunal. Henceforth her leadership was assured. For the xt ten years her history is the history of the making of e Kingdom of Italy. Thither Liberals who were driven out of the her states took refuge, and their number was large.

Victor Emmanuel II (1820–1878)

Piedmont a constitutional state

Victor Emmanuel was a brave soldier, a man, not of brilliant mind, t of sound and independent judgment, of absolute loyalty to his word, intense patriotism. And he had from 1850 on, in his leading minister, unt Camillo di Cavour, one of the greatest statesmen and diplomatists the nineteenth century.

Cavour was born in 1810. His family belonged to the nobility of edmont. He received a military education and joined the army as engineer. But by his liberal opinions, freely expressed, incurred the hostility of his superiors and was kept for time in semi-imprisonment. He resigned his commis- n in 1831, and for the next fifteen years lived the life of a coun- y gentleman, developing his estates. During these years, to vary e monotony of existence, he visited France and England repeatedly, terested particularly in political and economic questions. He was

Count Cavour (1810–1861)

anxious to play a part in politics himself, though he saw no chance in a country as yet without representative institutions. "Oh! if I were an Englishman," he said, "by this time I should be something, and my name would not be wholly unknown." Meanwhile, he studied abroad the institutions he desired for his own country, particularly the English parliamentary system. Night after night he sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, seeking to make himself thoroughly familiar with its modes of procedure. He welcomed with enthusiasm the creation in 1848 of a parliament for Piedmont and of a constitution, which he had, indeed, been one of the boldest to demand. "Italy," he said, "must make herself by means of liberty, or we must give up trying to make her." This belief in parliamentary institutions Cavour held tenaciously all through his life, even when at times they seemed to be a hindrance to his policies. He believed that in the end, sooner or later, the people reach the truth of a matter. He was elected to the first Piedmontese Parliament, was taken into the cabinet in 1850, and became prime minister in 1852. He held this position for the remainder of his life, with the exception of a few weeks, proving himself a great statesman and an incomparable diplomat.

His interest in political and economic questions

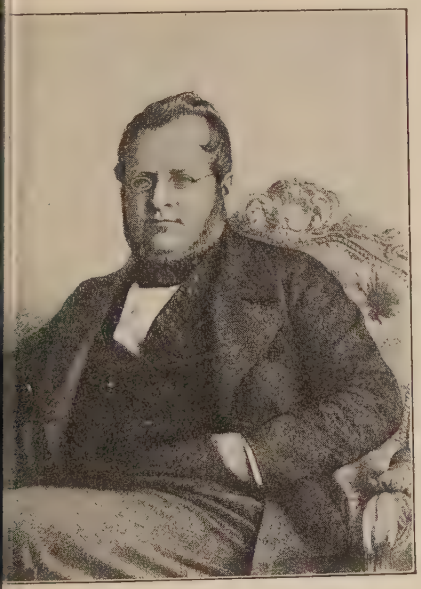
Cavour Prime Minister, 1852

Cavour's mind was the opposite of Mazzini's, practical, positive, not poetical and speculative. He desired the unity and the independence of Italy. He hated Austria as the oppressor of his country, as an oppressor everywhere. But, unlike Mazzini, he did not underestimate her power, nor did he overestimate the power of his own countrymen. Cavour believed, as did all the patriots, that Austria must be driven out of Italy before any Italian regeneration could be achieved. But he did not believe with Mazzini and others that the Italians could accomplish this feat alone. In his opinion the history of the last forty years had shown that plots and insurrections would not avail. It was essential to win the aid of a great military power comparable in strength and discipline to Austria.

Cavour considered that the only possible leader in the work of freeing and unifying Italy was the House of Savoy and the Piedmontese monarchy, and he felt that the proper government of the new state, if it should ever arise, would be a constitutional monarchy. He wished to make Piedmont a model state so that, when the time came, the Italians of other states

Cavour seeks to make Piedmont a model state

ld recognize her leadership and join in her exaltation as best for them Piedmont had a constitution and the other states had not. He to it that she had a free political life and received a genuine training elf-government. Also he bent every energy to the development of economic resources of his kingdom, by encouraging manufactures, by stimulating commerce, by modernizing agriculture, by building railroads. In a word he sought to make and did make Piedmont a model small state, liberal and progressive, hoping thus to win for her the Italians of the other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe.



CAVOUR
From a lithograph by Desmaisons.

The fundamental purpose, the constant preoccupation of this man's life, determining every action, prompting every wish, was to gain a Great Power as an ally. In the pursuit of this elusive and supremely difficult object, year in, year out, Cavour displayed his

Cavour an incomparable diplomat

easure as a diplomat, and stood forth finally without a er. It is a marvelously absorbing story, from which we are precluded re because it cannot be properly presented except at length. The der must go elsewhere for the details of this fascinating record, in ich were combined, in rare harmony, sound judgment, practical sense, wers of clear, subtle, penetrating thought, unfailing attention to saic details, with imagination, audacity, courage, and iron nerve. profound and accurate knowledge of the forces and personalities in political life of Italy and of Europe, tact and sureness in appreciating shifting scenes of the international stage, never-failing resourcefulss in the service of a steady purpose, such were some of the characterics of this master in statecraft and diplomacy. Though the minister

of a petty state of only five million people, his was the most dynami personality in Europe.

Cavour was seeking an ally. He saw that the field was limited. I must be either England or France. The former country had no larg army and was disposed to keep itself as free from Euro pean entanglements as possible. France on the othe hand was supposed to have the best army in Europ and her ruler, Napoleon III, was an ambitious and adventurou person. "Whether we like it or not," said Cavour "our destinies de pend upon France." He sought to ingratiate himself with Napoleon

Cavour seeks a military ally

The Crimean War gave an opportunity. Piedmont mad an unconditional and very risky alliance in 1855 wit France and England, then at war with Russia, and ren dered a distinct service to them. They in turn rendere her the service of securing her admittance to the Congres of Paris which terminated that war, of thus securing her recognition a an equal among the powers of Europe. They also gave Cavour a chanc to discuss the Italian question in an international gathering in whic Austria sat.

Why Piedmont participated in the Crimean War

Two years later Cavour received his great reward. Napoleon II bade him come to Plombières, a watering place in the Vosges moun tains, where the Emperor was taking the cure. An there in a famous carriage drive which these two too through the forests of the Vosges, Napoleon holding th reins, and in subsequent interviews, they plotted to brin about a war which should result in driving Austria out o Italy. Italy was to be freed "from the Alps to the Adriatic." Piedmon should be given Lombardy and Venetia and a part of the Papal States The Italian states should then be united in a confederation, with th Pope as president. France should receive Savoy, and possibly Nice

The interview at Plombières (July 21, 1858)

Such was the understanding of Plombières. The motives that in fluenced Napoleon to take this step, which was to be momentous fo himself as well as for Italy were numerous. The princip of nationality which he held tenaciously, and which largel determined the foreign policy of his entire reign, prompte him in this direction — the principle, namely, that peopl of the same race and language had the right to be united politicall if they wished to be. Further, Napoleon had long been interested i

Napoleon III and the principle of nationality

y. He had himself taken part in the revolutionary movements e in 1831, and had probably been a member of the Carbonari. More- r, it was one of his ambitions to tear up the treaties of 1815, treaties sealed the humiliation of the Napoleonic dynasty. These treaties formed the basis of the Italian political system in 1858. Again, he probably lured on by a desire to win glory for his throne, and there always the chance, too, of gaining territory.

Thus in 1859 there came about a war between Austria on the one d and Piedmont and France on the other. The latter were victorious two great battles, that of Magenta (June 4) and of ferino (June 24). The latter was one of the greatest tles of the nineteenth century. It lasted eleven hours, more than ,000 men were engaged, nearly 800 cannon. The Allies lost over 000 men, the Austrians about 22,000. All Lombardy was conquered, l Milan was occupied. It seemed that Venetia could be easily over- n and the termination of Austrian rule in Italy effected, and Napo- n's statement that he would free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" complished. Suddenly Napoleon halted in the full tide of success, ght an interview with the Emperor of Austria at Villa- nca, and there on July 11th, without consulting the shes of his ally, concluded a famous armistice. The terms reed upon by the two Emperors were: that Lombardy should pass to dmont, that Austria should retain Venetia, that the Italian states uld form a confederation, that the rulers of Tuscany and Modena uld be restored to their states, whence they had just been driven by pular uprisings.

The war of 1859

The Preliminaries of Villafranca

Why had Napoleon stopped in the middle of a successful campaign, d before he had accomplished the object for which he had come into aly? The were several reasons. He had been shocked the horrors of the battlefield. He saw that the comple- n of the conquest of Austria meant a far larger sacrifice life. Prussia was preparing to intervene. Moreover Napoleon be- me apprehensive about the results of his policy. If it should end in creation of a strong national kingdom, as seemed likely, would not is be dangerous to France? A somewhat enlarged Piedmont was one ing, but a kingdom of all Italy, neighbor to France, was something ry different.

Reasons for Napoleon's action

The news of the peace came as a cruel disappointment to the Ital-

ians, dashing their hopes just as they were apparently about to be rea
ized. The Government of Victor Emmanuel had not even been consulte
In intense indignation at the faithlessness of Napoleon, overwrough
by the excessive strain under which he had long been laboring, Cavou
completely lost his self-control, urged desperate measures upon th
King and, when they were declined, in a fit of rage, threw up his offic

Resignation of Cavour

The King by overruling Cavour showed himself wiser tha
his gifted minister. As disappointed as the latter, he sa
more clearly than did Cavour that though Piedmont had not gained a
that she had hoped to, yet she had gained much. It was wiser to tak
what one could get and bide the future than to imperil all by som
mad course. Here was one of the great moments where the indepenc
ence and common sense of Victor Emmanuel were of great and endurin
service to his country.

Napoleon had not done all that he had planned for Italy, yet h
had rendered a very important service. He had secured Lombard

Piedmont acquires Lombardy

for Piedmont. It should also be noted that he himse
acknowledged that the failure to carry out the whol
programme had canceled any claim he had upon th
annexation of Savoy and Nice to France.

But the future of Italy was not to be determined solely by the Em
peror of France and the Emperor of Austria. The people of Italy ha
their own ideas and were resolved to make them heard. During th
war, so suddenly and unexpectedly closed, the rulers of Modena, Parma
Tuscany had been overthrown by popular uprisings and the Pope

Central Italy after Villafranca

authority in Romagna, the northern part of his domir
ions, had been destroyed. The people who had accom
plished this had no intention of restoring the princes the
had expelled. They defied the two Emperors who had decided at Villa
franca that those rulers should be restored. In this they were supporte

England's participation in affairs

diplomatically by the English Government. This was Eng
land's great service to the Italians. "The people of th
duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns,
said Lord Palmerston, "as the English people, or the French, or th

Annexation of the duchies to Piedmont

Belgian, or the Swedish. The annexation of the duchies t
Piedmont will be an unfathomable good to Italy." Th
people of these states voted almost unanimously in favo
of annexation (March 11–12, 1860). Victor Emmanuel accepted th

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE UNIFICATION OF
ITALY
Scale of English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
REFERENCE
I Aquired by Sardinia, by Treaty of Zurich, Nov. 10th 1859.
II Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Mar. 11, & 12, 1860.
III Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Nov. 4, & 5, 1860.
IV Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Oct. 21st, 1860
V Annexation to Kingdom of Italy, Voted by Plebiscites, Oct. 21, & 22, 1866.
VI Annexation to Kingdom of Italy, Voted by Plebiscite, Oct. 2, 1870.
VII Ceded to France, March, 1860.
VIII Ceded to France, March, 1860.
SWITZERLAND
Lausanne
Geneva
Rhône R.
Simplon
St Gothard Pass
L. of Lugano
L. of Como
Trent
Aosta
Chambery
Como
Bergamo
Lombardy
VENETIA
Magenta
Novara
Milan
Peschiera
Solferino
Villafranca
Verona
Mantua
Susa
Turin
Piedmont
Casale
Pavia
Piacenza
Alessandria
Parma
Reggio
Modena
Grenoble
Rhône R.
Durance R.
Isère R.
Mt Cenis
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Vienne
Genoa
Gulf of Genoa
Spezia
Massa
Lucca
Pisa
Arno R.
Florence
Bologna
Romagna
Avignon
Nice
Monaco
Marseilles
Toulon
Leghorn
Tuscany
Siena
Cortona
C. Corso
Elba
Orbetello
Civitavecchia
Corsica
Ajaccio
Caprera
G. of Terranova
Sassari
Sardinia
Cagliari
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Tunis
6
8
10
38
40
42
44
46

16
18
20
46
44
12
40
38
Drave R.
Agram
Save R.
Brod
Belgrade
Fiume
Croatia
Dalmatia
Zara
Bosna Serai
Sebenico
Spalato
Lissa
Montenegro
Celigne
Ragusa
Cattaro
Budua
Scutari
Pescara
Molise
Foggia
Bari
Durazzo
Caserta
Benevento
Nola
Vesuvius
Brindisi
Avlona
Taranto
Salerno
Basilicata
Otranto
Castrovillari
Corfu
Paola
Cosenza
Ionian
Sea
Monteleone
Nicotera
Messina
Milazzo
Aspromonte
Reggio
Etna
Taormina
Catania
Syracuse
Noto
Adriatic
Sea
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

reignty thus offered him, and on April 2, 1860, the first parlia-
t of the enlarged kingdom met in Turin. A small state of less than
,000 had grown to one of 11,000,000 within a year. This was the
t important change in the political system of Europe since 1815.
ar as Italy was concerned it made waste paper of the treaties of 1815.
onstituted the most damaging breach made thus far in the work of
Congress of Vienna. What that congress had decided was to be a
e "geographical expression" was now a nation in formation. And
was being accomplished by the triumphant assertion of two prin-
es utterly odious to the monarchs of 1815, the right of revolution
the right of peoples to determine their own destinies for themselves,
these annexations were the result of war and of plebiscites.

Napoleon III acquiesced in all this, taking for himself oy and Nice in return for services rendered. The ce of Villafranca was never enforced.

Cession of Savoy and Nice to France

THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Much had been achieved in the eventful year just described, but ch remained to be achieved before the unification of Italy should be nplete. Venetia, the larger part of the Papal States, and the King-n of Naples still stood outside. In the last, however, events now urred which carried the process a long step forward. Early in 1860 Sicilians rose in revolt against the despotism of their v king, Francis II. This insurrection created an oppor- nity for a man already famous but destined to a wonderful exploit d to a memorable service to his country, Giuseppe Garibaldi, already e most popular military leader in Italy, and invested with a half thical character of invincibility and daring, the result of a very ctacular, romantic career.

The Sicilian Insurrection

Garibaldi was born at Nice in 1807. He was therefore two years unger than Mazzini and three years older than Cavour. Destined by parents for the priesthood he preferred the sea, and for y years he lived a roving and adventurous sailor's . He early joined "Young Italy." His military ex- rience was chiefly in irregular, guerilla fighting. He took part in the successful insurrection organized by Mazzini in Savoy in 1834, and a result was condemned to death. He managed to escape to South merica where, for the next fourteen years, he was an exile. He partic-

Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1807–1882

ipated in the abundant wars of the South American states with th famous "Italian Legion," which he organized and commanded. Learn ing of the uprising of 1848 he returned to Italy, though still under th penalty of death, and immediately thousands flocked t the standard of the "hero of Montevideo" to fight unde him against the Austrians. After the failure of that campaign he went in 1849, to Rome to assume the military defense of the republic. Whe the city was about to fall he escaped with four thousand troops, intend ing to attack the Austrian power in Venetia. French and Austria armies pursued him. He succeeded in evading them, but his army dwindled away rapidly and the chase became so hot that he was force to escape to the Adriatic. When he landed later, his enemies were im mediately in full cry again, hunting him through forests and over moun tains as if he were some dangerous game. It was a wonderful exploit rendered tragic by the death in a farmhouse near Ravenna, of his wif Anita, who was his companion in the camp as in the home, and who wa as high-spirited, as daring, as courageous as he. Garibaldi finally es caped to America and began once more the life of an exile. But hi story, shot through and through with heroism and chivalry and ro mance, moved the Italian people to unwonted depths of enthusiasm and admiration.

The defense of Rome

For several years Garibaldi was a wanderer, sailing the seas, com mander of a Peruvian bark. For some months, indeed, he was a candl maker on Staten Island, but in 1854 he returned to Italy and settled down as a farmer on the little island of Ca prera. But the events of 1859 once more brought him ou of his retirement. Again, as a leader of volunteers, h plunged into the war against Austria and immensely increased his repu tation. He had become the idol of soldiers and adventurous spirits from one end of Italy to the other. Multitudes were ready to follow in blind confidence wherever he might lead. His name was one to conjure with

Leader of "The Hunters of the Alps"

There now occurred, in 1860, the most brilliant episode o his career, the Sicilian expedition and the campaign against the Kingdom of Naples. For Garibaldi, the most redoubt able warrior of Italy, whose very name was worth an army, now de cided on his own account to go to the aid of the Sicilians who had risen in revolt against their king, Francis II of Naples.

Determines to go to Sicily

On May 5, 1860, the expedition of "The Thousand," the "Red

s," embarked from Genoa in two steamers. These were the volun-
nearly 1,150 men, whom Garibaldi's fame had caused
sh into the new adventure, an adventure that seemed
e moment one of utter folly. The King of Naples
4,000 troops in Sicily and 100,000 more on the main-

The Expedition of "The Thousand"

The odds against success seemed overwhelming. But fortune favored the brave. After a campaign of a few weeks, in which he was several times in great danger, and was only saved by the most reckless fighting, Garibaldi stood master of the island, helped by the Sicilian insurgents, by volunteers who had flocked from the mainland, and by the incompetency of the commanders of the Neapolitan troops. Audacity had won the victory. He assumed the position of Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel II (August 5, 1860).

GARIBALDI
From a photograph.

Garibaldi now crossed the straits to the mainland determined to conquer the entire Kingdom of Naples (August 19, 1860).

Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples

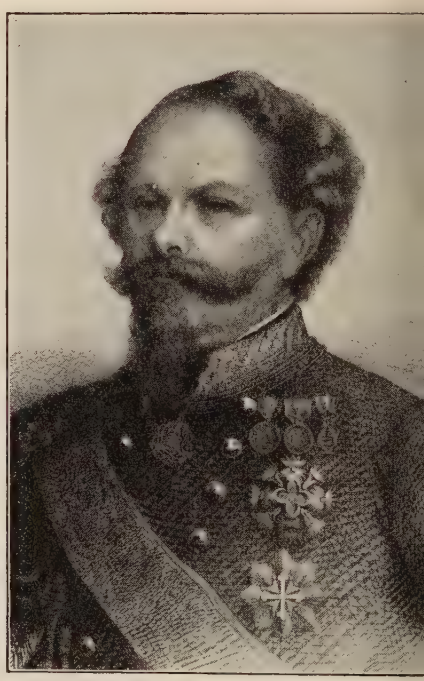
King still had an army of 100,000 men, but it had not even the
gth of a frail reed. There was practically no bloodshed. The
politan Kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed. Treachery, de-
ion, corruption did the work. On September 6th, Francis II left

Naples for Gaeta and the next day Garibaldi entered it by rail wi only a few attendants, and drove through the streets amid a pand monium of enthusiasm. In less than five months he had conquered kingdom of 11,000,000 people, an achievement unique in mode history.

Garibaldi now began to talk of pushing on to Rome. To Cavour t

Garibaldi plans to attack Rome

situation seemed full of danger. Rome was occupied by a French garrison. An attack upon it would almost necessarily mean an attack upon France. Cavour therefore decided to intervene, to take the direction of events out of the hands of Garibaldi, and to guide the future evolution himself. At his instance therefore Victor Emmanuel led an army into the Papal States. But he did not lead it to Rome as he knew that Napoleon III, because of the strong Catholic feeling in France, would not permit him to annex the Papal capital. Napoleon, however, was willing that he should annex the Marches and Umbria, which were parts of the Pope's possessions. Only the city of Rome and the country round about it must not be touched.



Victor Emmanuel II
From the engraving by Metzmacher.

Victor Emmanuel's army defeated the Papal troops at Castelfidar (September 18, 1860). It then entered the territory of Naples. (

Intervention of Piedmont

November 7th, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi dro together through the streets of Naples. The latter fused all rewards and honors and with only a little money and a b of seed beans for the spring planting sailed away to his farm on t island of Caprera.

Victor Emmanuel completed the conquest which Garibaldi had ...e carried so far. The people in the Marches, Umbria, the Kingdom of Naples voted overwhelmingly in ...r of annexation to the new Kingdom of Italy, which been created in this astonishing fashion.

The annexation of Naples, Umbria, and the Marches

On the 18th of February, 1861, a new Parliament, representing Italy except Venetia and Rome, met in Turin. The Kingdom of ...dinia now gave way to the Kingdom of Italy, pro...imed on March 17. Victor Emmanuel II was declared ...y the grace of God and the will of the nation, King ...taly."

The Kingdom of Italy proclaimed

A new kingdom, comprising a population of about twenty-two ...llions, had arisen during a period of eighteen months, and now took ...place among the powers of Europe. But the Kingdom of Italy was ...l incomplete. Venetia was still Austrian and Rome was still subject the Pope. The acquisition of these had to be postponed.

Nevertheless, Cavour felt that "without Rome there was no Italy." was working on a scheme which he hoped might reconcile the Pope ...l the Catholic world everythere to the recognition of Rome as the ...ital of the new kingdom, when he suddenly fell ill. Overwork, the ...raordinary pressure under which he had for months been laboring, ...ought on insomnia; finally fever developed and he died the morning of June 6th, 1861, in the very prime of ..., for he was only fifty-one years of age.

Death of Cavour

"Cavour," said Lord Palmerston, in the British House of Commons, ...eft a name 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' The moral was, that ...man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable ...triotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, ...d confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. ...e tale with which his memory would be associated was the most ...raordinary, the most romantic, in the annals of the world. A people ...ich had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the ...ll which bound it, and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid ...stiny."

Throughout his life Cavour remained faithful to his fundamental ...litical principle, government by parliament and by constitutional ...rms. Urged at various times to assume a dictatorship he replied that ... had no confidence in dictatorships. "I always feel strongest," he

said, "when Parliament is sitting." "I cannot betray my origin, deny the principles of all my life," he wrote in a private letter not intended for the public. "I am the son of liberty and to her I owe all that I am. If a veil is to be placed on her statue, it is not for me to do it."

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CHAPTER XIX

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

In 1848 and 1849 the liberal elements of Germany had made an nest effort to achieve national unity but the work of the Parliament Frankfort had been rejected by the sovereigns of the ling states and had been rendered null and void. The Confederation was restored, resuming its sessions in y, 1851. A period of reaction in Germany began again, even more -reaching in its scope than that which had followed the Congress of nna in 1815. Austria and Prussia took the lead in the familiar work oppression.

Reaction in Germany after 1849

One gain had been made in the turbulent year. The King of Prussia d granted a constitution and created a Parliament. Like the King Piedmont he refused to abolish the constitution. Unthe latter, however, he did not at all intend that the ation of a Parliament should mean the introduction of e English parliamentary system, with parliament, representing the ople, the dominant authority in the state. The constitutional delopment of Piedmont and Prussia, starting at the same time, was to utterly different. In passing from Italy to Germany we enter other atmosphere. In Piedmont, as we have seen, the constitution s honestly and vigorously applied and yielded its legitimate fruit in e political education of the people. Cavour believed that the free scussion of parliament was a safer and wiser guide than the autotic determination of a monarch. Liberty was his ideal which he never swerved, though it would often have en convenient for him if he had. On the other hand King of Prussia did not propose to divide his power with any embly. The assembly had no control over the ministry.

Prussia given a constitution

Prussia not a parliamentary state

While Prussia preserved her constitution the ministers developed at skill in really nullifying it, though pretending to maintain it. he government of Prussia was, after 1848 as before, a scarcely veiled

autocracy. Reaction of the old, classic style was the order of the day. The press was not free. Public meetings might be held only by those favorable to the government. The police were active and unscrupulous.

A change came over Prussia, though not in the direction of free institutions and the development of a free public life, with the beginning of a reign, destined to prove most illustrious, that of William I.

WILLIAM I
From a photograph taken in 1870.

William I (1797–1888)

William became King of Prussia in 1861. He was the son of the famous Queen Louise, was born in 1797, and had served in the campaign against Napoleon in 1814. He was now sixty-four years old. His mind was in no sense brilliant but was slow, solid, and sound. His entire lifetime had been spent in the army, which he loved passionately. In military matters his thorough knowledge and competence were recognized. He believed that Prussia's destinies were dependent upon her army. The army was necessary for his purpose which was to put Prussia at the head of Germany. "Whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it," he wrote in 1849, "and that cannot be done by phrases."

Army reform

William believed that the Prussian army needed strengthening, and he brought forward a plan that would nearly double it. He demanded the necessary appropriations of Parliament, which declined to grant them. A bitter and prolonged controversy arose between the Crown and the Chamber of Deputies, each side growing stiffer as the contest proceeded. The King was absolutely resolved not to abate one jot or tittle from his demands. On the other

d the Chamber persisted in asserting its control over the purse, as fundamental power of any Parliament that intends to nt for anything in the state. A deadlock ensued. The g was urged to abolish Parliament altogether. This would not do because he had sworn to support the constitution ch established it. He thought of abdicating. He never thought of ndoning the reform. He had written out his abdication and signed and it was lying upon his desk when he at last consented to call to ministry as a final experiment a new man, known for boldness, his independence, his devotion to the mon- hy, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was appointed sident of the Ministry September 23, 1862; on that y day the Chamber rejected anew the credits asked for by the ng for the new regiments. The conflict entered upon its most acute ase and a new era began for Prussia and for the world.

Opposition of the Chamber

Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (1815–1898)

In this interview Bismarck told the King frankly that he was will- to carry out his policy whether Parliament agreed to it or not. "I l rather perish with the King," he said, "than forsake your Majesty the contest with parliamentary government." His boldness deter- med the King to tear up the paper containing his abdication and to ntinue the struggle with the Chamber of Deputies.

The man who now entered upon the stage of European politics was e of the most original and remarkable characters of his century. orn in 1815, he came of a noble family in Brandenburg d was an aristocrat to his finger tips. Receiving a uni- rsity education, he entered the civil service of Prussia, ly to leave it shortly, disgusted by its monotony. He then settled on his father's estate as a country squire. Unlike Cavour in Italy, smarck was enraged when the King granted a constitution to Prussia 1850. While Cavour saw in England the model of what he wished s own country to become, Bismarck said, "The refer- ces to England are our misfortune." Bismarck's politi- l ideas centered in his ardent belief in the Prussian onarchy. It had been the Prussian kings, not the Prussian people, ho had made Prussia great. This, the great historic fact, must be reserved. What Prussian kings had done, they still would do. A re- uction of royal power would only be damaging to the state. Bismarck as the uncompromising foe of the attempts made in 1848 to achieve

Bismarck's previous career

Bismarck's political opinions

German unity, because he thought that it should be the princes and not the people who should determine the institutions and destinies of Germany. He hated democracy as he hated parliaments and constitutions. "I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy," he said. In 1851 Bismarck was appointed Prussian delegate to the Diet in Frankfort where for the next eight years he studied and practised the art of diplomacy, in which he was later to win many sweeping victories. He made the acquaintance of all the important statesmen and politicians of Germany and studied their characters and ambitions. He became strongly anti-Austrian in his sentiments. As early as 1853 he told his government that there was not room in Germany for both Prussia and Austria, that one or the other must bend. His utterances and attitudes became more and more irritating to Austria. Consequently King William, wishing to continue on good relations with the latter power, appointed him in 1859 ambassador to St. Petersburg, or, as Bismarck put it, sent him "to cool off on the banks of the Neva." Later he was, for a short time, ambassador to France.

His hatred of democracy

Such was the man, who, in 1862 at the age of forty-seven, accepted the position of President of the Prussian Ministry at a time when King and Parliament confronted each other in angry deadlock, and when no other politician would accept the leadership. For four years, from 1862 to 1866, the conflict continued. The Constitution was not abolished, Parliament was called repeatedly, the Lower House voted year after year against the budget, supported in this by the voters, the Upper House voted for it, and the King acted as if this made it legal. The period was one of virtual dictatorship and real suspension of parliamentary life. The King continued to collect the taxes, the army was thoroughly reorganized and absolutely controlled by the authorities, and the Lower House had no mode of opposition save the verbal one, which was entirely ineffective.

The period of conflict

Thus the increase in the army was secured. But an army is a mere means to an end. The particular end that Bismarck had in view was the creation of Germany unity by means of Prussia and for the advantage of Prussia. There must be no absorption of Prussia in Germany, as there had been of Piedmont in Italy, Piedmont as a separate state entirely disappearing. And in Bismarck's opinion this unity could only be achieved by war.

Army reform carried through

He boldly denied in Parliament the favorite theory of the Liberals, t Prussia was to be made great by a liberal, free, parliamentary gov- rnment, by setting an example of progressiveness, as Piedmont had e, which would rally Ger- ns in other states about , rather than about their governments. In what s destined to be the most nous speech of his life he lared in 1863 that what rmans cared about was not liberalism of Prussia but her wer. Prussia must concen- te her forces and hold her- f ready for the favorable ment. "Not by speeches d majority votes are the eat questions of the day de- led — that was the great nder of 1848 and 1849 — t by blood and iron," in her words the army, not Par- ment, would determine the ture of Prussia.

BISMARCK
From a photograph.

This "blood and iron" olicy was bitterly denounced by Liberals, but Bismarck nored their criticisms and shortly found a chance to gin its application.

"Blood and iron" policy

The German Empire is the result of the policy of blood and iron as rried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief riod of six years, the war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870, the last two of which were largely the result of Bismarck's will and his diplomatic genuity and unscrupulousness, and the first of which he exploited unsummately for the advantage of Prussia.

Prussia's three wars

The first of these grew out of one of the most complicated ques- ons that have ever perplexed diplomatists and statesmen, the future Schleswig and Holstein. These were two duchies in the Danish

peninsula, which is itself simply an extension of the great plain o northern Germany. Holstein was inhabited by a popu tion of about 600,000, entirely German; Schleswig by a population of from 250,000 to 300,000 Germans and 150,000 Danes. These two duchies had for centuries been united with Denmark, but they did not form an integral part of the Danish Kingdom. Their relation to Denmark was personal, arising from the fact that a Duke of Schleswig and Holstein had become King of Denmark, just as an Elector of Hanover had become a King of England. Holstein was a member of the German Confederation, but Schleswig was not. The Germans in Schleswig wished to bring about its admission to the Confederation but the Danes objected and in 1863 declared Schleswig incorporated in Denmark.

The Schleswig-Holstein question

There are other elements in the tangle which it is unnecessary to explain as the question of Schleswig and Holstein was not decided at all on its merits, was not decided as either the Danish or the German people wished it to be. Bismarck saw in the situation a chance for a possible aggrandizement of Prussia and a chance for a quarrel with Austria, both things which he desired for the greater glory of his country. He induced Austria to coöperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein question. The two powers delivered an ultimatum to Denmark allowing that country only forty-eight hours in which to comply with their demands. The Danes, not complying, Prussia and Austria immediately declared war. A war between one small state and two large ones could not be doubtful. Sixty thousand Prussians and Austrians invaded Denmark in February, 1864, and though their campaign was not brilliant, they easily won, and forced Denmark to cede the two duchies to them jointly (October, 1864). They might make whatever disposition of them they chose to.

Prussia and Austria make war on Denmark

But they could not agree. Austria wished them admitted together as an additional state of the German Confederation and the people of Germany were overwhelmingly in favor of this arrangement. But Bismarck's ideas were very different. He did not care for another German state. There were too many already, and this one would only be another enemy of Prussia and ally of Austria. Moreover, Bismarck wished to annex the duchies wholly or in part to Prussia. He desired aggrandizement in general, but this particular addition would be especially advantageous, as it would

Friction between Prussia and Austria

hen the coast line of Prussia, would bring with it several good har- notably Kiel, and would enable Prussia to expand commercially. hus the two powers were at variance over the disposition of their . The situation was one that exactly suited Bismarck. Out of it ped to bring about the war with Austria which he had desired for ast ten years as being the only means whereby German unity could hieved by Prussia and for Prussia's advantage. There was not enough in Germany, he thought, for both powers. That being ase, he wished the room for Prussia. The only way to get it was ke it. As Austria had no inclination gracefully to yield, there would to be a fight. Both began to arm.

inally war broke out in June, 1866. Bismarck had thus brought t his dream of a conflict between peoples of the same race to deter- the question of control. It proved to be one of the

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866

est wars in history, one of the most decisive, and one e consequences were most momentous. It is called Seven Weeks' War. It began June 16, 1866, was virtually decided uly 3d, was brought to a close before the end of that month by the minary Peace of Nikolsburg, July 26, which was followed a month by the definitive Peace of Prague, August 23. Prussia had no man allies of any importance. Several of the North German states ll with her, but these were small and their armies were unimportant. he other hand, Austria was supported by the four kingdoms, Bava- Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover; also by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse- nstadt, Nassau, and Baden. But Prussia had one important ally, y, without whose aid she might not have won the victory. Italy was eceive Venetia, which she coveted, if Austria were defeated. The ssian army, however, was better prepared. For years the rulers of ssia had been preparing for war, perfecting the army down to the itest detail, and with scientific thoroughness, and when the war an it was absolutely ready. Moreover, it was directed by a very leader, General von Moltke.

Prussia had many enemies. Being absolutely prepared, as her ene- were not, she could assume the offensive, and this the cause of her first victories. War began June 16.

Prussia conquers North Germany

hin three days Prussian troops had occupied Hanover, sden, and Cassel, the capitals of her three North Ger- n enemies. A few days later the Hanoverian army was forced to

capitulate. The King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse were tak prisoners of war. All North Germany was now controlled by Prussi and within two weeks of the opening of the war she was ready to attem the great plan of Moltke, an invasion of Bohemia. The rapidity of t

The battle of Königgrätz or Sadowa

campaign struck Europe with amazement. Moltke sent three armies by different routes into Bohemia, and on July 3, 1866, one of the great battles of history, that of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, was fought. Each army numbered over 200,000, the Prussians outnumbering the Austrians, though not at the beginning. Since the battle of Leipsic in 1813, so many troops had not been engaged in a single conflict. King William, Bismarck, and Moltke took up their position on a hill, whence they could view the scene. The battle was long and doubtful. Beginning early in the morning, it continued for hours, fought with terrific fury, the Prussians making no advance against the Austrian artillery. Up to two o'clo it seemed an Austrian victory, but with the arrival of the Prussian Crow Prince with his army the issue was turned, and at half-past three t Austrians were beaten and their retreat began. They had lost ov forty thousand men, while the Prussian loss was about ten thousan The Prussian army during the next three weeks advanced to with sight of the spires of Vienna.

MOLTKE
From the painting by Lenbach.

On June 24 the Austrians had been victorious over the Italians Custozza. Yet the Italians had helped Prussia by detaining eigh thousand Austrian troops, which, had they been at Königgrätz, wou

bly have turned the day. The Italian fleet was also defeated by ustrian at Lissa, July 20.

ne results of the Seven Weeks' War were momentous. Fearing the rention of Europe, and particularly that of France, which was ttened, and which might rob the victory of its fruits, arck wished to make peace at once, and consequently d lenient terms to Austria. She was to cede Venetia aly but was to lose no other territory. She was to raw from the German Confederation, which, indeed, was to cease ist. She was to allow Prussia to organize and lead a new confed- n, composed of those states which were north of the river Main. South German states were left free to act as they chose. Thus nany, north of the Main, was to be united.

Results of the Austro-Prussian War

Having accomplished this, Prussia proceeded to make important xations to her own territory. The Kingdom of Hanover, the Duch- f Nassau and Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort, as well ne Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were incorporated in the sian kingdom. Her population was thereby increased by over four a half million new subjects, and thus was about twenty- million. There was no thought of having the people ese states vote on the question of annexation, as had been done in , and in Savoy and Nice. They were annexed forthwith by right nilitary conquest. Reigning houses ceased to rule on order from in. Unwisely for themselves European nations allowed the swift ummation of these changes, which altered the balance of power the map of Europe — a mistake which France in particular was to nt most bitterly. "I do not like this dethronement of dynasties," the Czar, but he failed to express his dislike in action.

Annexations to Prussia

The North German Confederation, which was now created, included Germany north of the river Main, twenty-two states in all. The titution was the work of Bismarck. There was to be sident of the Confederation, namely the King of Prus- There was to be a Federal Council (Bundesrath), posed of delegates sent by the sovereigns of the differ- states, to be recalled at their pleasure, to vote as they dictated. ssia was always to have seventeen votes out of the total forty- . In order to have a majority she would have to gain only a adherents from the other states, which she could easily do.

The North German Confederation (1867–1871)

There was also to be a Reichstag, elected by the people. This wa Bismarck's concession to the Liberals. Of the two bodies the Reichsta was much the less important. The people were given a place in the ne system, but a subordinate one.

The new constitution went into force July 1, 1867. This North Ge man Confederation remained in existence only four years when it gav way to the present German Empire, one of the results of the Franc Prussian War of 1870.

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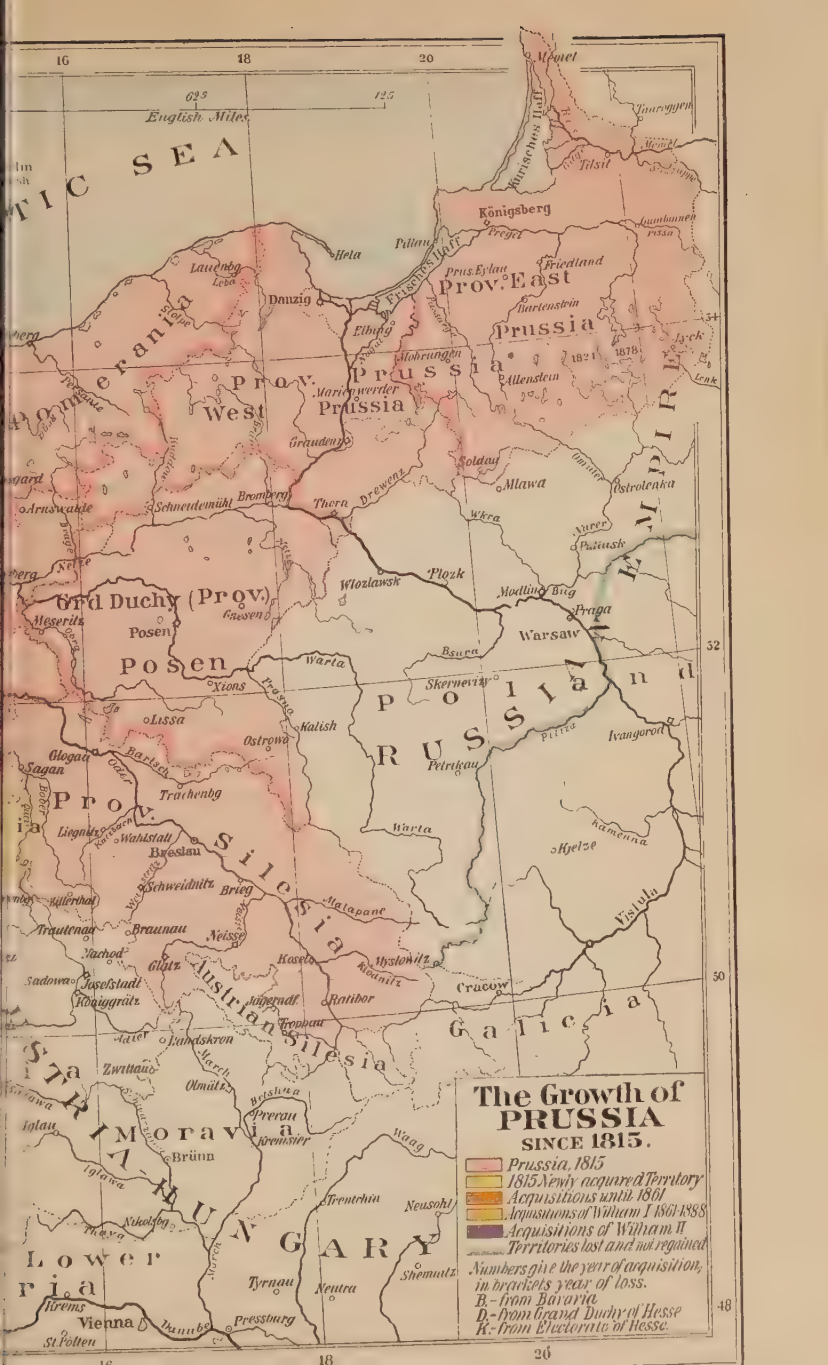
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Seeland
Fünen
Langeland
Laaland
Moen
Copenhagen
Schleswig-Holstein
Kiel
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Kg'd'm of Hanover
Grd Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin
Grd Duchy of Oldenburg
KING. OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND)
Prov. of Westphalia
Prov. Rhenish Prussia
Julich Kleve
Cologne
Prov. of Hesse
Hesse-Cassel
Elect. of Hesse-Cassel
Duchy of Nassau
Lower Rhine
Grd Duchy of Hesse
Kg'd of Saxony
K. Thüringian States
Rhine Palatinate
Grd Duchy of Baden
Alsace
Lorraine
Kg'd of Würtemberg
Kg'd of Bavaria
Hohenzollern
Duchy of Neuenburg (Neufchâtel)
FRANCE
Switzerland
Munster
Princ. Lippe
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Dresden
Frankfort
Darmstadt
Mannheim
Carlsruhe
Stuttgart
Augsburg
Munich
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Landshut
Sigmaringen
Donaueschingen
Freiburg
Basle
Berne
Neuchâtel
Rostock
Wismar
Lüneburg
Celle
Hildesheim
Göttingen
Eisenach
Weimar
Jena
Meiningen
Coburg
Würzburg
Bamberg
Ansbach
Ingolstadt
Landau
Spires
Worms
Wiesbaden
Hanau
Fulda
Marburg
Kissingen
Schweinfurt
Ulm
Tübingen
Rothenburg
Mergentheim
Ludwigsburg
Heilbronn
Rastatt
Offenburg
Constance
Lindau
Memmingen
Kempten
Passau
Regensburg
Eichstädt
Bayreuth
Hof
Zeitz
Altenburg
Zwickau
Chemnitz
Torgau
Wittenberg
Dessau
Halberstadt
Gotha
Erfurt
Hameln
Minden
Osnabrück
Münster
Lingen
Wesel
Aachen
Malmedy
Trier
Coblentz
Treves
Saarbrücken
Landau
Spires
Worms
Mannheim
Carlsruhe


The Growth of PRUSSIA SINCE 1815.
Prussia, 1815
1815 Newly acquired Territory
Acquisitions until 1861
Acquisitions of Wilhelm I 1861-1888
Acquisitions of Wilhelm II
Territories lost and not regained
Numbers give the year of acquisition, in brackets year of loss.
B.-from Bavaria
D.-from Grand Duchy of Hesse
K.-from Electorate of Hesse.
Prov. East Prussia
Prov. West Prussia
Prov. Posen
Prov. Silesia
Austrian Silesia
Galicia
Moravia
Lower
Vienna
Königsberg
Danzig
Thorn
Bromberg
Posen
Lissa
Ostrowo
Kalisch
Breslau
Warsaw
Praga
Plozk
Mlawa
Ostrolenka
Petrikau
Ivangorod
Cracow
Brünn
Tyrnau
Neutra
Pressburg
Neusohl
Schemnitz
Trentschin
Olmütz
Troppau
Ratibor
Neisse
Brieg
Glatz
Königgrätz
Braunau
Trautenau
Liegnitz
Wahlstatt
Schweidnitz
Trachenbg
Glogau
Sagan
Barsch
Xions
Meseritz
Schneidemühl
Arnswalde
Lauenbg
Hela
Elbing
Marienwerder
Graudenz
Soldau
Allenstein
Mohrungen
Friedland
Tilsit
Memel
Insterburg
Pillau
Frisches Haff
Kurisches Haff
English Miles
625
125

CHAPTER XX

THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The year 1866 is a turning point in the history of Prussia, of Austria, France, of modern Europe. It profoundly altered the historic bal- of power. By the decisiveness of the campaign, and he momentous character of its consequences, Prussia, erto regarded as the least important of the great powers, astounded Europe by the evidence of her strength. She essed a remarkable army and a remarkable statesman. t both were the most powerful in Europe was not entirely proved, the feeling was widespread that such was the case. The center of est in central Europe shifted from Vienna to Berlin. The reputa- of Napoleon III was seriously compromised. He had entirely mis- ed the situation, had played a feeble and mistaken part, when he nt have played one highly advantageous to his country. He had er welcomed the war between Prussia and Austria. In his opinion, ould be long, exhausting both combatants. At the proper time he d intervene, and from the distress of the rivals could extract gain France, possibly the left bank of the Rhine, which Prussia might willing to relinquish in return for aid. His calculation was based n his belief in the vast military superiority of Austria. The war e, and, contrary to expectation, it was short and swift. Prussia victorious, not Austria. The battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, y 3, 1866, was decisive. Even then it was not too late for an inter- tion. Napoleon could have played a commanding part determining the terms of peace had he threatened to e to the aid of Austria, as Austria desired. Had he sed to recognize the annexations of Prussia unless pensated, he could have secured important additions to France. his policy was weak and vacillating. Accomplishing nothing for nce, he yet irritated Prussia by a half-measure of insisting that the confederation should not extend south of the river Main.

The year 1866 a turning point in modern history

Napoleon's failure to use his opportunity

Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this ver time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless, and disastrou enterprise. This ill-starred adventure began in an inte vention of France, England, and Spain, whose citizens ha loaned money to Mexico, the interest on which Mexico no refused to pay. A joint expedition was sent out in December, 1861, t compel the discharge of the financial obligations incurred by that countr under treaty arrangements. But by April, 1862, it became clear t Spain and England that France had distinctly other purposes in th affair than those stated in the treaty of alliance. Napoleon's real in tentions, shortly apparent, were the overthrow of the republic and th establishment of a monarchy in Mexico under a European prince. Th English and Spaniards would give no sanction to such a scheme, an consequently entirely withdrew in April, 1862. The expedition no became one purely French. The question of financial honesty on th part of Mexico was lost sight of, and a war began, a war of aggressio entirely uncalled for, but a war which in the end punished its auth more than it did the Mexicans, one of the most dishonorable, as it wa one of the most costly and disastrous, for the Second Empire.

The Mexican Expedition

Napoleon was a man of ideas, a man of imagination. Unfortunatel his ideas were frequently vast yet vague, his imagination frequentl unsound, deceptive. He evidently dreamed of building u a Latin Empire in the New World, under his protection, sort of bulwark and outpost of the Latin element, designed to hem i the overflowing Anglo-Saxon element. Thus his favorite theory of na tionalities would win another victory; also the colonies of Spain an France would be more secure, French commerce would find new ou lets, the materials for French industries would be more easily procure "And," said Napoleon, "we shall have established our beneficent in fluence in the center of America."

Napoleon's purposes

Mexico was a Republic but there was a faction among the Mexican which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiratio and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexic should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperi crown should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Au tria, brother of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austri This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000 000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of thirty-one was of a

Napoleon overthrows the Mexican Republic

re and popular manners, and of liberal ideas. Young, handsome, ile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, nar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of nd with the sea which was his passion always before him. From this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. nced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, ter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises nch military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown rrived in Mexico in May, 1864.

his entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III, was to prove ess from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The diffi- s confronting the new monarch were insuperable. A lla warfare was carried on successfully by Juarez, up the French soldiers and putting them on the sive. Even the communications of the French army with the sea seriously threatened. Maximilian at last issued a decree that any ies taken with arms would be summarily shot — a decree that made hated by all Mexicans, and that gave to the war a character of me atrocity. A greater danger threatened the new empire when ral Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United s had looked from the first with disapprobation upon oleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, threatened intervention. Napoleon was unwilling to n conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw roops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an eror without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning urope to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to them, received no promise of support from the man who had ed the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her con- lation of the impending doom of her husband became insane. imilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot June 19, 1867. The tom Empire vanished.

Disastrous outcome of this adventure

Intervention of the United States

A most expensive enterprise for the French Emperor. It had eaten the financial resources of his country, already badly disorganized. had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in ral Europe in 1864–66, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian

war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importan

Discomfiture of Napoleon III

of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitiou aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It h damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United State He had squandered uselessly his military resources and had increas the national debt. It has been asserted that the Mexican war was as di astrous for Napoleon III as the Spanish war had been for Napoleon

Feeling that his popularity was waning Napoleon decided to w over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting

Napoleon makes concessions to the Liberals

1868 certain reforms which they had constantly demande larger rights to the Legislative Chamber, greater freedo of the press, the right, under certain conditions, to ho public meetings. The Empire thus entered upon a frank liberal path. The result was not to strengthen, but greatly to weaken i Many new journals were founded, in which it was assailed with ama ing bitterness. A remarkable freedom of speech characterized the la two years of Napoleon's reign. A movement to erect a monument a republican deputy, Baudin, who had been shot on the barricades 1851 at the time of the coup d'état, seemed to the Government to h too insulting. It prosecuted the men who were conducting the su scription. One of these was defended by a brilliant, impassioned youn lawyer and orator from the south of France, thirty years of age, wh was shortly to be a great figure in politics, a founder of the Third R public. Gambetta conducted himself not as a lawyer defending h

Dramatic emergence of Léon Gambetta

client, but as an avenger of the wrongs of France for th past seventeen years, impeaching bitterly the entire reig of Napoleon III. Particularly did he dwell upon the da of December 2. The coup d'état, he said, was carri through by a crowd of unknown men "without talent, without hono and hopelessly involved in debts and crimes." "These men pretend have saved society. Do you save a country when you lay parricid hands upon it?" The end of this remarkable discourse remains famou "Listen, you who for seventeen years have been absolute master France. The thing that characterizes you best, because it is eviden of your own remorse, is the fact that you have never dared to say: 'W will place among the solemn festivals of France, we will celebrate as national anniversary, the Second of December.' . . . Well! this ann

ary we will take for ourselves; we will observe it always, always out fail; every year it shall be the anniversary of our dead, until day when the country, having become master itself once more, shall se upon you the great national expiation in the name of liberty, ality, and fraternity."

This address had a prodigious effect. Nothing so defiant, so contuous of the Government, had been heard in France since 1851. ugh Gambetta's client lost his case, it was generally that the Empire emerged from that court-room soundly en. It was clear that there was a party in existence upon revenge, and willing to use all the privileges a now liberal peror might grant, not gratefully, but as a means of completely ihilating the very Empire, a Republican party, aggressive, and grow- already master of Paris, and organizing in the departments.

Bitter attacks upon Napoleon III

Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the one of the Third Napoleon. There were domestic troubles, but, in main, it was the foreign relations that inspired alarm and should e inspired caution. Over these years hung the German peril, the nistakable challenge that lay in the astonishing success and the agsive elation of Prussia. That was the sore point. The instinct of French people saw in the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as they ed it, a humiliating defeat for France, though it was a battle exclu-ly between Prussia and Austria, France being no party to the war. e instinct was largely right. At least the Peace of Prague involved indicated the diminution of the authority and importance of France. a reorganization so sweeping in central Europe, as the overthrow Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and randizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. "Revenge for Sadowa," was a cry often heard henceforth. meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be reased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a it to a proportionate increase, that the reciprocal relations might ain the same.

"Revenge for Sadowa"

From 1866 to 1870 the idea that ultimately a war would me between Prussia and France became familiar to the people governments of both countries. Many Frenchmen desired "reige for Sadowa." Prussians were proud and elated at their two suc-

cessful wars, and intensely conscious of their new position in Europe. The newspapers of both countries during the next four years were full of crimination and recrimination, of abuse and taunt, the Government in neither case greatly discouraging their unwise conduct, at times even inspiring and directing it. Such an atmosphere was an excellent one for ministers who wanted war to work in, and both France and Prussia had just such ministers. Bismarck believed such a war inevitable, and, in his opinion, it was desirable as the only way of completing the unification of Germany, since Napoleon would never willingly consent to the extension of the Confederation to include the South German states. All that he desired was that it should come at precisely the right moment, when Prussia was entirely ready, and that it should come by act of France, so that Prussia could pose before Europe as merely defending herself against a wanton aggressor.

Bismarck regards a war with France as inevitable

With responsible statesmen in such a temper it was not difficult to bring about a war. And yet the Franco-Prussian war broke most unexpectedly, like a thunderstorm, over Europe. Undreamed of July 1, 1870, it began July 15. It came in a roundabout way. The Spanish throne was vacant, as a revolution had driven the monarch, Queen Isabella, out of that country. On July 2, news reached Paris that Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, had accepted the Spanish crown. Bismarck was behind this Hohenzollern candidacy, zealously furthering it, despite the fact that he knew Napoleon's feeling of hostility to it. Great was the indignation of the French papers and Parliament and a most dangerous crisis developed rapidly. Other powers intervened, laboring in the interests of peace. On July 12, it was announced that the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn.

The Hohenzollern candidacy

The tension was immediately relieved; the war scare was over. Two men, however, were not pleased by this outcome, Bismarck, whose intrigue was now foiled and whose humiliation was so great that he thought he must resign and retire into private life, and Gramont, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, a reckless, blustering politician who was not satisfied with the diplomatic victory he had won but wished to win another which would increase the discomfiture of Prussia. The French ministry now made an additional demand that the King of Prussia should promise that this Hohenzollern candidacy should never

newed. The King declined to do so and authorized Bismarck to sh an account of the incident. Here was Bismarck's tunity which he used ruthlessly and joyously to pro- the French to declare war. His account, as he himself says, was in- d to be "a red flag for the Gallic bull." The effect of its publication nstantaneous. It aroused the indignation of both countries to fever

The Ems despatch

The Prussians thought that their King, the French that their am- dor had been insulted. As if this were not sufficient the news- rs of both countries teemed with false, abusive, and inflammatory nts. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the al clamor. The head of the French ministry declared that he ted this war "with a light heart." This war declared by France uly 15 grew directly out of mere diplomatic fencing, French people did not desire it, only the people of Paris. med by an official press. Indeed, until it was declared, French people hardly knew of the matter of dispute. It came upon n unexpectedly. The war was made by the responsible heads of Governments. It was in its origin in no sense national in either try. Its immediate occasion was trivial. But it was the cause of narkable display of patriotism in both countries.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870

The war upon which the French ministry entered with so light a t was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of their ntry. In every respect it was begun under singularly spicious circumstances. France declared war upon ssia alone, but in a manner that threw the South Ger- states, upon whose support she had counted, directly into the camp Bismarck. They regarded the French demand, that the King of ssia should pledge himself for all time to forbid the Prince of Hohen- rn's candidature, as unnecessary and insulting. At once Bavaria Baden and Württemberg joined the campaign on the side of Prussia. The French military authorities made the serious mistake of grossly erestimating the difficulty of the task before them. Incredible lack preparation was revealed at once. The French army was poorly pped, and was far inferior in numbers and in the ability of its com- nders to the Prussian army. With the exception of a ineffectual successes the war was a long series of re- es for the French. The Germans crossed the Rhine o Alsace and Lorraine, and succeeded, after several days of very heavy

South German states join Prussia

The Germans invade France

fighting, in shutting up Bazaine, with the principal French army, i Metz, a strong fortress which the Germans then besieged.

On September 1, another French army, with which was the Emperor was defeated at Sedan and was obliged on the following day to sur

The battle of Sedan

render to the Germans. Napoleon himself became a pris oner of war. The French lost, on these two days, in killed wounded, or taken prisoners, nearly one hundred and twenty thousan men.

Disasters so appalling resounded throughout the world. France n longer had an army; one had capitulated at Sedan; the other was locke up in Metz. The early defeats of August had been announced in Pari by the Government as victories. The deception could no longer b maintained. On September 3 this despatch was received from th Emperor: "The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself an a prisoner." As a prisoner he was no longer head of the government o France; there was, as Thiers said, a "vacancy of power." On Sunday September 4, the Legislative Body was convened. But it had no tim to deliberate. The mob invaded the hall shouting, "Down with th Empire! Long live the Republic!" Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jule

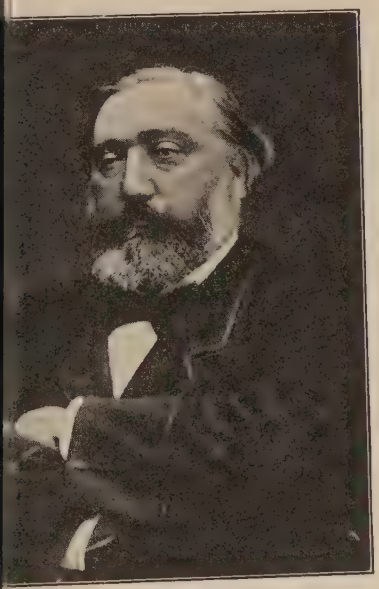
The fall of the Empire

Ferry, followed by the crowd, proceeded to the Hôtel d Ville and there proclaimed the Republic. The Empres fled. A Government of National Defense was organized, with Genera Trochu at its head, which was the actual government of France durin the rest of the war.

The Franco-German war lasted about six months, from the first o August, 1870, when fighting began, to about the first of February, 187 It falls naturally into two periods, the imperial and the republican During the first, which was limited to the month of August, the regula armies were, as we have seen, destroyed or bottled up. Then the Em pire collapsed and the Emperor was a prisoner in Germany. The se ond period lasted five months. France, under the Government o National Defense, made a remarkably courageous and spirited defens under the most discouraging conditions.

The Germans, leaving a sufficient army to carry on the siege o Metz, advanced toward Paris. They began the siege of that city o September 19. This siege, one of the most famous in history, laste four months, and astonished Europe. Immense stores had been collecte in the city, the citizens were armed, and the defense was energeti

Parisians hoped to hold out long enough to enable new armies to ganized and diplomacy possibly to intervene. To accomplish the er a delegation from the Government of National Defense, headed ambetta, escaped from Paris by balloon, and established a branch of government first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, by his immense energy, his eloquence, his patriotism, was able to raise new armies, whose resistance astonished the Germans, but as they had not time to be thoroughly trained, they were unsuccessful. They could not break the immense circle of iron that surrounded Paris. After the overthrow of the Empire the war was reduced to the siege of Paris, and the attempts of these improvised armies to break that siege. These attempts were rendered all the more hopeless by the fall of Metz (October 27, 1870). Six thousand officers and 173,000 men were forced by impending starvation to surrender, with hundreds of cannon and immense war supplies, the greatest capitulation corded in the history of civilized nations." A month earlier, on tember 27, Strassburg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers had be- me prisoners of war.



LÉON GAMBETTA
From a photograph.

The fall of Metz

The capitulation of Metz was particularly disastrous because it de possible the sending of more German armies to reënforce the ge of Paris, and to attack the forces which Gambetta was, by prodi- s of effort, creating in the rest of France. These armies could not get the relief of Paris, nor could the troops within Paris break through to m. The siege became simply a question of endurance.

The Germans began the bombardment of the city early in January. rtain sections suffered terribly, and were ravaged by fires. Famine ared the Parisians in the face. After November 20 there was no more

beef or lamb to be had; after December 15 only thirty grams of horse meat a day per person, which, moreover, cost about two dollars and a half a pound; after January 15 the amount of bread, a wretched stuff, was reduced to three hundred grams. People ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, rats. The market price for rats was two francs apiece. By the 31st of January, there would be nothing left to eat. Additional suffering arose from the fact that the winter was one of the coldest on record. Coal and firewood were exhausted. Trees in the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne were cut down, and fires built in the public squares for the poor. Wine froze in casks. On January 28, with famine almost upon her, Paris capitulated after an heroic resistance.

The siege of Paris

The terms of peace granted by Bismarck were extraordinarily severe. They were laid down in the Treaty of Frankfort, signed May 10, 1871. France was forced to cede Alsace and a large part of Lorraine, including the important fortress of Metz. She must pay an absolutely unprecedented war indemnity of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. She was to support a German army of occupation, which should be gradually withdrawn as the installments of the indemnity were paid.

The Treaty of Frankfort

The Treaty of Frankfort has remained the open sore of Europe since 1871. France could never forget or forgive the deep humiliation of it. The enormous fine could, with the lapse of time, have been overlooked, but never the seizure of the two provinces by mere force and against the unanimous and passionate protest of the people of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover the eastern frontier of France was seriously weakened.

Meanwhile other events had occurred as a result of this war. Italy had completed her unification by seizing the city of Rome, thus terminating the temporal rule of the Pope. The Pope had been supported there by a French garrison. This was withdrawn as a result of the battle of Sedan, and the troops of Victor Emmanuel attacked the Pope's own troops, defeated them after a slight resistance, and entered Rome on the 20th of September, 1870. The unity of Italy was now consummated and Rome became the capital of the kingdom.

Fall of the Temporal Power

Completion of Italian unification

A more important consequence of the war was the completion of the unification of Germany, and the creation of the present German

iire. Bismarck had desired a war with France as necessary to com-
the unity of Germany. Whether necessary or not, at
that end was now secured. During the war negotia-
s were carried on between Prussia and the South Ger-
states. Treaties were drawn up and the confederation was widened

Completion of German unification

THE PROCLAMATION OF WILLIAM I AS GERMAN EMPEROR, VERSAILLES, JANUARY 18, 1871
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

include all the German states. On January 18, 1871, in the royal
lace of Versailles, King William I was proclaimed German Emperor.
The war of 1866 had resulted in the expulsion of Austria from Ger-
ny and from Italy. The war of 1870 completed the unification of
th countries. Berlin became the capital of a federal Empire, Rome
a unified Kingdom.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The Franco-German war completed the unification of Germany. The Empire was proclaimed January 18, 1871, in the old capital of the French monarchy. The constitution of the new state was adopted immediately after the close of the war and went into force April 16, 1871. In most respects it is simply the constitution of the North German Confederation of 1867. The name of Confederation gives way to that of Empire and the name of Emperor is substituted for that of President. But the Empire is a confederation, consisting of twenty-five states and one Imperial Territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia is *ipso facto* German Emperor. The legislative power rests with the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor declares war with the consent of the Bundesrath, he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he has charge of foreign affairs and makes treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He is assisted by a Chancellor, whom he appoints, and whom he removes, who is not responsible to Parliament but to him alone. Under the Chancellor are various secretaries of state, who simply administer departments, but who do not form a cabinet responsible to Parliament.

Constitution of the new German Empire

The Emperor

Laws are made by the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The Bundesrath is the most powerful body in the Empire. It possesses legislative, executive, and judicial functions and is a sort of diplomatic assembly. It represents the states, that is, the rulers of the twenty-five states of which the Empire consists. It is composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the states of Germany are not represented equally in the Bundesrath but most unequally. There are fifty-eight members. Of these Prussia has seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony

The Bundesrath or Federal Council

and Würtemberg four each; others have three or two; and seventeen of the states have only one apiece. The Bundesrath is really the old Diet of Frankfort of 1815, carried over into the new system, with certain changes rendered necessary by the intervening history. The members are really diplomats, representing the numerous sovereigns of Germany. They do not vote individually but each state votes as a unit and as the ruler instructs. Thus the seventeen votes of Prussia are cast always as a unit, on one side or the other, and as the King of Prussia directs. The Bundesrath is not a deliberative body because its members vote according to instructions from the home governments. Its members are not free to vote as they see fit. It is in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. Its powers are very extensive. It is the most important element of the legislature as most legislation begins in it, its consent is necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag is after that submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It is therefore the chief source of legislation. Representing the princes of Germany, it is a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. As a matter of fact it is generally controlled by Prussia, although there have been a few cases since 1871 in which the will of Prussia has been overridden. Its proceedings are secret.

The Bundesrath not a deliberative body

The Reichstag is the only popular element in the Empire. It consists of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men twenty-five years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag are inferior to those of most of the other popular chambers of Europe. It neither makes nor unmakes ministries. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrath, votes the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, are voted for a period of years. Its consent is required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being secured again. The matters on which Parliament may legislate are those concerning army, navy, commerce, tariffs, railways, postal system, telegraphs, civil and criminal law. On matters not within the jurisdiction of the Empire each state legislates as it chooses. In reality the Reichstag is little more than an advisory body, with the power of veto of new legislation. The mainspring of power is elsewhere — in the Bundesrath and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

The Reichstag

The German Empire is unique among federal governments in that

is a confederation of monarchical states, which, moreover, are very unequal in size and population, ranging from Prussia with a population of 40,000,000, and covering two-thirds of the territory, down to Schaumburg-Lippe, with a population of 45,000. Three members of the Empire are republics: Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. The rest are monarchies. All have constitutions and legislatures, more or less liberal. This confederation differs from other governments of its class in that the states are of unequal voting power in both houses, one state largely preponderating, Prussia, a fact explained by its great size, its population, and the importance of its historic rôle.

A confederation of monarchical states

The chief representative of the Emperor is the Chancellor. The Chancellor is not like the Prime Minister of England, simply one of the ministers. He stands distinct from and above all federal officials. There is no imperial cabinet in the German Empire, and cabinet, or what is correctly called responsible, government does not exist. The Chancellor is appointed by the Emperor, is removed by the Emperor, is responsible to the Emperor, and is not responsible to either Bundesrath or Reichstag. Either or both assemblies might vote down his proposals, might even vote lack of confidence. It would make no difference to him. He would not resign. The only support he needs is that of the Emperor.

The Chancellor

There are other so-called ministers, such as those of foreign affairs, of the interior, of education. But these are not like the members of the cabinet of the United States or of England. They are subordinates of the Chancellor, carrying out his will, and not for a moment thinking of resigning because of any adverse vote in the popular house, the Reichstag. The powers of the Chancellor are great, but as his tenure is absolutely dependent upon the favor of the Emperor this really means that the power of the Emperor is great and is irresponsible. The Chancellor may be an imposing figure in the state, as Bismarck was; he may be a mere agent of the Emperor, as Bismarck's successors have all been — for the reason that William II, unlike William I, has intended to rule and has really been the Chancellor himself.

This is the most important characteristic of the German Empire. Unlike England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states, the cabinet system of government does not exist in Germany. The executive is not subject to the legislative power; ministers may

not be turned out of office by adverse majorities. Germany is a constitutional state, in the sense that it has a written constitution. It is not a parliamentary state. Parliament does not have the controlling voice in the state. The monarchs, and particularly the monarch of Prussia, have that. This was Bismarck's great achievement. His victory over the Prussian Parliament had this effect, that it checked the growth of responsible government in Prussia. So far as ensuring self-government, or a large measure of it, to the people of Germany is concerned, the present constitution, largely the work of Bismarck, is much inferior to the constitution framed by the Parliament of Frankfort in 1848.

The parliamentary system does not exist in Germany

Bismarck's crowning triumph over parliamentary institutions

The Emperor gains his great power from the fact that he is King of Prussia. He is Emperor because he is King. As King he has very extensive functions. His functions as Emperor and King are so connected that it is not easy to distinguish them. As a matter of fact the King of Prussia is very nearly an absolute monarch. The Prussian Parliament is far less likely to oppose his will than is the Imperial Parliament which, itself, has shown only slight independence since 1871. There is no parliamentary government in Prussia any more than there is in the Empire.

The great powers of the King of Prussia

Since 1871, Germany has had three Emperors, William I (1871–88), Frederick III (March 9–June 15, 1888), and William II, since 1888.

The history since 1871 naturally falls into two periods, which are in many respects well defined, the reign of William I and the reign of William II. During the former the real ruler was Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor, whose position was one of immense prestige and authority. Having in nine years made the King, whom he found upon the point of abdicating, the most powerful ruler in Europe, and having given Germans unity, he remained the chief figure in the state twenty years longer until his resignation in 1890. During the latter period, the reign of William II, the Emperor has been the real head of the government.

Reign of Emperor William I

THE KULTURKAMPF

No sooner was the new Empire established than it was torn by a fierce religious conflict that lasted many years, the so-called Kulturkampf, "war in defense of civilization," a contest between the State

nd the Roman Catholic Church. The wars with Austria and France ngendered animosity in the field of religion as they were ictories of a Protestant state over two strongly Catholic owers. The loss of the Pope's temporal power in 1870 embittered many atholics still further and a party was formed in Germany, the Center, o work for the restoration of the temporal power and for the general nterests of the Church. In the first elections to the Reichstag this party von sixty-three votes. Bismarck did not like this appearance of a cleri- al party in the political arena. He was of the opinion that the Church hould keep out of politics. Moreover, he decidedly objected to what ne understood to be the claims of the Church that in certain matters, which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the State, the Church was superior to the secular authority and had the primary right to the alle- giance of Catholics.

A religious conflict

The immediate cause of the Kulturkampf was a quarrel among Catholics themselves. The proclamation by the Vatican Council in 1870 of the new dogma of papal infallibility had been op- posed in the Council by the German bishops. But they and the priests of Germany were now required to subscribe to it. The large majority did, but some refused. The latter called themselves Old Catholics, proclaiming their adherence to the Church as hitherto defined, but rejecting this addition to their creed as false. The bishops who accepted it demanded that the Old Catholics should be removed from their positions in the universities and schools. The government of Prussia refused to remove them. A religious war was shortly in progress which grew more bitter each year. First the Imperial Parliament for- bade the religious orders to engage in teaching; then, in 1872, it expelled the Jesuits from Germany. Of all legislation enacted dur- ing this struggle the Falk or May Laws of the Prussian legislature were the most important (passed in May of three successive years, 1873, 1874, 1875). Bismarck supported them on the ground that the contest was political, not religious, that there must be no state within the state, no power considering itself superior to the established author- ities. He also believed that the whole movement was conducted by those opposed to Germany unity. Anything that imperiled that unity must be crushed. These May Laws gave the state large powers over the education and appointment of the clergy. They forbade the Roman Catholic Church to intervene in any way in civil affairs, or to coerce

Causes of the Kulturkampf

The Falk laws

citizens or officials; they required that all clergymen should pass the regular state examination of the gymnasium, and should study theology for three years at a state university; that all Catholic seminaries should be subject to state inspection. They also established control over the appointment and dismissal of priests. A law was passed making civil marriage compulsory. This was to reduce the power that priests could exercise by refusing to marry a Catholic and a Protestant, and now even Old Catholics. Religious orders were suppressed.

Against these laws the Catholics indignantly protested. The Pope declared them null and void; the clergy refused to obey them, and the faithful rallied to the support of the clergy. To enforce them the government resorted to fines, imprisonment, deprivation of salary, expulsion from the country. The conflict spread everywhere, into little villages, as well as into the cities, into the universities and schools. It dominated politics for several years. The national life was much disturbed, yet the end was not accomplished. In the elections of 1877 the Center succeeded in returning ninety-two members, and was the largest party in the Reichstag. It was evident that the policy was a failure. Other questions were becoming prominent, of an economic and social character, and Bismarck wished to be free to handle them. Particularly requiring attention, in his opinion, and that of William I, was a new and most menacing party, the Socialist. Bismarck therefore prepared to retreat. The death of Pius IX in 1878, and the election of Leo XIII, a more conciliatory and diplomatic Pope, facilitated the change of policy. The anti-clerical legislation was gradually repealed, except that concerning civil marriage. In return for the measures surrendered Bismarck gained the support of the Center for laws which he now had more at heart. The only permanent result of this religious conflict was the strengthening of the Center or Catholic party, which has been ever since the strongest party in this Protestant country.

Conflict of Church and State

Bismarck's retreat

BISMARCK AND SOCIALISM

It was in 1878 that Bismarck turned his attention to the Socialist party which had for some time been growing, and now seemed menacing. That party was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, a Socialist of 1848, much influenced by the French school of that day. The party, originally appearing in 1848, was shortly

The growth of Socialism

oken up by persecution and did not reappear until 1863. In 1865 assalle founded a journal called the *Social Democrat*. In opposition this party a somewhat different Socialist group was led by Karl arx. These two were rivals until 1875, when a fusion was effected d the party platform was adopted at Gotha. This platform de-unced the existing organization of the economic system, the wnership of the means of production solely by the capitalist class d in its interest; it demanded that the state should own them d should conduct industries in the interest of society, the largest rt of which consists of laborers, and that the products of labor ould be justly distributed; it aimed at a free state and a socialistic ciety. Needless to say Germany was neither at that me. That Germany might be a free state the Socialists emanded universal suffrage for all over twenty years of age, women as ell as men, secret ballot, freedom of the press, freedom of association, nd indeed the greatest extension of political rights in a democratic rection, free and compulsory education, and certain immediate eco-omic and social reforms, such as a progressive income tax, a normal orking day, and a free Sunday, prohibition of child labor and of all rms of labor by women which were dangerous to health or morality, ws for the protection of the life and health of workingmen and for the spection of mines and factories. In 1871 the Socialists elected two embers to the Reichstag, three years later their representation in-eased to nine, and in 1877 to twelve. Their popular votes were: in 871, 124,655; in 1874, 351,952; and in 1877, 493,288.

Demands of the Socialists

The steady growth of this party aroused the alarm of the ruling asses of Germany, which stood for monarchy, aristocracy, the existing conomic system, while its aims were destructive of all hese. Bismarck had long hated the Socialists, as was atural considering his training and environment, and con-dering also the declarations of the Socialists themselves. Their leaders, iebknecht and Bebel, had opposed the North German Confederation, he war with France, the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The ocialists expressed openly and freely their entire opposition to the isting order in Germany. It was only a question of time when ey must clash violently with the man who had helped so power-lly to create that order, and whose life work henceforth was to con-olidate it. Again, the Socialist party was radically democratic, and

Alarm of the ruling classes

Bismarck hated democracy. A conflict between men representing the very opposite poles of opinion was inevitable. Bismarck determined to crush the Socialists once for all. He would use two methods; one stern repression of Socialist agitation, the other amelioration of the conditions of the working class, conditions which alone, he believed, caused them to listen to the false and deceptive doctrines of the Socialist leaders.

First came repression. In October, 1878, a law of great severity, intended to stamp out completely all Socialist propaganda, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. It forbade all associations, meetings, and publications having for their object "the subversion of the social order," or in which "socialistic tendencies" should appear. It gave the police large powers of interference, arrest, and expulsion from the country. Martial law might be proclaimed where desirable, which meant that, as far as Socialists were concerned, the ordinary courts would cease to protect individual liberties. Practically a mere decree of a police official would suffice to expel from Germany anyone suspected or accused of being a Socialist. This law was enacted for a period of four years. It was later twice renewed and remained in force until 1890. It was vigorously applied. According to statistics furnished by the Socialists themselves, 1400 publications were suppressed, 1500 persons were imprisoned, 900 banished, during these twelve years. One might not read the works of Lassalle, for instance, even in a public library.

Severe measures against the Socialists

This law, says a biographer of Bismarck, is very disappointing. "We find the Government again having recourse to the same means for checking and guarding opinion which Metternich had used fifty years before." [1] It was, moreover, an egregious failure. For twelve years the Socialists carried on their propaganda in secret. It became evident that their power lay in their ideas and in the economic conditions of the working classes, rather than in formal organizations, which might be broken up. A paper was published for them in Switzerland and every week thousands of copies found their way into the hands of workingmen in Germany, despite the utmost vigilance of the police. Persecution in their case, as in that of the Roman Catholics, only rendered the party more resolute and active. At first it seemed that the law would realize the aims of its sponsors, for

Their failure

[1] Headlam, *Bismarck*, 409.

n the elections of 1881, the first after its passage, the Socialist vote ell from about 493,000 to about 312,000. But in 1884 it ose to 549,000; in 1887 to 763,000; in 1890 to 1,427,000, esulting in the election of thirty-five members to the Reichstag. In that year the laws were not renewed. The Socialists came out of their contest with Bismarck with a popular and parliamentary vote increased threefold. Bismarck, true to his fundamental belief that difficult opponents are best put down by force, not won by persuasion, had attempted here, as in the Kulturkampf, to settle an annoying question by arbitrary and despotic measures enforced ruthlessly by the police and sacrificing what are regarded in many other countries as the most precious rights of the individual.

Continued growth of the Socialist party

But he had at no time intended to rest content with merely repressive measures. He had also intended to win the working classes away from the Socialist party by enacting certain laws favoring them, by trying to convince them that the State was their real benefactor and was deeply interested in their welfare.

The method by which Bismarck proposed to improve the condition of the working class was by an elaborate and comprehensive system of insurance against the misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, against sickness, accident, old age, and incapacity. It was his desire that any workingman incapacitated in any of these ways should not be exposed to the possibility of becoming a pauper, but should receive a pension from the state. His policy was called State Socialism. His proposals met with vehement opposition, both in the Reichstag and among influential classes outside. It was only slowly that he carried them through, the Sickness Insurance Law in 1883, the Accident Insurance Laws in 1884 and 1885, and the Old Age Insurance Law in 1889. These laws are very complicated and cannot be described here at length.

Various forms of insurance proposed

State Socialism

Such was Bismarck's contribution to the solution of the social question, which grew to such commanding importance as the nineteenth century wore on. In this legislation Bismarck was a pioneer. His ideas have been studied widely in other countries, and his example followed in some.

Bismarck a pioneer

The Socialists did not coöperate with him in the passage of these laws, which they denounced as entirely inadequate to solve the social evils, as only a slight step in the right direction. Nor did Bismarck

wish their support. They were Social Democrats. Democracy he hated. Socialism of the state, controlled by a powerful monarch, was one thing. Socialism carried through by the people believing in a democratic government, opposed to the existing order in government and society, a very different thing. At the very moment that Bismarck secured the passage of the Accident Insurance Bill he also demanded the renewal of the law against the Socialists. His prophecy, that if these laws were passed the Socialists would sound their bird call in vain, has not been fulfilled. That party has grown greatly and almost uninterruptedly ever since he began his war upon it.

Not supported by the Socialists

BISMARCK AND THE POLICY OF PROTECTION

In 1879, Bismarck brought about a profound change in the financial and industrial policy of Germany by inducing Parliament to abandon the policy of a low tariff, and comparative free trade, and to adopt a system of high tariff and pronounced protection. His purposes were two-fold. He wished to increase the revenue of the Empire and to encourage native industries. In adopting the principle of protection he was not influenced, he asserted, by the theories of economists, but by his own observation of facts. He observed that, while England was the only nation following a policy of free trade, France and Austria and Russia and the United States were pronounced believers in protection and that it was too much to ask that Germany should permanently remain the dupe of an amiable error. He said that owing to her low tariff Germany had been the dumping ground for the over-production of other countries. Now industries must be protected that they might flourish and that they might have at least the home market. As this policy had proved successful in other countries, notably in the United States, he urged that Germans follow their example.

Bismarck adopts a policy of protection

Bismarck won the day, though not without difficulty. Germany entered upon a period of protection, which, growing higher and applied to more and more industries, has continued ever since. Bismarck believed that Germany must become rich in order to be strong; that she could only become rich by manufactures; and that she could have manufactures only by giving them protection. The system was worked out gradually and piecemeal, as he could not carry his whole plan at once. By means of the tariff Bismarck

The system gradually applied

shed to assure Germans the home market. Not only has that been rgely accomplished, but by its means the foreign market also has been dened. By offering concessions to foreign nations for concessions om them, Germany has gained for her manufactured products an enance into many other countries, which was denied them before. The odigious expansion of German industry after 1880 is generally regarded Germany as a vindication of this policy.

ACQUISITION OF COLONIES

One of the important features of the closing years of Bismarck's olitical career was the beginning of a German colonial empire. In his rlier years Bismarck did not believe in Germany's atmpting the acquisition of colonies. In 1871 he refused demand as prize of war any of the French colonial possessions. He believed that Germany should consolidate, nd should not risk incurring the hostility of other nations by entering on the path of colonial rivalry. But colonies, nevertheless, were being unded under the spirit of private initiative. Energetic merchants om Hamburg and Bremen established trading stations in Africa, and ne islands of the Pacific, for the purpose of selling their goods and acuiring tropical products, such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, spices. The aid the Government was invoked at various times, but Bismarck held oof. The interest aroused in the exploits of these private companies ave rise towards 1880 to a definite colonial party and the formation of Colonial Society, which has since become important.

The beginning of a colonial empire

The change in the policy of the Government, however, from one of loofness to one of energetic participation and acquisition of colonies as largely a result of the adoption of the policy of protection and active governmental encouragement of manufactures and commerce. In the debate on the tariff bill of 1879 Bismarck said that it was desirable to protect manufactures, that thus a greater demand for labor would arise, that more people could live in Germany, and that therefore the emigration which had for years drawn tens of thousands from the country, particularly to the United States, would be decreased. But to develop manufactures to the utmost, Germany must have new markets for her products; and here colonies would be useful. In 1884 he adopted a vigorous colonial policy, supporting and expanding the work of the private mer-

A result of the adoption of the policy of protection

chants and travelers. In that year Germany seized a number of points in Africa, in the southwest, the west, and the east. A period of diplomatic activity began, leading in the next few years to treaties with England and other powers, resulting in the fixing of the boundaries of the various claimants to African territory. This is the partition of Africa described elsewhere.[1] Germany thus acquired a scattered African empire of great size, consisting of Kamerun, Togoland, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa; also a part of New Guinea. Later some of the Samoan Islands came into her possession, and in 1899 she purchased the Caroline and the Ladrone Islands, excepting Guam, from Spain for about four million dollars.

Energetic intervention in Africa

The German colonies

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

While domestic affairs formed the chief concern of Bismarck after the war with France, yet he followed the course of foreign affairs with the same closeness of attention that he had shown before, and manipulated them with the same display of subtlety and audacity that had characterized his previous diplomatic career. His great achievement in diplomacy in these years was the formation of the Triple Alliance, an achievement directed, like all the actions of his career, toward the consolidation and exaltation of his country. The origin of this alliance is really to be found in the Treaty of Frankfort, which sealed the humiliation of France. The wresting from France of Alsace and Lorraine inevitably rendered that country desirous of a war of revenge, of a war for their recovery. This has remained the open sore of Europe since 1871, occasioning numerous, incontestable, and widespread evils. Firmly resolved to keep what he had won, Bismarck's chief consideration was to render such a war hopeless, therefore, perhaps, impossible. France must be isolated so completely that she would not dare to move. This was accomplished, first by the friendly understanding brought about by Bismarck between the three rulers of eastern Europe, the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria. But this understanding was shattered by events in the Balkan peninsula during the years from 1876 to 1878. In the Balkans, Russia and Austria were rivals, and their rivalry was thrown into high relief at the Congress of Berlin over which Bismarck

The Triple Alliance

Isolation of France

[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

resided. Russia, unaided, had carried on a war with Turkey, and had imposed the Treaty of San Stefano upon her conquered enemy, only to find that Europe would not recognize that treaty, but insisted upon its revision at an international congress, and at that congress she found Bismarck, to whom she had rendered inestimable services in the years so critical for Prussia, from 1863 to 1870, now acting as the friend of Austria, a power which had taken no part in the conflict, but was now intent upon drawing chestnuts from the fire with the aid of the Iron Chancellor. The Treaty of Berlin was a humiliation for Russia and a striking success for Austria, her rival, which was now empowered to "occupy" Bosnia and Herzegovina. No wonder that the Russian Chancellor, Gortchakoff, pronounced the Congress of Berlin "the darkest episode in his career," and that Alexander II declared that Bismarck had forgotten his promises of 1870." By favoring one of his allies Bismarck had alienated the other. In this fact lay the germ of the two great international combinations of the future, the Triple and Dual Alliances, factors of profound significance in the recent history of Europe.

Of these the first in order of creation and in importance was the Triple Alliance. Realizing that Russia was mortally offended at his conduct, and that the friendly understanding with her was over, Bismarck turned for compensation to a closer union with Austria, and concluded a treaty with her October 7, 1879. This treaty provided that if either Germany or Austria were attacked by Russia the two should be bound "to lend each other reciprocal aid with the whole of their military power, and, subsequently, to conclude no peace except conjointly and in agreement"; that if either Germany or Austria should be attacked by another power — as, for instance, France — the ally should remain neutral, but that if this enemy should be aided by Russia, then Germany and Austria should act together with their full military force, and should make peace in common. Thus this Austro-German Treaty of 1879 established a defensive alliance aimed particularly against Russia, to a lesser degree against France. The treaty was secret and was not published until 1887. Meanwhile, in 1882, Italy joined the alliance, irritated at France because of her seizure the year before of Tunis, a country which Italy herself had coveted as a seat for colonial expansion but which Bismarck had encouraged France to

Austro-German Treaty of 1879

Entrance of Italy into the alliance

take, wishing to make one more enemy for France, and thus to force that enemy, Italy, into the alliance, highly unnatural in many ways, with Austria, her old-time enemy, and with Germany. Thus was formed the Triple Alliance. The text of that alliance has never been published, but its purpose and character may be derived from that of the Austro-German Alliance, which was now merely expanded to include another power. The alliance was made for a period of years, but was constantly renewed and remained in force until 1915. It was a defensive alliance, designed to assure its territory to each of the contracting parties.

Thus was created a combination of powers which dominated central Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and which rested on a military force of over two million men. At its head stood Germany. Europe entered upon a period of German leadership in international affairs which was later to be challenged by the rise of a new alliance, that of Russia and France, which for various reasons, however, was slow in forming.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II

Death of William I

On the 9th of March, 1888, Emperor William I died at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick III, in his fifty-seventh year. The new Emperor was a man of moderation, of liberalism in politics, an admirer of the English constitution. It is supposed that, had he lived, the autocracy of the ruler would have given way to a genuine parliamentary system like that of England, and that an era of greater liberty would have been inaugurated. But he was already a dying man, ill of cancer of the throat. His reign was one of physical agony patiently borne. Unable to use his voice, he could only indicate his wishes by writing or by signs. The reign was soon over, before the era of liberalism had time to dawn. Frederick was King and Emperor only from March 9 to June 15, 1888.

Accession of William II

He was succeeded by his son, William II, the present Emperor. The new ruler was twenty-nine years of age, a young man of very active mind, of fertile imagination, versatile, ambitious, self-confident, a man of unusual vigor. In his earliest utterances he showed his enthusiasm for the army and for religious orthodoxy. He held the doctrine of the divine origin of his power with mediaeval fervor, expressing it with frequency and in dramatic fashion. It was evident that a man of such a character would wish to govern, and not simply reign. He would not be willing long to efface himself behind the

mposing figure of the great Chancellor. Bismarck had prophesied that he Emperor would be his own Chancellor, yet he did not have the wis- om to resign when the old Emperor died, and to depart with dignity. He clung to power. From the beginning friction developed between the two. They thought differently, felt differently. The fundamental question was, who should rule in Germany? The struggle was for supremacy since there was no way in which two persons so self-willed and autocratic could divide power. As Bismarck stayed on when he saw that his presence was no longer desired, the Emperor, not willing to be overshadowed by so commanding and illustrious a minister, finally demanded his resignation in 1890. Thus in bitterness and humiliation ended the political career of a man who, according to Bismarck himself, had "cut a figure in the history of Germany and Prussia." He lived several years longer, dying in 1898 at the age of eighty-three, leaving as his epitaph, "A faithful servant of Emperor William I." Thus vanished from view a man who will ank in history as one of the few great founders of states.

DROPPING THE PILOT
Cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in *Punch*, March 29, 1890.

The resignation of Bismarck

Since 1890 the personality of William II has been the decisive factor n the state. His Chancellors have been, in fact as well as in theory, his servants, carrying out the master's wish. There have been four: Caprivi, 1890–94; Hohenlohe, 1894–1900; von Bülow, 1900–09; and Bethmann-Hollweg, since July, 1909.

The extreme political tension was at first somewhat relieved by the removal of Bismarck from the scene, by this "dropping of the pilot," after thirty-eight years of continuous service. The early measures

under the new régime showed a liberal tendency. The Anti-Socialist laws, expiring in 1890, were not renewed. This had been one of the causes of friction between the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck wished them renewed, and their stringency increased. The Emperor wished to try milder methods, hoping to undermine the Socialists completely by further measures of social and economic amelioration, to kill them with kindness. The repressive laws lapsing, the Socialists reorganized openly, and have conducted an aggressive campaign ever since. The Emperor, soon recognizing the futility of anodynes, became their bitter enemy, and began to denounce them vehemently, but no new legislation has been passed against them, although this has been several times attempted.

The Anti-Socialist policy abandoned

The reign of William II has been notable for the remarkable expansion of industry and commerce, which has rendered Germany the redoubtable rival of England and the United States. In colonial and foreign affairs an aggressive policy has been followed. German colonies as yet have little importance, have entailed great expense, and have yielded only small returns. But the desire for a great colonial empire has become a settled policy of the Government, and has seized the popular imagination.

Remarkable expansion of German industry

Connected with the growing interest of Germany in commercial and colonial affairs has gone an increasing interest in the navy. Strong on land for fifty years, William II desires that Germany shall be strong on the sea, that she may act with decision in any part of the world, that her diplomacy, which is permeated with the idea that nothing great shall be done in world politics anywhere, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, without her consent, may be supported by a formidable navy. To make that fleet powerful has been a constant and a growing preoccupation of the present sovereign.

Germany a naval power

In the political world the rise of the Social Democratic party is the most important phenomenon. It represents not merely a desire for a revolution in the economic sphere, it also represents a protest against the autocratic government of the present ruler, a demand for democratic institutions. While Germany has a Constitution and a Parliament, the monarch is vested with vast power. Parliament does not control the Government, as the ministers are not responsible to it. There is freedom of speech in Parliament, but practically during most of this reign it has not existed outside.

Continued growth of Socialism

undreds of men have, during the past twenty years, been imprisoned r such criticisms of the Government as in other countries are the cur- nt coin of discussion. This is the crime of *lèse-majesté*, which, as long it exists, prevents a free political life. The growth of e Social Democratic party to some extent represents mere eralism, not adherence to the economic theory of the cialists. It is the great reform and opposition party of ermany. It has the largest popular vote of any party, 250,000. Yet the Conservatives with less than 1,500,000 votes elected 1907 eighty-three members to the Reichstag to the forty-three of the cialists. The reason is this: The electoral districts have not been tered since they were originally laid out in 1869–71, though population as vastly shifted from country to city. The cities have grown rapidly nce then, and it is in industrial centers that the Socialists are strong- t. Berlin with a population in 1871 of 600,000, had six members in ne Reichstag. It still has only that number, though its population is er two million, and though it would be entitled to twenty members if qual electoral districts were granted. These the Socialists demand, a emand which, if granted, would make them the most powerful party the Reichstag, as they are in the popular vote. For this very reason ne Government has thus far refused the demand. The extreme op- nents of the Social Democrats even urge that universal suffrage, uaranteed by the Constitution, be abolished, as the only way to crush ne party. To this extreme the Government has not yet gone.

The Social Democratic party numerically the largest

In recent years several questions have been much discussed; the uestion of the electoral reform in Prussia; of the redis- ribution of seats, both in the Prussian Landtag and the mperial Reichstag; and of ministerial responsibility.

The demand for electoral reform

Prussia is the state that in practice rules the German Empire. This as what was intended by Bismarck when he drew up the Constitution f the Empire, it was precisely the object of his entire policy. The Con- itution was based on the two chief articles of Bismarck's creed, the ower of the monarch and the ascendancy of Prussia. This is the ac- pted idea of the governing classes to-day. Prussia, as was id in 1914 by Prince von Bülow, the most important hancellor of the Empire since Bismarck, "Prussia attained r greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as uch she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day

Prussia "a state of soldiers and officials"

she is still, in all essentials, a state of soldiers and officials." The governing classes are, in Prussia, which in turn governs Germany, the monarch, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the state is the personality of the King.

Neither Empire, nor Kingdom of Prussia, is governed by democratic institutions. The Kingdom lags far behind the Empire, and, so great is its power, impedes the development of liberty in the Empire. The electoral system in use for the Lower House of the Prussian legislature is that of the three classes previously described.[1] According to this a man's voting power is determined by the amount of his taxes. Voters are divided into three groups, according to taxes paid, and each group has an equal representation in the assemblies or colleges that choose the deputies to the Lower House of the Prussian legislature. The first class contains from three to five per cent of the voters, the second from ten to twelve, whereas the third class contains perhaps eighty-five per cent, yet has only one-third of the members of the electoral colleges. The result is, as has been said, representation in the Chamber of Deputies only for the rich and well-to-do. The working classes are almost entirely unrepresented. Because of this method of indirect elections, down to 1908 the Socialists were unable to elect a single member to the Prussian Chamber. With direct election they would have been entitled to about a hundred seats.

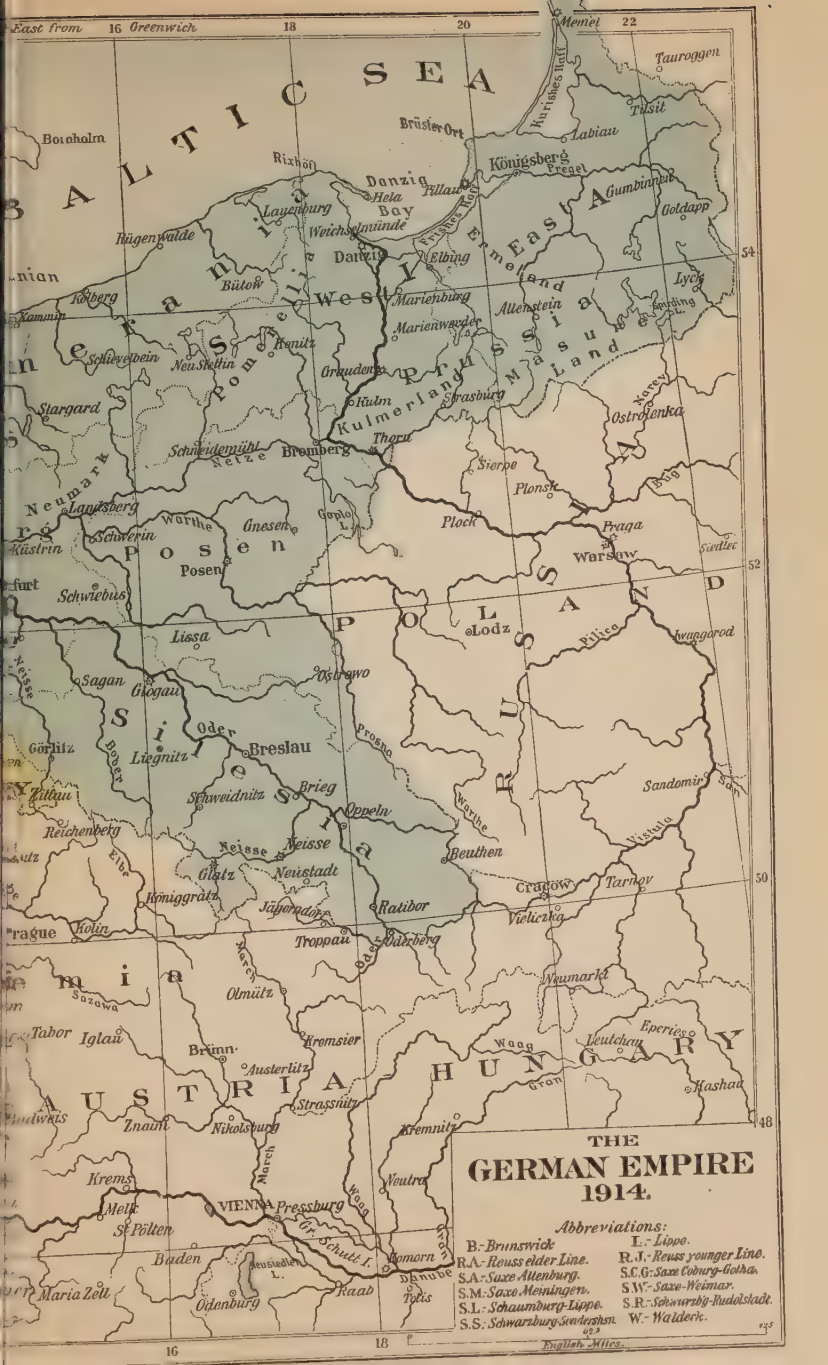
Again, the electoral districts for the Prussian Chamber have not been changed since 1860. There are therefore great inequalities between them. Thus in the province of East Prussia the actual number of inhabitants to each deputy is 63,000, while in Berlin it is 170,000. The demand is growing that many districts be partially or wholly disfranchised or merged with others, and that other districts receive a larger representation.

The demand for parliamentary reform

In the Empire a similar problem is yearly becoming more acute. In 1871 Germany was divided into 397 constituencies for the Reichstag. The number has remained the same ever since, nor has a single district gained or lost in representation. Yet during that time the population of the Empire has increased from about forty-one millions to over sixty-five millions, and there has been a great shifting in population from the

[1] See page 311.

NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Seeland
Fünen
Copenhagen
Sweden
Schleswig
Holstein
Flensburg
Kiel
Neumünster
Lübeck
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Gustrow
MECKLENBURG
Hamburg
Altona
Bremerhaven
Wilhelmshaven
Emden
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Zuider Sea
Amsterdam
Zwolle
NETHERLANDS
Oldenburg
Bremen
Lüneburg
Heath
Verden
Nienburg
Celle
Hanover
Osnabrück
Minden
Lippe
Ems
Meppen
Hanover
Brunswick
Prov.
Saxony
Altmark
Prignitz
Wittenberge
Ludwigslust
Schwerin
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Berlin
Spandau
Charlottenburg
Fehrbellin
Neuruppin
Arnheim
Münster
Bielefeld
Detmold
Paderborn
Westphalia
Gelderland
Dortmund
Essen
Duisburg
Bochum
Düsseldorf
Elberfeld
Barmen
Solingen
Cologne
Aachen
Liege
Spa
Rhine
Rhineland
Nassau
Coblenz
Neuwied
Wetzlar
Siegen
Eder
Marburg
Giessen
Hesse
Cassel
Arolsen
Fulda
Hombourg
Frankfort
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Bingen
Luxemburg
Treves
Moselle
Birkenfeld
Worms
Darmstadt
Hesse
Rhenish
Palatinate
Bavarian
Ludwigsh.
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Speyer
Zweibrücken
Metz
Nancy
Strassburg
Lorraine
Alsace
Karlsruhe
Baden
Rastadt
Stuttgart
WURTTEMBERG
Tübingen
Hohenzollern
Danube
Ulm
Constance
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Rhine
Basle
Switzerland
Schaffhs.
Colmar
Freiburg
Belfort
Mülhausen
Doubs
Northausen
Eisleben
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Zerbst
Wittenberg
Dessau
Anhalt
Halle
Leipzig
Merseburg
Naumburg
Weimar
Erfurt
Gotha
Eisenach
Meiningen
Suhl
Schmalkalden
Coburg
Hildburghs.
Saxe-Meiningen
Thuringia
Saxe-Weimar
Saxe-Altenburg
Saxony
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Plauen
Hof
Karlsbad
Eger
Franconia
Würzburg
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Marienbad
Pilsen
Kulmbach
Schweinfurt
Werthein
Erlangen
Nuremberg
Fürth
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Heilbronn
Jaxt
Kocher
Neckar
Nördlingen
Ingolstadt
Landshut
Passau
Ratisbon
Regen
Danube
Augsburg
Wittelsbach
Freising
Munich
Isar
Mühldorf
Braunau
Salzburg
Inn
Tyrol
Kufstein
Innsbruck
Trempten
Lindau
Alter
Nuremberg
Furth
Ratisbon
Walhalla
Hela
Pomerania
Rügen
Stralsund
Greifswald
Wolgast
Usedom
Swinemünde
Stettin
Oder
Frisches Haff
Pillau
Memel
Kurisches Haff
Nemunas
Tilsit
Gumbinnen
Insterburg
Königsberg
Pregel
Elbing
Marienburg
Dirschau
Danzig
Vistula
Graudenz
Thorn
Bromberg
Posen
Warthe
Netze
Gnesen
Kalisch
Lodz
Warsaw
Plock
Thorn
Mlawa
Ostrolenka
Narew
Bug
Prussia
Russia
Poland
Galicia
Cracow
Silesia
Breslau
Oppeln
Ratibor
Neisse
Glatz
Bohemia
Prague
Moldau
Elbe
Leitmeritz
Aussig
Teplitz
Carlsbad
Eger
Saxon Switzerland
Dresden
Meissen
Elbe
Torgau
Wittenberg
Dessau
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Wernigerode
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Helmstedt
Magdeburg
Zerbst
Halberstadt
Northausen
Eisleben
Halle
Leipzig
Merseburg
Naumburg
Weimar
Erfurt
Gotha
Eisenach
Meiningen
Suhl
Schmalkalden
Coburg
Hildburghs.
Saxe-Meiningen
Thuringia
Saxe-Weimar
Saxe-Altenburg
Saxony
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Plauen
Hof
Karlsbad
Eger
Franconia
Würzburg
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Marienbad
Pilsen
Kulmbach
Schweinfurt
Werthein
Erlangen
Nuremberg
Fürth
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Heilbronn
Jaxt
Kocher
Neckar
Nördlingen
Ingolstadt
Landshut
Passau
Ratisbon
Regen
Danube
Augsburg
Wittelsbach
Freising
Munich
Isar
Mühldorf
Braunau
Salzburg
Inn
Tyrol
Kufstein
Innsbruck
Trempten
Lindau
Alter
Nuremberg
Furth
Ratisbon
Walhalla
Hela
Pomerania
Rügen
Stralsund
Greifswald
Wolgast
Usedom
Swinemünde
Stettin
Oder
Frisches Haff
Pillau
Memel
Kurisches Haff
Nemunas
Tilsit
Gumbinnen
Insterburg
Königsberg
Pregel
Elbing
Marienburg
Dirschau
Danzig
Vistula
Graudenz
Thorn
Bromberg
Posen
Warthe
Netze
Gnesen
Kalisch
Lodz
Warsaw
Plock
Thorn
Mlawa
Ostrolenka
Narew
Bug
Prussia
Russia
Poland
Galicia
Cracow
Silesia
Breslau
Oppeln
Ratibor
Neisse
Glatz
Bohemia
Prague
Moldau
Elbe
Leitmeritz
Aussig
Teplitz
Carlsbad
Eger
Saxon Switzerland
Dresden
Meissen
Elbe
Torgau
Wittenberg
Dessau
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Wernigerode
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Helmstedt
Magdeburg
Zerbst
Halberstadt


East from 16 Greenwich
18
20
22
BALTIC SEA
Memel
Tauroggen
Kurisches Haff
Tilsit
Brüster Ort
Labiau
Borcholm
Rixhöft
Danzig
Pillau
Königsberg
Pregel
Hela
Bay
Gumbinnen
Goldapp
Layenburg
Weichselmünde
Frisches Haff
Rügenwalde
Danzig
Elbing
Ermeland
54
Lyck
Bütow
Marienburg
Allenstein
Soldau L.
Kolberg
Kammin
Marienwerder
Schivelbein
Neustettin
Konitz
Graudenz
Strasburg
Ostrolenka
Stargard
Thorn
Kulmerland
Schneidemühl
Netze
Bromberg
Sierpe
Plonsk
Bug
Landsberg
Warthe
Gnesen
Goplo L.
Plock
Praga
Küstrin
Schwerin
Posen
Warsaw
Sudlec
52
Schwiebus
Lissa
Lodz
Pilica
Ivangorod
Sagan
Glogau
Ostrowo
Oder
Prosna
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Zittau
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Oppeln
Sandomir
Reichenberg
Warthe
Vistula
Neisse
Beuthen
Glatz
Neustadt
Cracow
Tarnov
50
Königgrätz
Jägerndorf
Ratibor
Prague
Kolin
Troppau
Oderberg
Vieliczka
Olmütz
Neumarkt
Sazawa
Tabor
Iglau
Kremsier
Eperies
Brünn
Austerlitz
Waag
Leutschau
Strassnitz
Gran
Hashad
Znaim
Nikolsburg
Kremnitz
48
March
Krems
Neutra
Melk
VIENNA
Pressburg
St. Pölten
Raab
Baden
Neusiedler L.
Komorn
Danube
Maria Zell
Oedenburg
Pesth
THE
GERMAN EMPIRE
1914.
Abbreviations:
B.-Brunswick
R.A.-Reuss elder Line.
S.A.-Saxe-Altenburg.
S.M.-Saxe-Meningen.
S.L.-Schaumburg-Lippe.
S.S.-Schwarzburg-Sondershn.
L.-Lippe.
R.J.-Reuss younger Line.
S.C.G.-Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.
S.W.-Saxe-Weimar.
S.R.-Schwarzbg-Rudolstadt.
W.-Waldeck.
16
18
English Miles.

country to the cities. One of the divisions of Berlin, with a population of 697,000, elects one representative, whereas the petty principality of Waldeck, with a population of 59,000, elects one. The 851,000 voters of Greater Berlin return eight members; the same number of voters in fifty of the smaller constituencies return forty-eight. A reform of these gross inequalities is widely demanded.

WILLIAM II
From a photograph taken in 1914.

Another subject which has recently received great emphasis is that concerning ministerial responsibility. The indiscretions of Emperor William II have made this one of the burning questions. An interview with him, in which he spoke with great freedom of the strained relations between Germany and Great Britain, was published in the London *Telegraph* on October 28, 1908. At once was seen a phenomenon not witnessed in Germany since the founding of the Empire. There was a violent popular protest against the irresponsible actions of the Emperor, actions subject to no control, and yet easily capable of bringing about a war. Newspapers of all shades of party affiliation displayed a freedom of utterance and of censure unparalleled in Germany. All parties in the Reichstag expressed their emphatic disapproval. The incident, however, was not sufficient to bring about the introduction of the system of the responsibility of the ministers for all the acts of the monarch, and the control of the ministry by the majority of the Parliament — in short, the parliamentary system in its essential feature.

The demand for ministerial responsibility

Prussia has been the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has encountered. Germany in

1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that th

Prussia, resolute opponent of democracy

principle of representative government received during tha century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck We have expert testimony of the highest and most officia sort that the effects of that blow are not outlived. Princ von Bülow, writing in 1914, said: "Liberalism in spite of its chang of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered fron the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half century ago on the party of progress which still clung to the ideals an principles of 1848."

The present situation is still further defined by the utterance of Pro fessor Delbrück, successor to Treitschke in the chair of modern histor in the University of Berlin, who wrote in a book published in 1914 "Anyone who has any familiarity with all our officers and generals know that it would take another Sedan, inflicted on us instead of by us, be

The army not controlled by Parliament

fore they would acquiesce in the control of the Army b the German Parliament." Here is a very clear indicatio of where real power lies in Germany. One has only t recall the great chapters in English history which tell of the struggle fo liberty to know that it has been obtained solely by the recognition o the supremacy of Parliament over royal prerogative, over military power

The German state is the most autocratic in Western Europe; it i also the most militaristic. Fundamental individual liberties, regarde as absolutely vital in England, France, America and many other states have never been possessed by Germans, nor are they possessed now Germany is rich, vigorous, powerful, instructed. It is not free. A mili tary monarchy is the very opposite of a democratic state. Prince von Bülow says, in his recent book, "Imperial Germany," "Despite th

German comments on Germany

abundance of merits and the great qualities with which the German nation is endowed, political talent has been denied it." Any citizen of a free country knows that tha talent grows only where an opportunity has been given it to grow. I need occasion no surprise that Mommsen, the historian of Rome, writ ing in 1903, should say of his own country, "There are no longer fre citizens." Instead there are industrious, energetic, educated, ambitious and submissive subjects.

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The Kulturkampf: Headlam, *Bismarck*, pp. 394–404; Seignobos, *The Political tory of Europe Since 1814*, pp. 491–496; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern opean History*, Vol. II, pp. 178–185; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, pp. 145–

Measures against the Socialists: Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand salle*, pp. 247–278; Headlam, pp. 407–411; Fife, pp. 177–183.

Bismarck and Social Reform: Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 154–263; Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism*, pp. 23–36, 72–127; Robinson Beard, Vol. II, pp. 185–192.

Industrial Development of Germany: Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary rope*, pp. 117–119, 123–124; Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany;* Fife, Chap. II.

Bismarck's Foreign and Colonial Policies: Marriott and Robertson, *The Evo- on of Prussia*, pp. 399–408, 416–423; Headlam, pp. 405–408, 423–427; Seymour, e *Diplomatic Background of the War*, pp. 1–37.

Dismissal and Death of Bismarck: Headlam, pp. 440–463; Robinson and Beard, . II, pp. 200–203.

Reign of William II: Marriott and Robertson, pp. 424–446; Gooch, *History Our Time* (Home University Library), pp. 82–97; Priest, *Germany Since 1740*, pp. 5–184; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, pp. 165–173; Seymour, Chaps. IV–V; e, *passim;* Tower, C., *Germany of Today* (Home University Library); Schmitt, gland and Germany, Chaps. III, IV, VIII–XI.

CHAPTER XXII

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The Third Republic was proclaimed, as we have seen, by the Parisians on September 4, 1870, after the news of the disaster of Sedan had reached the capital. A Provisional Government of National Defense was immediately installed. This government gave way in February, 1871 to a National Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage for a single purpose, to make peace with Germany. A majority of the members of this National Assembly, which met first at Bordeaux, were Monarchists. The reason was that the monarchical candidates favored the making of a peace, whereas many republican leaders, with Gambetta at their head, wished to continue the war. The mass of the peasants desiring peace therefore voted for the peace candidates. There is nothing to show that thereby they expressed a wish for monarchy. The Assembly of Bordeaux made the peace, ceding Alsace and Lorraine, and assuming the enormous war indemnity. But peace did not return to France as a result of the Treaty of Frankfort. The "Terrible Year," as the French call it, of 1870-71, had more horrors in store. Civil war followed the war with the Germans, shorter but exceeding it in ferocity, a war between those in control of the city of Paris and the Government of France as represented by the Assembly of Bordeaux. That Assembly had chosen Thiers as "Chief of the Executive Power," pending "the nation's decision as to the definitive form of government." Thus the fundamental question was postponed. Thiers was chosen for no definite term; he was the servant of the Assembly to carry out its wishes, and might be dismissed by it at any moment.

The Republic proclaimed September 4, 1870

The National Assembly

The "Terrible Year"

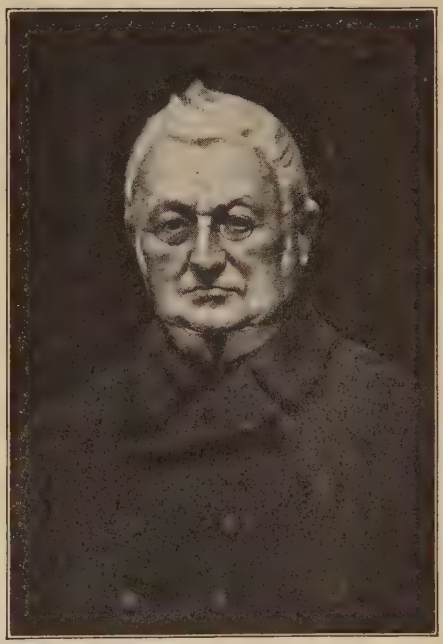
THE COMMUNE

Between the Government and the people of Paris serious disagreements immediately arose, which led quickly to the war of the Commune. Paris had proclaimed the Republic. But the Republic was not

sanctioned by France, and existed only *de facto*. On the other hand, National Assembly was controlled by Monarchists, and ad postponed the determination of the permanent insti- ons of the country. Did not this simply mean that it ld abolish the Republic and proclaim the Monarchy, n it should judge the moment propitious? This fear, only too well ified, that the Assembly hostile to the Republic, the fundamental cause of Commune. Paris lived in y dread of this event. is was ardently Republi-

Paris and the Assembly mutually suspicious

For ten years under the pire it had been returning ublicans to the Chamber Deputies. These men did propose to let a coup d'état that of Louis Napoleon in ı occur again. Various acts the Assembly were well pted to deepen and inten- the feeling of dread uncer- ty. The Assembly showed distrust of Paris by voting March, 1871 that it would ceforth sit in Versailles. In er words, a small and sleepy n, and one associated with history of monarchy, was



THIERS
After the portrait by L. Bonnat, 1876.

pe the capital of France instead of the great city which had sus- ed the tremendous siege and by her self-sacrifice and ering had done her best to hold high the honor of the Not only was Paris wounded in her pride by this act h showed such unmistakable suspicion of her but she suffered also er material interests at a time of great financial distress. The Gov- ment did nothing to relieve this distress but greatly accentuated it several unwise measures.

Versailles declared the capital

There was in Paris a considerable population having diverse revo-

lutionary tendencies, anarchists, Jacobins, Socialists, — whose lead

Revolutionary elements in Paris

worked with marked success among the restless, povert stricken masses of the great city. Out of this unrest it w easy for an insurrection to grow. The insurrectionary spi spread with great rapidity until it developed into a war between Paris a the Versailles Government. Attempts at solving the difficulties by co ciliation having failed, the Government undertook to subdue the ci

The second siege of Paris

This necessitated a regular siege of Paris, the second that unhappy city within a year. This time, however, t siege was conducted by Frenchmen, Germans, who co trolled the forts to the north of Paris, looking on. It lasted nearly t months, from April 2 to May 21, when the Versailles troops forced th entrance into the city. Then followed seven days ferocious fighting the streets, the Communists more and more desperate and frenzied, t Versailles army more and more revengeful and sanguinary. This w

The "Bloody Week"

the "Bloody Week," during which Paris suffered much mo than she had from the bombardment of the Germans a week of fearful destruction of life and property. The horrors incendiarism were added to those of slaughter. Finally the awful ago was brought to a close. The revenge taken by the Government w heavy. It punished right and left summarily. Many were shot the spot without any form of trial. Arrests and trials went on years. Thousands were sent to tropical penal colonies. Other tho sands were sentenced to hard labor. The rage of this monarchi assembly was slow in subsiding.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THIERS

Having put down the insurrection of Paris and signed the ha treaty with Germany, France was at peace. The Republicans thoug

France at peace

that the Assembly ought now to dissolve, arguing that had been elected to make peace, and nothing else. T Assembly decided however that it had full powers of legislation on subjects, including the right to make the Constitution. The Assemb remained in power for nearly five years, refusing to dissolve.

But before taking up the difficult work of making a Constitution coöperated for two years with Thiers in the necessary work of reorga ization. The most imperative task was that of getting the Germa out of the country. Under the skillful leadership of Thiers the payme

the enormous war indemnity, five billion francs, was undertaken h energy and carried out with celerity. In September, 3, the last installment was paid and the last German liers went home. The soil of France was freed nearly months earlier than was provided by the treaty. For his great ser- es in this initial work of reconstruction the National Assembly voted t Thiers had "deserved well of the country" and the people spon- eously acclaimed him as "The Liberator of the Territory."

The liber-. ation of the territory

The reconstruction of the army was also urgent and was undertaken the same spirit of patriotism, entailing heavy personal sacrifices. A was passed in 1872 instituting compulsory military ser- e. Five years of service in the active army were hence- h to be required in most cases. The law really established in France Prussian military system, so successful in crushing all opponents. now see the beginning of that oppressive militarism which has be- ne the most characteristic feature of contemporary Europe. Other ions considered that they were forced to imitate Prussia in order to ure their own safety in the future. In the case of France the neces- y was entirely obvious.

Army reform

In this work of reconstruction the Assembly and Thiers were able work together on the whole harmoniously. Now that this was accom- shed the Monarchists of the Assembly resolved to abol- the Republic and restore the Monarchy. They soon nd that they had in Thiers a man who would not abet them in their ject. Thiers was originally a believer in constitutional monarchy, t he was not afraid of a republican government, and during the years er 1870 he came to believe that a Republic was, for France, at the se of a turbulent century, the only possible form of government. here is," he said, "only one throne, and there are three claimants for eat on it." He discovered a happy formula in favor of the Republic, t is the form of government which divides us least." And again, hose parties who want a monarchy, do not want the he monarchy." By which phrases he accurately de- bed a curious situation. The Monarchists, while they constituted a jority of the Assembly, were divided into three parties, no one of ch was in the majority. There were Legitimists, Orleanists, and apartists. The Legitimists upheld the right of the grandson of arles X, the Count of Chambord; the Orleanists, the right of the

Thiers and the Republic

The Monarch- ist parties

grandson of Louis Philippe, the Count of Paris; the Bonapartists, o Napoleon III, or his son. The Monarchist parties could unite to pre vent a definite legal establishment of the Republic; they could no unite to establish the monarchy, as each wing wished a different monarch Out of this division arose the only chance the Third Republic had t live. As the months went by, the Monarchists felt that Thiers wa becoming constantly more of a Republican, which was true. If a monarchical restoration was to be attempted, therefore, Thiers mus be gotten out of the way. Consequently, in May, 1873 the Assembly forced him to resign and immediately electe Marshal MacMahon president to prepare the way for the coming monarch

Resignation of Thiers

THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION

Earnest attempts were made forthwith to bring about a restoratio of the monarchy. This could be done by a fusion of the Legitimists an the Orleanists. Circumstances were particularly favorabl for the accomplishment of such a union. The Count o Chambord had no direct descendants. The inheritanc would, therefore, upon his death, pass to the House of Orleans, repre sented by the Count of Paris. The elder branch would in the course o nature be succeeded by the younger. This fusion seemed accomplishe when the Count of Paris visited the Count of Chambord, recognizin him as head of the family. A committee of nine members of the Assem bly, representing the Monarchist parties, the Imperialists holding aloof negotiated during the summer of 1873 with the "King" concerning th terms of restoration. The negotiations were successful on most points and it seemed as if by the close of the year the existence of the Repub lic would be terminated and Henry V would be reigning in France The Republic was saved by the devotion of the Count of Chambord t a symbol. He stated that he would never renounce the ancient Bourbo banner. "Henry V could never abandon the white flag of Henry IV," he had already declared, and from that resolution he never swerved The tricolor represented the Revolution. If he was to be King of Franc it must be with his principles and his flag; King of the Revolution h would never consent to be. The Orleanists, on the other hand, adhere to the tricolor, knowing its popularity with the people, knowing that n régime that repudiated the glorious symbol could long endure. Again this barrier the attempted fusion of the two branches of the Bourbo

The Count of Chambord

nily was shattered. The immediate danger to the Republic was er.

But the Monarchists did not renounce their hope of restoring the narchy. The Count of Chambord might, perhaps, change his mind: not, as he had no son, the Count of Paris would succeed him after his th as the lawful claimant to the throne; and the Count of Paris, ender of the tricolor, could then be proclaimed. The Monarchists refore, planned merely to gain time. Marshal MacMahon had been osen executive, as had Thiers, for no definite term. He was to serve ring the pleasure of the Assembly itself. Believing that MacMahon uld resign as soon as the King really appeared, they voted that his m should be for seven years, expecting that a period of that length uld see a clearing up of the situation, either the change of mind or e death of the Count of Chambord. Thus was estab- ned the Septennate, or seven year term, of the President, ich still exists. The presidency was thus given a fixed m by the Monarchists, as they supposed, in their own interests. If y could not restore the monarchy in 1873 they could at least con- l the presidency for a considerable period, and thus prepare an easy nsition to the new system at the opportune moment.

Establishment of the Septennate

But France showed unmistakably that she desired the establishnt of a definitive system, that she wished to be through with these visional arrangements, which only kept party feeling feverish and ndicapped France in her foreign relations. France had as yet no nstitution, and yet this Assembly, chosen to make peace, had asserted t it was also chosen to frame a constitution, and it was by this assern that it justified its continuance in power long after ace was made. Yet month after month, and year after ar, went by and the constitution was not made, nor en seriously discussed. If the Assembly could not, or uld not, make a constitution, it should relinquish its power and let e people elect a body that would. But this it steadily refused to do.

Assembly reluctant to frame a constitution.

This inability of the Monarchists to act owing to their own internal isions was of advantage to only one party, the Republican. More more people who had hitherto been Monarchists, now finally conced that a restoration of the monarchy was impracticable, joined Republican party and thus it came about finally in 1875 that the embly decided to make the constitution. It did not, as previous

assemblies had done, draw up a single document, defining the organiza tion and narrating the rights of the citizens. It passed three separat laws which taken together were to serve as a constitution

The Constitution of 1875

By these laws a legislature was established consisting o two houses, a Senate, consisting of 300 members, at leas forty years of age and chosen for nine years, and a Chamber of Depu ties, to be elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Thes two houses meeting together as a National Assembly elect the Presiden of the Republic. There is no vice-president, no succession provided b law. In case of a vacancy in the presidency the National Assembl meets immediately, generally within forty-eight hours, and elects a nev President. The President has the right to initiate legis

The President

lation, as have the members of the two houses, the dut to promulgate all laws and to superintend their execution, the pardon ing power, the direction of the army and navy, and the appointment t all civil and military positions. He may, with the consent of the Senate dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of its legal tern and order a new election. But these powers are merely nominal, for th reason that every act of the President must be countersigned by a min ister, who thereby becomes responsible for the act, the President bein irresponsible, except in the case of high treason.

For the fundamental feature of the Third Republic, differentiatin it greatly from two preceding republics of France and from the republi of the United States, is its adoption of the parliamentary system, a worked out in England. The President's position resemble

The ministry

that of a constitutional monarch. All his acts must b countersigned by his ministers who become thereby responsible for them The ministers in turn are responsible to the chambers, particularly t the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber thus controls the executive makes and unmakes ministries as it chooses. The legislature control the executive. The legislative and executive branches are thus fused a in England, not sharply separated as in the United States. The essen tial feature therefore of this republic is that it has adopted the govern mental machinery first elaborated in a monarchy. The Constitution o 1875 was a compromise between opposing forces, neither o

France a parliamentary republic

which could win an unalloyed victory. The monarchica assembly that established the parliamentary republic i 1875 thought that it had introduced sufficient monarchical elements int

o curb the aggressiveness of democracy and to facilitate a restora- of the monarchy at some convenient season. The Senate, it thought, uld be a monarchical stronghold and the President and Senate could bably keep the Chamber of Deputies in check by their power of dis- ring it.

It was some years before the Republicans secured unmistakable control of the Republic in all its branches. In the first elections under the new constitution, which were held at the beginning of 1876, the Monarchists secured a slight majority in the Senate, the Republicans a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. It was generally supposed that the President, MacMahon, was a Monarchist in his sympathies. This was shown to be the case when MacMahon in May, 1877 dismissed the Simon ministry, which was Republican and which had the support of the Chamber, and appointed a new ministry, composed largely of Monarchists under the Duke of Broglie. Thereupon, the Sen- representing the same views, consented to the dissolution of the mber of Deputies, and new elections were ordered.

Marshal MacMahon
From a photograph.

The policy of MacMahon

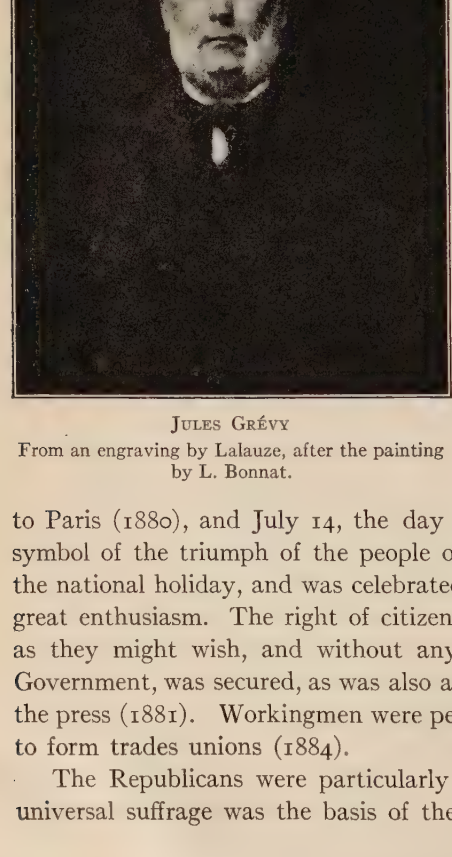
The Monarchists carried on a vigorous campaign against the Repub- ns. They were powerfully supported by the clerical party, which, r since 1871, had been extremely active. The Repub- ns resented this intrusion of the Catholic party, and r opinion of it had been vividly expressed some time re by Gambetta in the phrase — "Clericalism, that is our my," meaning that the Roman Catholic Church was the most dan- us opponent of the Republic. The struggle was embittered. The glie ministry used every effort to influence the votes against Gam- a and the Republicans. The clergy took an active part in the paign, supporting the Broglie candidates and preaching against the ublicans, conduct which in the end was to cost them dear.

The Republic and the Church

The Republicans were, however, overwhelmingly victorious. In the wing year, 1878, they also gained control of the Senate and in 1879

they brought about the resignation of MacMahon. The National Assembly immediately met and elected Jules Grévy president, a man whose devotion to Republican principles had been known to France for thirty years. For the first time since 1871 the Republicans controlled the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the Presidency. Since that time the Republic has been entirely in the hands of the Republicans.

Grévy chosen President



Jules Grévy
From an engraving by Lalauze, after the painting by L. Bonnat.

The Republicans, now completely victorious, sought by constructive legislation to consolidate the Republic. Two personalities stand out with particular prominence, Gambetta, as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Jules Ferry, as member of several ministries and as twice prime minister. The legislation enacted during this period aimed to clinch the victory over the Monarchists and Clericals by making the institutions of France thoroughly republican and secular. The seat of government was transferred from Versailles, where it had been since 1871, to Paris (1880), and July 14, the day of the storming of the Bastille, symbol of the triumph of the people over the monarchy, was declared the national holiday, and was celebrated for the first time in 1880 amid great enthusiasm. The right of citizens freely to hold public meetings as they might wish, and without any preliminary permission of the Government, was secured, as was also a practically unlimited freedom of the press (1881). Workingmen were permitted, for the first time, freely to form trades unions (1884).

The Republicans were particularly solicitous about education. As universal suffrage was the basis of the state, it was considered funda-

ntal that the voters should be intelligent. Education was regarded the strongest bulwark of the Republic. Several laws re passed, concerning all grades of education, but the st important were those concerning primary schools. law of 1881 made primary education gratuitous; one of 82 made it compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and er laws made it entirely secular. religious instruction is given in se schools. All teachers are pointed from the laity. This tem of popular education is e of the great creative achievements of the Republic, and one the most fruitful.

Creation of a national system of education

JULES FERRY.

Under the masterful influence Jules Ferry, prime minister in 81, and again from 1883 to 1885, e Republic embarked upon an gressive colonial policy. She ablished a protectorate over nis; sent expeditions to Tonkin, Madagascar; founded the nch Congo. This policy used bitter criticism from the beginning, and entailed large expenures, but Ferry, regardless of growing opposition, forced through, in the end to his own undoing. His motives throwing France into these ventures were various. One reason was nomic. France was feeling the rivalry of Germany and Italy, and ry believed that she must gain new markets as compensation for se she was gradually losing. Again, France would gain in prestige ad, and in her own feeling of contentment, if she turned her attenn to empire-building and ceased to think morbidly of her losses in German war. Her outlook would be broader. Moreover, she could afford to be passive when other nations about her were reaching out Africa and Asia. The era of imperialism had begun. France must rticipate in the movement or be left hopelessly behind in the alry of nations. Under Ferry's resolute leadership the policy of exsion was carried out, and the colonial possessions of France were

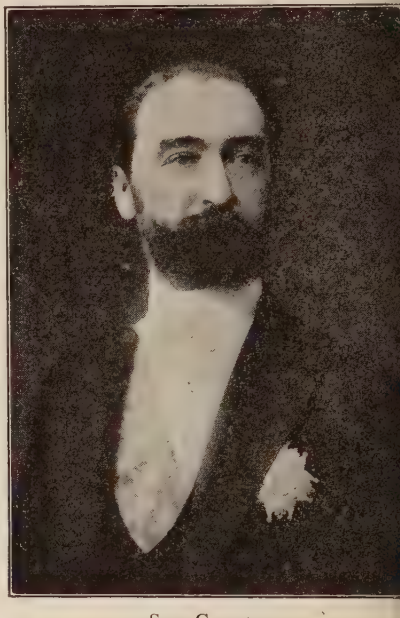
Colonial policy

greatly increased, but owing to one or two slight reverses, greatly magnified by his enemies, Ferry himself became unpopular and his notable ministry was overthrown (1885).

During the next few years the political situation was troubled and uncertain. There was no commanding personality in politics to give elevation and sweep to men's ideas. Gambetta had died in 1882 at the age of forty-four and Ferry, the empire-builder, was most unjustly the victim of unpopularity from which he never recovered. Ministries succeeded each other rapidly. Politics seemed a game of office seeking, pettily personal, not an arena in which men of large ideas could live and act. The educational and anti-clerical and colonial policies all aroused enemies. President Grévy even was forced to resign because of a scandal that did not compromise him personally but did smirch his son-in-law. Carnot, a moderate Republican, was chosen to succeed him (December 3, 1887).

Death of Gambetta

Carnot chosen president



SADI-CARNOT
From a photograph by London Stereoscopic C

This state of discontent and disillusionment created a real crisis fo the Republic, as it encouraged its enemies to renewed activity. Thes elements now found a leader or a tool in General Bou langer, a dashing figure on horseback and an attractiv speaker, who sought to use the popular discontent for hi own advancement. Made Minister of War in 1886, he showed muc activity, seeking the favor of the soldiers by improving th conditions of life in the barracks, and by advocating th reduction of the required term of service. He controlled several news papers, which began to insinuate that under his leadership France coul take her revenge upon Germany by a successful war upon that country

Discontent with the Republic

General Boulanger

posed as the rescuer of the Republic, demanding a total revision of e Constitution. His programme, as announced, was vague, but prob- y aimed at the diminution of the importance of Parliament, the nferring of great powers upon the President, and his election directly the people, which he hoped would be favorable to himself. For three ars his personality was a storm center. Discontented people of the ost varied shades flocked to his support — Monarchists, Imperialists, ricals, hoping to use him to overturn the Republic. These parties ntributed money to the support of his campaign, which was brilliantly naged with the view to focusing popular attention upon him. To ow the popular enthusiasm Boulanger now became a candidate for rliament in many districts where vacancies occurred. In five months 88) he was elected deputy six times. A seventh election in Paris elf, in January, 1889, resulted in a brilliant triumph. He was elected over 80,000 majority. Would he dare take the final step and attempt seize power, as two Bonapartes had done before him? He did not ve the requisite audacity to try. In the face of this imminent danger e Republicans ceased their dissensions and stood together. They sumed the offensive. The ministry summoned Boulanger to appear fore the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to et the charge of conspiring against the safety of the te. His boldness vanished. He fled from the country Belgium. He was condemned by the court in his ab- nce. His party fell to pieces, its leader proving so little valorous. Two ars later he committed suicide. The Republic had weathered a seri- s crisis. It came out of it stronger rather than weaker. Its opponents re discredited.

The Republic weathers the crisis

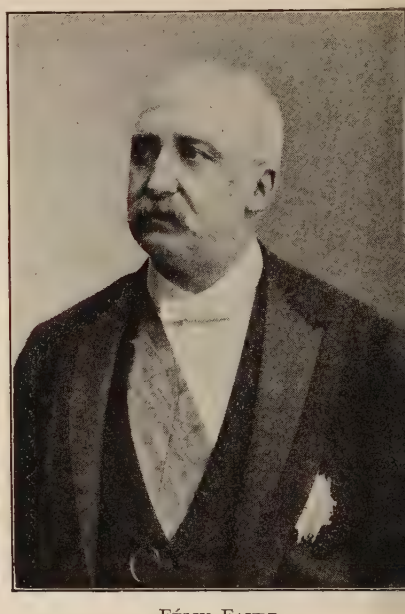
In 1891 a very important diplomatic achievement still further engthened the Republic. An alliance was made with Russia which ded the long period of isolation in which France had been de to feel her powerlessness during the twenty years ce the Franco-Prussian war. This Dual Alliance henceforth served a counterweight to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and ly, and satisfied the French people, as well as increased their sense safety and their confidence in the future.

The Dual Alliance

In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated. Casimir-Périer was sen to succeed him but resigned after six months. Félix Faure was ted in his place, who however died in office in 1899, having seen the

strengthening of the alliance with Russia and the beginning of the Dreyfus case, a scandal which eclipsed that of Boulanger and created a new

CASIMIR PERIER
From a photograph by Ogerau, Paris.



FÉLIX FAURE
From a photograph by Berthaud, Paris.

crisis for the Republic. Faure was succeeded in the presidency by Emile Loubet.

THE DREYFUS CASE

The Dreyfus case

In October, 1894, Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the army, was arrested amid circumstances of unusual secrecy, was brought before a court martial and was condemned as guilty of treason, of transmitting important documents to a foreign power, presumably Germany. The trial was secret and the condemnation rested on merely circumstantial evidence, involving the identity of handwriting, declared to be his. He was condemned to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. In January, 1895 he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the court-yard of the Military School, before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword wa

Dreyfus degraded and imprisoned

lken. Throughout this agonizing scene he was defiant, asserted his ocence, and shouted "*Vive la France!*" He was then deported to mall, barren, and unhealthy island off French Guiana, in South erica, appropriately called Devil's Island, and was there kept in soli- confinement. A life imprisonment under such conditions would bably not be long, though it would certainly be horrible.

The friends of Dreyfus protested that a monstrous wrong had been e but their protests passed unheeded. But in 1896 Colonel Picquart, d of the detective bureau of the General Staff, discovered that the riminating document was not in the handwriting of Dreyfus but certain Major Esterhazy, who was shortly shown to be one of the st abandoned characters in the army. Picquart's superior officers re not grateful for his efforts, fearing apparently that the honor of army would be smirched if the verdict of the court-martial was wn to be wrong. They therefore removed him from his position d appointed Colonel Henry in his place.

In January, 1898 Emile Zola, the well-known novelist, published a er of great boldness and brilliancy, in which he made most scathing rges against the judges of the court-martial, not only injustice but for dishonesty. Many men of reputation iterature and scholarship joined in the discussion, on the e of Dreyfus. Zola hoped to force a reopening of the ole question. Instead he was himself condemned by a court to im- sonment and fine. Shortly Henry committed suicide, having been rged with forging one of the important documents in the case. His ide was considered a confession of guilt. So greatly disturbed were people by these scandalous events that public opinion forced the pening of the whole case. Dreyfus, prematurely old as a result of rful physical and mental suffering, was brought from Devil's Island d given a new trial before a court-martial at Rennes in August, 1899.

Zola attemps to reopen the case

This new trial was conducted in the midst of the most excited state the public mind in France, and of intense interest abroad. Party sions were inflamed as they had not been in France e the Commune. The supporters of Dreyfus were nounced frantically as slanderers of the honor of the army, the very wark of the safety of the country, as traitors to France.

Second trial of Dreyfus

At the Rennes tribunal, Dreyfus encountered the violent hostility the high army officers, who had been his accusers five years before.

These men were desperately resolved that he should again be found guilty. The trial was of an extraordinary character. It was the evident purpose of the judges not to allow the matter to be thoroughly probed. Testimony, which in England or America would have been considered absolutely vital, was barred out. The universal opinion outside France was, as was stated in the London *Times*, "that the whole case against Captain Dreyfus, as set forth by the heads of the French army, in plain combination against him, was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions, and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown."

Nevertheless, the court, by a vote of five to two, declared him guilty, "with extenuating circumstances," an amazing verdict. It is not generally held that treason to one's country can plead extenuating circumstances. The court condemned him to ten years' imprisonment, from which the years spent at Devil's Island might be deducted. Thus the "honor" of the army had been maintained.

Dreyfus again declared guilty

President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released, broken in health. This solution was satisfactory to neither side. The anti-Dreyfusites vented their rage on Loubet. On the other hand, Dreyfus demanded exoneration, a recognition of his innocence, not pardon.

Dreyfus pardoned

Emile Loubet

But the Government was resolved that this discussion, which had so frightfully torn French society, should cease. Against the opposition of the Dreyfusites, it passed, in 1900, an amnesty for all those implicated in the notorious case, which meant that no legal actions could be brought against any of the participants or

ner side. The friends of Dreyfus, Zola, and Picquart protested vigrously against the erection of a barrier against their vindication. The , nevertheless, passed.

Six years later, however, the Dreyfus party attained its vindication. e revision of the whole case was submitted to the Court of Cassation. July 12, 1906, that body quashed the verdict of the nnes court-martial. It declared that the charges which l been brought against Dreyfus had no foundation, and that the nnes court-martial had been guilty of gross injustice in refusing to r testimony that would have established the innocence of the accused. e case was not to be submitted to another military tribunal but was ed.

Dreyfus vindicated

The Government now restored Captain Dreyfus to his rank in the ny, or rather, gave him the rank of major, allowing him to count to t end the whole time in which he had been unjustly deprived of his nding. On July 21, 1906, he was invested with a decoration of the gion of Honor in the very courtyard of the Military School where, eleven years before, he had been so dramatically degraded. Colonel Picquart was promoted brigadier-general, and shortly became Minister of War. Zola had died in 1903, but in 1908 his body was transferred to the Pantheon, as symbolizing a kind of civic canonization. Thus ended the "Affair."

ALFRED DREYFUS

The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woe- distorted and obscured. Those who hated the Jews used it to in- people against that race, as Dreyfus was a Jew. The Clericals ed them. Monarchists seized the occasion to declare that the Re-

Significance of the case

public was an egregious failure, breeding treason, and ought to b abolished. On the other hand there rallied to the defense of Dreyfu those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred c a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military shoul be subordinate to the civil authority and should not regard itself a above the law as these army officers were doing, those who believe that the whole episode was merely a hidden and dangerous attack upo the Republic, and all who believed that the clergy should keep out c politics.

The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politic was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common pr gramme, to make them resolve to reduce the political importanc of the army and of the Church. The former was easily done, by r movals of Monarchist officers. The attempt to solve th latter much more subtle and elusive problem led to th next great struggle in the recent history of Franc the struggle with the Church.

Formation of a strong republican coalition

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

This new controversy assumed prominence under the premiersh of Waldeck-Rousseau, a leader of the Parisian bar, a former follower Gambetta. In October, 1900, he made a speech at Toulou which resounded throughout France. The real peril co fronting the country, he said, arose from the growing pow of religious orders — orders of monks and nuns — and from the cha acter of the teaching given by them in the religious schoo they were conducting. He pointed out that here was power within the State which was a rival of the State ar fundamentally hostile to the State. These orders, moreover, althoug not authorized under the laws of France, were growing rapidly in weal and numbers. Between 1877 and 1900 the number of nuns had increase from 14,000 to 75,000, in orders not authorized. The monks number about 190,000. The property of these orders, held in mortmain, es mated at about 50,000,000 francs in the middle of the century, had ris to 700,000,000 in 1880, and was more than a billion francs in 190 Here was a vast amount of wealth, withdrawn from ordinary process of business, an economic danger of the first importance. But the mo serious feature was the activity of these orders in teaching and preachin

Question of Church and State

Growth of religious orders

hat teaching was declared to be hostile to the Republic and to the ciples of liberty and equality on which the Republicans of France e insisted ever since the French Revolution. In other words these rch schools were doing their best to make their pupils hostile to Republic and to republican ideals. There was a danger to the e which Parliament must face. To preserve the Republic, defensive sures must be taken. Holding this opinion, the Waldeck-Rousseau istry secured the passage, July 1, 1901, of the Law of ociations, which provided, among other things, that no gious orders should exist in France without definite authorization in n case from Parliament. It was the belief of the authors of this bill the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of the Republic, that as using its every agency against the Republic, that it had latterly orted the anti-Dreyfus party in its attempt to discredit the institu-s of France, as it had done formerly under MacMahon. Gambetta . at that time, declared that *the* enemy was the clerical party. ericalism," said Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau in 1902, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every gue from which Republican France has suffered during the last ty-five years."

The Law of Associations

Animated with this feeling, Combes enforced the Associations Law rigor in 1902 and 1903. Many orders refused to ask for authorization n Parliament; many which asked were refused. Tens of thousands nonks and nuns were forced to leave their institutions, which were ed. By a law of 1904 it was provided that all teaching by religious rs, even by those authorized, should cease within ten s. The State was to have a monopoly of the education ne young, in the interest of the ideals of liberalism it esented. Combes, upon whom fell the execution of this suppressed about five hundred teaching, preaching, commercial orders. This policy was vehemently denounced by olics as persecution, as an infringement upon liberty, the liberty ach, the liberty of parents to have their children educated in de-inational schools if they preferred.

Religious orders forbidden to engage in teaching

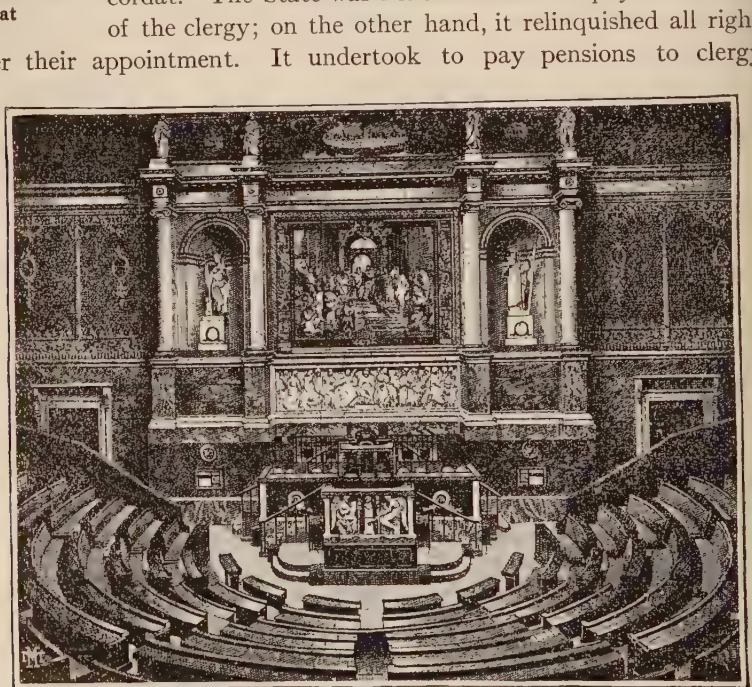
This, as events were to prove, was only preliminary to a far greater ous struggle which ended in the complete separation of Church State.

The relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the State down to

1905 were determined by the Concordat, concluded between Napoleon I and Pius VII in 1801 and promulgated in the following year. The system then established remained undisturbed throughout the nineteenth century, under the various régimes, but after the advent of the Third Republic there was ceaseless and increasing friction between the Church and the State. The opposition of the Republicans was augmented by the activity of the clergy in the Dreyfus affair. Consequently a law was finally passed, December 9, 1905, which abrogated the Concordat. The State was henceforth not to pay the salaries of the clergy; on the other hand, it relinquished all rights over their appointment. It undertook to pay pensions to clergy-

The Concordat of 1802

The abrogation of the Concordat



Interior of the Chamber of Deputies

men who had served many years, and were already well advanced in age; also to pay certain amounts to those who had been in the priesthood for a few years only. In regard to the property which since 1789 had been declared to be owned by the nation, the cathedrals, churches, chapels, it was provided that the

Associations of Worship

uld still be at the free disposal of the Roman Catholic Church but t they should be held and managed by so-called "Associations of rship," which were to vary in size according to the population of community.

This law was condemned unreservedly by the Pope, Pius X, who ared that the fundamental principle of separation of Church and te is "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error," who denounced the Associations of Worship as giving administrative control, not "to the divinely instituted hierarchy, to an association of laymen." The Pope's decision was final and clusive for all Catholics as it was based on fundamentals and flatly cted the law of 1905.

Opposition of Pius X

Parliament therefore passed a new law, early in 1907, supplementary he law of 1905. By it most of the privileges guaranteed the Roman holic Church by the law of 1905 were abrogated. The cal point in the new law was the method of keeping churches open for religious exercises and so avoiding all the appear- e of persecution and all the scandal and uproar that would certainly lt if the churches of France were closed. It was provided that r use should be gratuitous and should be regulated by contracts be- en the priests and the prefects or mayors. These contracts would guard the civil ownership of the buildings, but worship would go m them as before. This system is at present in force.

Law of January 2, 1907

The result of this series of events and measures is that Church and e are now definitely separated. The people have apparently ap- ed in recent elections the policy followed by their ernment. Bishops and priests no longer receive sal- s from the State. On the other hand they have liberties h they did not enjoy under the Concordat, such as rights of assem- and freedom from government participation in appointments. The nful must henceforth support their priests and bear the expenses of Church by private contributions. The church buildings, however, been left to their use by the irrational but practical device just ribed.

Separation of Church and State

CQUISITION OF COLONIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

rance, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had possessed xtensive colonial empire. This she had lost to England as a result

of the wars of the reign of Louis XV, the Revolution, and the Napoleonic period, and in 1815 her possessions had shrunk to a few small points, Guadaloupe and Martinique in the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, five towns on the coasts of India, of which Pondicherry was the best known, Bourbon, now called Réunion, an island in the Indian Ocean, Guiana in South America, which had few inhabitants, and Senegal in Africa. These were simply melancholy souvenirs of her once proud past, rags and tatters of a once imposing empire.

The French colonial empire

In the nineteenth century she was destined to begin again, and to create an empire of vast geographical extent, only second in importance to that of Great Britain, though vastly inferior to that. The interest in conquests revived but slowly after 1815. France had conquered so much in Europe from 1792 to 1812 only to lose it as she had lost her colonies that conquest in any form seemed but a futile and costly display of misdirected enterprise. Nevertheless, in time the process began anew, and each of the various régimes which have succeeded one another since 1815 has contributed to the building of the new empire.

The beginning was made in Algeria, on the northern coast of Africa directly opposite France, and reached now in less than twenty-four hours from Marseilles. Down to the opening of the nineteenth century Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, nominally parts of the Turkish Empire, were in reality independent and constituted the Barbary States, whose main business was piracy. But Europe was no longer disposed to see her wealth seized and her citizens enslaved until she paid their ransom. In 1816 an English fleet bombarded Algiers, released no less than 3,000 Christian captives, and destroyed piracy.

Algeria

The French conquest of Algeria grew out of a gross insult administered by the Dey to a French consul in 1830. France replied by sending a fleet to seize the capital, Algiers. She did not at that time intend the conquest of the whole country, but merely the punishment of an insolent Dey, but attacks being made upon her from time to time which she felt she must crush, she was led on, step by step, until she had everywhere established her power. All through the reign of Louis Philippe this process was going on. Its chief feature was an intermittent struggle of fourteen years with a native leader, Abd-el-Kader who proclaimed and fought a Holy War against the intruder. In the

l (1847) he was forced to surrender, and France had secured an portant territory.

Under Napoleon III, the beginning of conquest in another part of rica was made. France had possessed, since the time of Louis XIII l Richelieu, one or two miserable ports on the western st, St. Louis the most important. Under Napoleon III, annexation of the Senegal valley was largely carried ough by the efforts of the governor, Faidherbe, who later distin-shed himself in the Franco-German war. Under Napoleon III also, eginning was made in another part of the world, in Asia. The perse-ion of Christian natives, and the murder of certain French mission-es gave Napoleon the pretext to attack the king of Annam, whose gdom was in the peninsula that juts out from southeastern Asia. er eight years of intermittent fighting France acquired m the king the whole of Cochin-China (1858–67), and o established a protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia, directly th.

Other African conquests

Cochin-China

Thus, by 1870, France had staked out an empire of about 700,000 are kilometers, containing a population of about six million.

Under the present Republic the work of expansion and consolidation been carried much further than under all of the pre-ing régimes. There have been extensive annexations in thern Africa, western Africa, the Indian Ocean, and in o-China.

Expansion under the Third Republic

In northern Africa, Tunis has passed under the control of France. is was one of the Barbary States, and was nominally a part of the rkish Empire, with a Bey as sovereign. After establishing herself Algeria, France desired to extend her influence eastward, over this ghboring state. But Italy, now united, began about 1870 to enter-n a similar ambition. France, therefore, under the ministry of Jules ry, an ardent believer in colonial expansion, sent troops into Tunis 1881, which forced the Bey to accept a French protectorate over his te. The French have not annexed Tunis formally, but they control bsolutely through a Resident at the court of the Bey, whose advice latter is practically obliged to follow.

In western Africa, France has made extensive annexations in the egal, Guinea, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, and the region of the ger, and north of the Congo. By occupying the oases in the Sahara

she has established her claims to that vast but hitherto unproductive area. This process has covered many years of the present Republic. The result is the existence of French authority over most of northwest Africa, from Algeria on the Mediterranean, to the Congo river. This region south of Algeria is called the French Soudan, and comprises an area seven or eight times as large as France, with a population of some fourteen millions, mainly blacks. There is some discussion of a Trans-Saharan railroad to bind these African possessions more closely together.

Western Africa

In Asia, the Republic has imposed her protectorate over the Kingdom of Annam (1883) and has annexed Tonkin, taken from China after considerable fighting (1885). In the Indian Ocean, she has conquered Madagascar, an island larger than France herself, with a population of two and a half million. A protectorate was imposed upon that country in 1895, after ten years of disturbance, but after quelling a rebellion that broke out the following year, the protectorate was abolished, and the island was made a French colony.

Madagascar

Thus at the opening of the twentieth century, the colonial empire of France is eleven times larger than France itself, has an area of six million square kilometers, a population of about fifty millions, and a rapidly growing commerce. Most of this empire is located in the tropics and is ill-adapted to the settlement of Europeans. Algeria and Tunis, however, offer conditions favorable for such settlements. They constitute the most valuable French possessions. Algeria is not considered a colony but an integral part of France. It is divided into three departments, each one of which sends one senator and two deputies to the chambers of the French Parliament.

On March 30, 1912, France established a protectorate over Morocco. For several years the status of that country had been one of the contentious problems of international politics. France had desired to gain control of it in order to round out her empire in northwestern Africa. In 1904 she had made an agreement with England whereby a far-reaching diplomatic revolution in Europe was inaugurated. This was largely the work of Théophile Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs for seven years, from 1898 to 1905, one of the ablest statesmen the Third Republic has produced. Delcassé believed that France would be able to follow a more independent and self-respecting

Morocco

ign policy, one freer from German domination and intimidation, er relations with Italy and England, severely strained for many rs, largely owing to colonial rivalries and jealousies, could be made lial and friendly. This he was able to accomplish by arranging a treaty of commerce favorable to Italy and by promising Italy a free hand in Tripoli and receiving from her the assurance that she would do nothing to hamper French policy in Morocco, a country of special significance to France because of her possession of Algeria.

THÉOPHILE DELCASSÉ

More important was the reconciliation with England. The relations of these two neighbors had long been difficult and, at times, full of danger. Indeed, in 1898 they had stood upon the very brink of war when a French expedition under Marchand had crossed Africa and had seized Fashoda on the Upper Nile in the sphere of influence which Great Britain considered emphatically hers. The Fashoda incident ed in the withdrawal of the French before the resolute attitude of gland. The lesson of this incident was not lost upon either power, six years later, on April 8, 1904, they signed an agreement which only removed the sources of friction between them once for all, but ch established what came to be known as the Entente diale, destined to great significance in the future. By agreement France recognized England's special interests in Egypt abandoned her long-standing demand that England should set a for the cessation of her "occupation" of that country. On the r hand, England recognized the special interests of France in Morocco promised not to impede their development.

The Entente Cordiale

One power emphatically objected to this determination of the fate an independent country by these two powers alone. Germany

challenged this agreement and asserted that she must herself be consulted in such matters; that her rivals had no right by themselves to preëmpt those regions of the world which might still be considered fields for European colonization or control. German interests must be considered quite as much as French or English.

Germany's peremptory attitude precipitated an international crisis and led to the international Conference of Algeciras in 1906 which was, however, on the whole a victory for France, acknowledging the primacy of her interests in Morocco. As France proceeded to strengthen her position there in the succeeding years, Germany issued another challenge in 1911, by sending a gunboat to Agadir, thus creating another crisis, which for a time threatened a European war. In the end, however, Germany recognized the position of France, but only after the latter had ceded to her extensive territories in Kamerun and the French Congo. For several years therefore Morocco was a danger spot in international politics, exerting a disturbing influence upon the relations of European powers to each other, particularly those of France and Germany. Finally, however, the independence of Morocco disappeared and the country was practically incorporated in the colonial empire of France.

Conference of Algeciras, 1906

Germany receives a part of the French Congo

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY SINCE 1870

The Kingdom of Italy, as we have seen, was established in 1859 and 60. Venetia was acquired in 1866, and Rome in 1870. In these cases, in the preceding, the people were allowed to express their shes by a vote, which, in both instances, was practically animous in favor of the annexation.

The Kingdom of Italy

The Constitution of the new kingdom was the old Constitution of edmont, slightly altered. It provided for a parliament of two chamrs, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The full parmentary system was introduced, ministers representing e will of the Lower Chamber. The first capital was Turin, then Florce in 1865, and finally Rome since 1871.

The Constitution

The most perplexing question confronting the new kingdom conrned its relations to the Papacy. The Italian Kingdom had seized, by olence, the city of Rome, over which the Popes had ruled uncontested right for a thousand years. Rome had this eculiarity over all other cities, that it was the capital of atholics the world over. Any attempt to expel the Pope from the city to subject him to the House of Savoy would everywhere arouse the ithful, already clamorous, and might cause an intervention in behalf the restoration of the temporal power. There were henceforth to be o sovereigns, one temporal, one spiritual, within the same city. The tuation was absolutely unique and extremely delicate. It was consided necessary to determine their relations before the government was ansferred to Rome. It was impossible to reach any agreement with e Pope as he refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, but spoke Victor Emmanuel simply as the King of Sardinia, and would make concessions in regard to his own rights in Rome. Parment, therefore, assumed to settle the matter alone and ssed May 13, 1871, the Law of Papal Guarantees, a markable act defining the relations of Church and State in Italy.

The question of the Papacy

The Law of Papal Guarantees

The object of this law was to carry out Cavour's principle of a "fre Church in a free State," to reassure Catholics that the new kingdom ha no intention of controlling in any way the spiritual activities of th Pope, though taking from him his temporal powers. Any attacks upo him are, by this law, to be punished exactly as are similar attacks upo the King. He has his own diplomatic corps, and receives diplomati representatives from other countries. Certain places are set apart a

The Curia Romana

entirely under his sovereignty: the Vatican, the Laterar Castel Gandolfo, and their gardens. Here no Italian off cial may enter, in his official capacity, for Italian law and administra tion stop outside these limits. In return for the income lost with th temporal power, the Pope is granted 3,225,000 francs a year by the Ita ian Kingdom. This law has been faithfully observed by the Italia government but it has never been accepted by the Pope nor has th Kingdom of Italy been recognized by him. He considers himself th

The "prisoner of the Vatican"

"prisoner of the Vatican," and since 1870 has not left to go into the streets of Rome, as he would thereby t tacitly recognizing the existence of another ruler there, th "usurper."

Another difficult problem for the Kingdom was its financial statu The debts of the different states were assumed by it and were larg

Financial difficulties

The nation was also obliged to make large expenditures o the army and the navy, on fortifications, and on publ works, particularly on the building of railways, which were essential t the economic prosperity of the country as well as conducive to th strengthening of the sense of common nationality. There were, for sev eral years, large annual deficits, necessitating new loans, which, course, augmented the public debt. Heroically did successive ministe seek to make both ends meet, not shrinking from new and unpopula taxes, or from the seizure and sale of monastic lands. Success wa finally achieved, and in 1879 the receipts exceeded the expenditures.

In 1878 Victor Emmanuel II died and was buried in the Pantheo one of the few ancient buildings of Rome. Over his tomb is the inscri

Death of Victor Emmanuel II

tion, "To the Father of his Country." He was succeede by his son Humbert I, then thirty-four years of age. month later Pius IX died, and was succeeded by Leo XII at the time of his election sixty-eight years of age. But nothing wa changed by this change of personalities. Each maintained the syste

his predecessor. Leo XIII, Pope from 1878 to 1903, following the cedent set by Pius IX, never recognized the Kingdom of Italy, nor he ever leave the Vatican. He, too, considered himself a prisoner the "robber king."

Another urgent problem confronting the new kingdom was that of education of its citizens. This was most imperative if the masses the people were to be fitted for the freer and more re- nsible life opened by the political revolution. The ceding governments had grossly neglected this duty. In 1 over seventy-five per cent of the population of the kingdom were erate. In Naples and Sicily, the most backward in development of the sections of Italy, the number of illiterates exceeded ninety per t of the population; and in Piedmont and Lombardy, the most ad- nced sections, one-third of the men and more than half of the women ld neither read nor write. In 1877 a compulsory education law was lly passed but it has not, owing to the expense, been practically orced. Though Italy has done much during the last thirty years, ch remains to be done. Illiteracy, though diminishing, is still widely valent. Recent statistics show that forty per cent of the recruits the army are illiterate.

The educational problem

In 1882 the suffrage was greatly extended. Hitherto limited to those o were twenty-five years of age or over and paid about eight dollars ear in direct taxes, it was now thrown open to all over nty-one years of age and the tax qualification was re- ed by half; also all men of twenty-one who had had primary education were given the vote. The result was that the nber of voters was tripled at once, rising from about 600,000 to more n 2,000,000.

Extension of the suffrage

In 1912 Italy took a long step toward democracy by making the rage almost universal for men, only denying the franchise to those nger than thirty who have neither performed their tary service nor learned to read and write. Thus all over twenty-one, even if illiterate, have the vote if have served in the army. The number of voters was thus in- sed from somewhat over three million to more than eight and a half lion.

Further extension of the suffrage

In foreign affairs Italy made an important decision which has in- nced her course ever since. In 1882 she entered into alliance with

Germany, and with Austria, her former enemy and in many respects stil

The Triple Alliance

her rival. This made the famous Triple Alliance which has dominated Europe most of the time since it was cre ated. The reasons why Italy entered this combination, highly unnat ural for her, considering her ancient hatred of Austria, were various pique at France, for the seizure of Tunis, which Italy herself coveted dread of French intervention in behalf of the Pope, and a desire t appear as one of the great powers of Europe. The result was that sh was forced to spend larger sums upon her army, remodeled alon Prussian lines, and her navy, thus disturbing her finances once more.

Italy now embarked upon another expensive and hazardous enter prise, the acquisition of colonies, influenced in this direction by th prevalent fashion, and by a desire to rank among the world powers Shut out of Tunis, her natural field, by France, she, in 1885, seized posi tions on the Red Sea, particularly the port of Massawa. Two year later she consequently found herself at war with Abyssinia

Francesco Crispi

The minister who had inaugurated this movement, Depre tis, died in 1887. He was succeeded by Crispi, who threw himself heartil into the colonial scheme, extended the claims of Italy in East Africa and tried to play off one native leader against another. To the ne colony he gave the name of Eritrea. At the same time an Italian pro tectorate was established over a region in eastern Africa called Somal land. But all this involved long and expensive campaigns against th natives. Italy was trying to play the rôle of a grea power when her resources did not warrant it. The conse quence of this aggressive and ambitious military, naval, an colonial policy was the creation anew of a deficit in th state's finances which increased alarmingly. The deficits of four yea amounted to the enormous sum of over seventy-five million dollars, whic occasioned heavy new taxes and widespread discontent which was pu down ruthlessly by despotic methods. This policy of aggrandizemer led to a war with Abyssinia and to a disaster in 1896 in the battle Adowa, so crushing as to end the political life of Crispi and to for Italy into more moderate courses. Popular discontent continued. I cause was the wretchedness of the people, which in turn was large occasioned by the heavy taxation resulting from these unwise attemp to play an international rôle hopelessly out of proportion to the cou try's resources. In the south and center the movement took the for

Ambitious military and colonial policy

"bread riots," but in the north it was distinctly revolutionary. own with the dynasty," was a cry heard there. All these move- nts were suppressed by the Government, but only after much blood- d. They indicated widespread distress and dissatisfaction with sting conditions.

In July, 1900, King Humbert was assassinated by an Italian an- nist who went to Italy for that purpose from Paterson, w Jersey. Humbert was succeeded by his son Victor manuel III, then in his thirty-first year.

Assassination of Humbert I

The new King had been carefully educated and soon showed that was a man of intelligence, of energy, and of firmness of will. He n the favor of his subjects by the simplicity of his mode life, by his evident sense of duty, and by his sincere erest in the welfare of the people, shown in many spontaneous and onventional ways. He became forthwith a more decisive factor in government than his father had been. He was a democratic mon- n, indifferent to display, laborious, vigorous. The opening decade of twentieth century was characterized by a new spirit which, in a r, reflected the buoyancy, and hopefulness, and courage of the young g. But the causes for the new optimism were deeper than the mere nge of rulers and lay in the growing prosperity of the nation, a pros- ty which, despite appearances, had been for some years preparing which was now witnessed on all sides. The worst was evidently r.

Victor Emmanuel III

Italy is becoming an industrial nation. Silk and cotton and chemical iron manufactures have advanced rapidly in recent years. The chant marine has greatly increased. This transformation into a t industrial state is not only possible but is necessary, ng to her rapidly increasing population, which has wn, since 1870, from about 25,000,000 to nearly 35,- 000. The birth rate is higher than that of any other country of ope. But during the same period the emigration from Italy has n large and has steadily increased. Official statistics show that, ween 1876 and 1905, over eight million persons emigrated, of whom four million went to various South American countries, especially entina, and to the United States. Perhaps half of the total number e returned to their native land, for much of the emigration is of a porary character. Emigration has increased greatly under the pres-

Increase of the population

ent reign, while the economic conditions of the country have begun t show improvement. This is explained by the fact that the industria revival described above has not yet affected southern Italy and Sicily whence the large proportion of the emigrants come. From those part which have experienced that revival the emigration is not large. Onl by an extensive growth of industries can this emigration be stopped o at least rendered normal. Italy finds herself in the positio in which Germany was for many years, losing hundreds o thousands of her citizens each year. With the expansion of Germa industries the outgoing stream grew less until, in 1908, it practicall ceased, owing to the fact that her mines and factories had so far devel oped as to give employment to all.

Problem of emigration

This increasing population and this constant loss by emigratio have served in recent years to concentrate Italian thought more an more upon the necessity of new and more advantageous colonies, tha her surplus population may not be drained away to other countries. Th desire for expansion has increased and with it the determination to us whatever opportunities are offered by the politics of Europe for tha purpose. The result was the acquisition in 1912 the extensive territory of Tripoli and of a dozen Ægea islands, spoils of a war with Turkey which will be mo fully treated later. With this desire for expansion ha also gone a tendency to scrutinize more carefully th nature of her relations with her allies, Germany and Austria. Th advantages of the Triple Alliance became, in the minds of many, mo and more doubtful. One obvious and positive disadvantage in an all ance with Austria was the necessary abandonment of a policy of annex tion of those territories north and northeast of Italy which are inhabite by Italians but which were not included within the boundaries of th kingdom at the time of its creation. These are the so-called Trentin the region around the town of Trent; Trieste, and Istri These territories are subject to Austria and as long Italy was allied with Austria she was kept from any attempt to ga this *Italia irredenta* or Unredeemed Italy, and thus so round out h boundaries as to include within them people who are Italian in rac in language, and, probably, in sympathy.

Italy acquires Tripoli and twelve Ægean islands

Unredeemed Italy

On May 4, 1915, Italy denounced her treaty of alliance with Austr The famous Triple Alliance which had been the dominant factor

opean diplomacy since 1882 thus came to an end. On May 23, v declared war against Austria-Hungary and entered the European flict on the side of the Entente Allies in the hope of realizing "national aspirations."

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CHAPTER XXIV

AUSTRIA–HUNGARY SINCE 1848

AUSTRIA TO THE COMPROMISE OF 1867

Austria, perilously near dissolution in 1848, torn by revolutions i Bohemia, Hungary, the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, with her influenc in Germany temporarily paralyzed, had emerged trium phant from the storm and by 1850 was in a position to im pose her will once more upon her motley group of state She learned no lesson from the fearful crisis through whic she had passed but at once entered upon a course of reaction of the ol familiar kind. Absolutism was everywhere restored. Italy was rule with an iron hand, Prussia was humiliated in a most emphatic manne Hungary felt the full weight of Austrian displeasure. Hungary, indee was considered to have forfeited by her rebellion the old historic righ she had possessed for centuries. Her Diet was abolished, the kingdo was cut up into five sections, and each was ruled largely by German Indeed the policy was to crush out all traces of separate nationalit Francis Joseph, however, found it in the end impossible to break t spirit of the Magyars, who bent beneath the autocrat but did not aba their claims.

Austrian oppression of her subjects after 1849

For ten years this arbitrary and despotic system continued. Th came the disaster in Italy in 1859, the defeats of Magenta and Solferi and the loss of Lombardy. One reason for the defeat w the attitude of the Hungarians, many of whom joined t Italian armies against Austria. Moreover, it seemed as rebellion might break out at any moment in Hungary itself.

Failure of the war in Italy in 1859

This time the Austrian government profited by experience. order to gain the support of his various peoples Fran Joseph resolved to break with the previous policy of reign, to sweep away abuses, redress grievances, and int duce liberal reforms. But the problem was exceedin complicated, and was only slowly worked out after several experime

Francis Joseph reverses his policy

been tried which had resulted in failure. The chief difficulty lay in adjustment of the claims of the different races over which he ruled. In 1861 the Emperor decided that there should be a Parliament for whole Empire, divided into two chambers, meeting annually. The members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen by the local diets, on a basis of population. The local legislatures were to continue for local affairs, but with reduced powers. By this constitution, granted by the Emperor, Austria became a constitutional monarchy. Absolutism as a form of government was abandoned.

Austria becomes a constitutional state

FRANCIS DEÁK.

But this constitution was a failure, and chiefly because of the attitude of the Hungarians. To the first Parliament Hungary declined to send representatives, an attitude she maintained steadily several years until a new arrangement was made satisfactory to her. did she refuse to recognize a constitution that represented a great nce in liberalism over anything the Empire had known before? did she refuse to send representatives to a Parliament in which she d have weight in proportion to the number of her inhabitants? did she steadily refuse to accept an arrangement that seemed both al and fair?

Hungary refuses to coöperate

t must be constantly remembered that Hungary consists of several , and that of these races the Magyars have always been the domi- one, though in a numerical minority. This dominant race was ed into two parties, one of irreconcilables, men who bitterly hated ria, who would listen to no compromise with her, whose ideal was ute independence. These men, however, were not now in control. were discredited by the failures of 1849. The leaders of Hungary now the moderate liberals, at whose head stood Francis Deák,

the wisest and most influential Hungarian statesman of the nineteenth century. These men were willing to compromise with Austria on the question of giving the requisite strength to the government of the whole Empire to enable it to play its rôle as a great European power, but they were absolutely firm in their opposition to the constitution just granted by Francis Joseph, and immovable in their determination to secure the legal rights of Hungary. Their reasons for opposing the new constitution, which promised so vast an improvement upon the old unprogressive absolutism that had reigned for centuries, for thwarting the Emperor, who was frankly disposed to enter the path of liberalism, are most important.

Reasons for her refusal

They asserted that Hungary had always been a separate nation united with Austria simply in the person of the monarch, who was king in Hungary as he was emperor in his own hereditary states; that he was king in Hungary only after he had taken an oath to support the fundamental laws of Hungary, and had been crowned in Hungary with the iron crown of St. Stephen; that these fundamental laws and institutions were centuries old; that they were still the law of the land; that the new constitution was one "granted" by Francis Joseph, and, if granted, might be withdrawn; that, whatever its abstract merits were, it was unacceptable by reason of its origin; that, moreover, its effect was to make Hungary a mere province of Austria; that what was wanted was not constitution, but *the* constitution of Hungary, which had since 1848, been illegally suspended. Francis Joseph must formally recognize the historic rights of Hungary. After that the Hungarians were willing to consider means of giving him powers sufficient to enable him to play the rôle of a great monarch in European affairs. But first and foremost Hungary was determined to preserve her historic personality and not to fuse herself at all with the other peoples subject to the House of Hapsburg who were in her opinion merely "foreigners."

The Hungarians assert their "historic rights"

Hungary demands the restoration of her constitution

The Hungarians had their way. The new experiment of a single imperial Parliament finally broke down beneath the impact of the persistent refusal to accept it. For four years, from 1861 to 1865, there was a deadlock, neither side yielding. Then came the Austrian defeats of 1866, Austria's expulsion from Germany and from Italy. It was necessary for the monarchy to

A deadlock

use its strength at home, now that its influence was so reduced where.

Accordingly there was concluded in 1867 between Austria and Hun- a Compromise, or Ausgleich, as the Germans call it, which is the s of the Empire to-day. This created a curious kind tate, defying classification, and absolutely unique. The pire was henceforth to be called Austria-Hungary, and to be a dual monarchy. Austria-Hungary consists of two distinct, pendent states, which stand in law upon a plane of plete equality. Each has its own capital, the one nna, the other Budapest. Both have the same ruler, who in Austria s the title of Emperor, in Hungary that of King. Each has its own iament, its own ministry, its own administration. Each governs itself l internal affairs absolutely without interference from the other.

The Compromise of 1867

The Dual Monarchy

But the two are united not simply in the person of the monarch. y are united for certain affairs regarded as common to both. There joint ministry composed of three departments: Foreign irs, War, and Finance. Each state has its own Parlia- t, but there is no Parliament in common. In order then to have a that shall supervise the work of the three joint ministries there established the system of "delegations." Each Parliament chooses legation of sixty of its members. These delegations meet alternately ienna and Budapest. They are really committees of the two Par- ents. They sit and debate separately, each using its own language, they communicate with each other in writing. If after three com- ications no decision has been reached a joint session is held in which question is settled without debate by a mere majority vote.

The Delegations

Other affairs, which in most countries are considered common to arts, such as tariff and currency systems, do not fall within the petence of the joint ministry or the delegations. They are to be ated by agreements concluded between the two Parliaments for ls of ten years, exactly as between any two independent states, kward arrangement creating an intense strain every decade, for curing of these agreements is most difficult.

ach state has its own constitution, each has its own Parliament, sting of two chambers. In neither was there in 1867 universal ge. A demand for this has been repeatedly made in both countries results that will appear later.

Neither of the two states had a homogeneous population. In eac there was a dominant race, the Germans in Austria, the Magyars i Hungary. The Compromise of 1867 was satisfactory t these alone. In each country there were subordinate an rival races, jealous of the supremacy of these two, anxiou for recognition and for power, and rendered more insistent by the sigh of the remarkable success of the Magyars in asserting their individuality In Hungary there were Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania; in Austri there were seventeen provinces, each with its own Diet, representin almost always a variety of races. Some of these, notably Bohemia, ha in former centuries had a separate statehood, which they wished to r cover; others were gaining an increasing self-consciousness, and desire a future controlled by themselves and in their own interests.

The dominant races

The struggles of these races were destined to form the most in portant feature of Austrian history during the next fifty years. should be noted that the principle of nationality, so effe tive in bringing about the unification of Italy and Ge many, has tended in Austria in precisely the opposi direction, the splitting up of a single state into man Dualism was established in 1867, but these subordina races refuse to acquiesce in that as a final form, as dualism favors on two races, the Germans and the Magyars. They wish to change t dual into a federal state, which shall give free play to the several natio alities. The fundamental struggle all these years has been betwe these these two principles — dualism and federalism. These racial a nationalistic struggles have been most confusing. In the interest clearness, only a few of the more important can be treated here.

Divisive effect of the principle of nationality in Austria-Hungary

The Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, having h different histories since 1867, may best be treated separately.

THE EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA SINCE 1867

No sooner had Austria made the Compromise with Hungary th she was confronted with the demand that she proceed further in t path thus entered upon. Various nationalities, or wou be nationalities, demanded that they should now rece as liberal treatment as Hungary had received in the Compromise 1867. The leaders in this movement were the Czechs of Bohemia, w in 1868, definitely stated their position, which was precisely that

Austria since 1867

Hungarians before 1867. They claimed that Bohemia was an hisc and independent nation, united with the other states er the House of Hapsburg only in the person of the narch. They demanded that the kingdom of Bohemia should be ored, that Francis Joseph should be crowned in Prague with the vn of Wenceslaus. The agitation grew to such an extent that the peror decided to yield to the Bohemians. On Septem- 14, 1871, he formally recognized the historic rights of Kingdom of Bohemia, and agreed to be crowned king Prague, as he had been crowned king in Budapest. ngements were to be made whereby Bohemia should gain the same ts as Hungary, independence in domestic affairs and union with tria and Hungary for certain general purposes. The dual monarchy about to become a triple monarchy.

Demands of the Czechs

Emperor prepares to concede them

But these promises were not destined to be carried out. The eror's plans were bitterly opposed by the Germans of Austria, , as the dominant class and as also a minority of whole population, feared the loss of their supremacy, d the rise of the Slavs, whom they hated. They bitterly opposed, also, by the Magyars of Hungary, who declared this was undoing the Compromise of 1867, and who feared parly that the rise of the Slavic state of Bohemia would rouse the ic peoples of Hungary to demand the same rights, and the Mag- were determined not to share with them their privileged position. opposition to the Emperor's plans was consequently most emic and formidable. It was also pointed out that the management oreign affairs would be much more difficult with three nations ting rather than two. The Emperor yielded to the opposition. decree that was to place Bohemia on an equality with Austria and gary never came. Dualism had triumphed over fedsm, to the immense indignation of those who saw the snatched from them. The Compromise of 1867 remained unged. The House of Hapsburg to this day rules over a dual, not a federal state.

Opposition of Germans and Magyars

Triumph of dualism

he racial problem however could not be conjured away so easily. ll persisted. For several years after this triumph the German ele- controlled the Austrian Parliament. But, breaking up finally into groups and incurring the animosity of the Emperor by constantly

blocking some of the measures he desired, the Emperor threw his in fluence against them. There ensued a ministry which lasted long than any other ministry has lasted and whose policies we in some respects of much significance. This was the Taaf ministry which was in office fourteen years from 1879 1893. Its policies favored the development of the Czechs and the Pole two branches of the Slavic race. The two races of Bohemia are th Germans and the Czechs. The latter were favored in various wa by the Taaffe ministry which was angry with the Germans. The secured an electoral law which assured them a majority in the B hemian Diet and in the Bohemian delegation to the Reich rath or Austrian Parliament; they obtained a universit by the division into two institutions of that of Prague, the oldest Ge man University, founded in 1356. Thus there is a German Unive sity of Prague and a Czechish (1882). By various ordinances Germ was dethroned from its position as sole official language. After 18 office-holders were required to answer the demands of the public in t language in which they were presented, either German or Czechis This rule operated unfavorably for German officials, who were usua unable to speak Czechish, whereas the Czechs, as a rule, spoke bo languages.

The Taaffe ministry (1879–1893)

Concessions to Bohemia

In Galicia the Poles, though a minority, obtained control of t Diet, supported by the Taaffe ministry, and proceeded to oppress t Ruthenians; in Carniola the Slovenes proceeded to Sla cize the province. Thus the Slavs were favored during t long ministry of Taaffe, and the evolution of the Slavic nationalities a peoples progressed at the expense of the Germans. This is the m striking difference between the recent development of Austria and t recent development of Hungary. In Austria the German domination the Slavs largely broke down and has not been persisted in. The Sla peoples have had some chances to develop. Racial tyranny on the ot hand has been, as we shall see, the settled policy of the dominant r of Hungary. The result is that racial tension, though by no mea absent from Austria, has been considerably relieved, whereas in H gary it has steadily increased until it has quite reached the snapp point.

The Slavs favored

A movement toward democracy also went on under the Taaffe m istry and has continued since its fall. The agitation for universal s

ce was finally successful. By the law of January 26, 1907, all men Austria over twenty-four years of age were given the t to vote. The most noteworthy result of the first tions on this popular basis (May, 1907) was the return 7 Socialists, who polled over a million votes, nearly a third of those . This party had previously had only about a dozen representa- s. It was noticed at the same elections that the racial parties lost vily. Whether this meant that the period of extreme racial rivalry over and the struggle of social classes was to succeed it, remained to seen.

Universal suffrage in Austria

THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY SINCE 1867

Hungary, a country larger than Austria, larger than Great Britain, d her historic individuality definitely recognized and guaranteed he Compromise of 1867. She had successfully resisted all attempts erge her with the other countries subject to the House Hapsburg. She is an independent kingdom under the n of St. Stephen. The sole official language is Mag- which is neither Slavic nor Teutonic, but Turanian in origin.

Hungary a separate kingdom

The political history of Hungary since the Compromise has been h more simple than that of Austria. Race and language questions e been fundamental, but they have been decided in a summary man- The ruling race in 1867 was the Magyar, and it has remained the ng race. Though numerically in the minority in 1867, comprising about six millions out of fifteen millions, it was a strong race, ac- omed to rule and determined to rule. This minority has since been attempting the impossible — the assimilation of the majority. re are four leading races in Hungary — the Magyar, Slav, the Roumanian, the German. The Roumanians he oldest, claiming descent from Roman colonists of ancient times. y live particularly in the eastern part of the kingdom, which is d Transylvania. They do not constitute a solid block of peoples, here are among them many German or Saxon settlements, and be- n them and the independent Kingdom of Roumania, inhabited by le of the same race, are many Magyars. The Slavs of Hungary into separate groups. In the northern part of Hungary are the ks. In the southern and particularly the southwestern are Serbs and Croatians. Of these the Croatians were only ones who had a separate and distinct personality. They had

The races of Hungary

The Croatians

never been entirely absorbed in Hungary, they had had their own history and their own institutions. In 1868 the Magyars made a compromise with Croatia, similar to the compromise they had themselves concluded with Austria in the year preceding. In regard to all the other races however, the Magyars resolved to Magyarize them early and thoroughly. This policy they have steadily persisted in. They have insisted upon the use of the Magyar language in public offices, courts, schools, and in the railway service — wherever, in fact, it has been possible. It is stated that there is not a single inscription in any post-office or railway station in all Hungary except in the Magyar language. The Magyars have in fact refused to make any concessions to the various peoples who live with them within the boundaries of Hungary. They have, indeed, tried in every way to stamp out all peculiarities. For nearly fifty years this policy has been carried out and it has not succeeded. Hungary has not been Magyarized because the power of resistance of Slovaks, Croatians, Slavonians Roumanians has proved too strong. But in the attempt which has grown sharper and shriller than ever in the last decade, the Magyar minority has stopped at nothing. It has committed innumerable tricks, acts of arbitrary power, breaches of the law, in order to crush out all opposition. Political institutions have been distorted into engines of ruthless oppression, political life has steadily deteriorated in character and purpose, under the influence of this overmastering purpose which has recognized no bounds. Hungary, which boasts itself a land of freedom, has ensured freedom only to the dominant race the Magyars. But for the other races Hungary has been a land of unbridled despotism. Every imaginable instrument has been used to crush the Slavs or convert them into Magyars — corruption and gross illegalities in the administrative service, the control of elections, persecution of all independent newspapers, suppression of schools, the firm determination to prevent these subject peoples, for that they virtually are though theoretically fellow-citizens, from developing their own languages, literatures, art economic life, ideals. The situation has been galling to the Slavs and other peoples. Magyar misrule has steadily increased in intensity, has in our time vitiated and corrupted the national life and has made Hungary a tinder box where dangerous affection may blaze up at any moment. It is an odious history of c

The policy of Magyarization

Resistance of the Slavs

High-handed measures of the Magyars

A régime of ruthless oppression

ssion and a danger spot for Europe. Not until the Magyars recog- e that the other races living within Hungary have the same rights as y, not until they adopt a policy of fair play and justice, instead of algamation by force, will Hungary be in a healthy condition. Hun- y has not been Magyarized. But racial animosities have been raised he highest pitch and constitute a most alarming menace. Any ailed study of the relations of the dominant Magyars with the Croa- is, the Serbs, the Slovaks, the Roumanians, would amply prove these ements.

The reply to these assertions, given by the apologists of the Mag- s, is that Hungarian law expressly and carefully recognizes the abso- equality of all the various elements and they point to the Law of 8 which guarantees the "Equal Rights of Nationalities." s law is admirable and enlightened and was composed he finely liberal spirit of Francis Deák, who indeed was chief author. But this law is a dead letter, and it has been a dead er almost from the time of its passage. It has not been repealed, he advantage of having so liberal an enactment to point to for the ose of silencing critics and throwing dust in foreign eyes has been arent to the Magyar tyrants. But the spirit of Francis Deák long passed out of the governing circles of Hungary.

The Law of 1868 a dead letter

That many Roumanians in Transylvania desire separation from gary and incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania, that many he Serbs or Slavs of southern Hungary desire annexation to the gdom of Servia, need occasion no surprise. Unless the Slavs of gary receive justice, which they never have received, they will be lement of danger to the kingdom. There is no evidence to show the Magyars have learned this lesson.

Moreover, in recent years a party has arisen among the Magyars nselves, under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, son of Louis Kos- of 1848, which is opposed to the Compromise of 1867, and wishes ave Hungary more independent than she is. This party demands Hungary shall have her own diplomatic corps, shall control her ions with foreign countries independently of Austria, and shall ess the right to have her own tariff. Particularly does it demand se of Magyar in the Hungarian part of the army of the dual mon- y — a demand pressed passionately, but always resisted with un- en firmness by the Emperor, Francis Joseph, who considered that

the safety of the state is dependent upon having one language in us in the army, that there may not be confusion and disas ter on the battlefield. Scenes of great violence aros over this question, both in Parliament and outside c it, but the Emperor would not yield. Government wa brought to a deadlock, and, indeed, for several years the Ausgleic could not be renewed, save by the arbitrary act of the Emperor, fo a year at a time. Francis Joseph finally threatened, if forced to cor cede the recognition of the Hungarian language, to couple with it th introduction of universal suffrage into Hungary, for which there is growing popular demand. This the Magyars do not wish, fearing tha it will rob them of their dominant position by giving a powerful weapo to the politically inferior but more numerous races, and that they wil therefore, ultimately be submerged by the Slavs about them. Le than twenty-five per cent of the adult male population of Hungary a present possess the vote. The normal operation of political institution has been seriously interrupted by the violent character of the discussion arising out of these extreme demands for racial monopoly and nation independence. Parliamentary freedom has practically disappeared an Hungary has, in recent years, been ruled quite despotically.

Struggle over the question of language

The House of Hapsburg has lost since 1815 the rich Lombard Venetian kingdom (1859–66). It has gained, however, Bosnia an Herzegovina. As a result of the Russo-Turkish war 1877 these Turkish provinces were handed over by th Congress of Berlin of 1878 to Austria-Hungary to "occupy and "administer." The Magyars at the time opposed the assumpti of these provinces, wishing no more Slavs within the monarchy, b despite their opposition they were taken over, so strongly was the Em peror in favor of it. This acquisition of these Balkan countries render Austria-Hungary a more important and aggressive factor in all Balka politics, and in the discussions of the so-called Eastern Question, t future of European Turkey. In October, 1908, Austria-Hungary d clared these provinces formally annexed. The great significance this act will be discussed later in connection with the very recent h tory of southeastern Europe and the causes of the War of 1914.

Territorial gains and losses.

On November 21, 1916, Francis Joseph died after a reign of near sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew who assum the title of Charles I.

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CHAPTER XXV

ENGLAND FROM 1815 TO 1868

The French Revolution had set in motion a wave of salutar reform which swept away numberless abuses, and demolished or tran formed outworn and harmful institutions, not only

Widespread and beneficial influence of the French Revolution

France but in other European states. To the credit of th Revolution is therefore due a decided improvement in th conditions of life in many countries, notably in Franc Germany, and Italy. But upon one country its effect w wholly unfortunate. England had long needed a thoroughgoing reo ganization of her institutions and policies, if they were to conform even an elementary conception of justice. The ablest writers a thinkers had long ago indicated in unambiguous langua

Its unfortunate influence upon England

the changes that were required and that were feasible, a a statesman like William Pitt had recognized the force their criticisms and was disposed to undertake the work quickening the national life by breathing a new spirit into it. Then ca the Revolution, enthusiastically hailed at first by the more liber minded as the dawn of a new and happier era. But conservati Englishmen were outraged by the attacks of the French upon pro erty rights and social discriminations and, when the excesses of t Revolution came, the vast majority of them were frightened by t very idea of change. Would not any reform lead to t

The stiff conservatism of England

same excesses in England? This was the chord all Engl conservatives, led by the rhetorical Edmund Burke, c tinually harped upon. The result was that reform had no chance England from 1793 to 1815, that changes which would have been unqualified blessing were delayed for a whole generation.

Even after the long war with France was over and the battle Waterloo was won, the same unreasonable dread of any change cont ued and the same attitude of stiff, implacable opposition to all refo This unbending, undeviating hostility to all change on the part of

ish Parliament, controlled during all this period by the Tory party, usily understood when we come to examine the structure of English itutions and English public and private life. The Revolution pro- med the doctrine of equality and proceeded to abolish privilege.

England was conspicuously a land of privilege, of ing discriminations between social classes, a land em- tically of the Old Régime. Inequality, of a pronounced racter, reigned in church and state and school.

England a land of the Old Régime

THE OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS. BURNED IN 1834
After an aquatint by R. Havell.

Power rested with the aristocracy, composed of the nobility and the ry. The "local self-government" of England, so much praised and lized abroad, as if it were government of the people, he people, did not exist. In the county governments local nobility filled most of the important offices; in borough governments their influence was generally decisive. In the nal government, that is, in Parliament, the aristocracy was solidly ched. The House of Lords was composed almost exclusively of landed proprietors. This was the very bulwark of the dominant class. But the House of Commons was another stronghold y less secure. This body, generally supposed to represent the noners of England, conspicuously failed to do so. Its composition truly extraordinary.

Commanding position of the nobility

The House of Commons in 1815 consisted of 658 members: 489 c these were returned by England, 100 by Ireland, 45 by Scotland, 24 b

The House of Commons

Wales. There were three kinds of constituencies, th counties, the boroughs, and the universities. In Englan each county had two members, and nearly all of the boroughs ha two each, though a few had but one. Representation had no rela tion to the size of the population in either case. A large county an

The system of representation

a small county, a large borough and a small borough, ha the same number of members. In times past the king ha possessed the right to summon this town and that to sen up two burgesses to London. Once given that right it usually retaine it. If a new town should grow up, the monarch might give it the righ but he was not obliged to. Since 1625 only two new boroughs had bee created. Thus the constitution of the House of Commons had becom stereotyped at a time when population was increasing and was als shifting greatly from old centers to new. A growing inequality i the representation was a feature of the political system. Thus th county and borough representation of the ten southern counties England was 237, and of the thirty others only 252; yet the latter ha a population nearly three times as large as the former. All Scotlan returned only 45 members, while the single English county of Cornwa (including its boroughs, of course) returned 44. Yet the population Scotland was eight times as large as that of Cornwall.

The suffrage in the counties was uniform, and was enjoyed by tho who owned land yielding them an income of forty shillings a yea But as this worked out it gave a very restricted suffrage. The coun

The county suffrage

voters were chiefly the men who had large country estate and their dependents. Counties in which there were few voters could be easily controlled by the wealthy landowners. all Scotland there were not three thousand county voters; yet the pop lation of Scotland was nearly two millions. Fife had 240 voters, Cro arty 9. The climax was reached in Bute, where there were 21 vote out of a population of 14,000, only one of whom lived in the county. a certain occasion only one voter attended the election meeting of th county. He constituted himself chairman, nominated himself, called t list of voters, and declared himself elected to Parliament.

Such was the situation in the counties of Great Britain, which turned 186 members to the House of Commons. But more importa

e the boroughs, which returned 467 members.[1] In the boroughs, the influence of the landowning and wealthy class even greater and more decisive than in the counties. **The suffrage in boroughs**

boroughs were of several kinds or types — nomination boroughs, en or close boroughs, boroughs in which there was a considerable y of voters, boroughs in which the suffrage was almost demo- ic. It was the existence of the first two classes that tributed the most to the popular demand for the reform he House. In the nomination boroughs, the right to **Nomination or pocket boroughs**

ose the two burgesses was completely in the hands of the patron. n places might have lost all their inhabitants, yet, representation g an attribute of geographical areas rather than of population, e places were still entitled to their two members. Thus Corfe tle was a ruin, Old Sarum a green mound, Gatton was part of a , while Dunwich had long been submerged beneath the sea, yet e places, entirely without inhabitants, still had two members each he House of Commons, because it had been so decided centuries re, when they did have a population, and because the English iament took no account of changes. Thus the owner of the ruined , or the green mound, or this particular portion of the bottom of sea, had the right of nomination.

n the rotten or close boroughs the members were elected by the cor- tion, that is, by the mayor and aldermen, or the suffrage was in the ls of voters, who, however, were so few, from a dozen to in many cases,[2] and generally so poor that the patron **Rotten boroughs**

d easily influence them by bribery or intimidation to choose his idates. Elections in such cases were a mere matter of form. It been stated that in 1793, 245 members were notoriously returned he influence of 128 peers. Thus peers, themselves sitting in the e of Lords, had representatives sitting in the other House. Lord dale thus returned nine members, and was known as "premier's nine-tails." Others returned six, five, four apiece. Some would heir appointments to the highest bidder. Some of the most honor- and useful members bought their seats as the only way of getting Parliament on an independent basis, though they utterly detested ystem. Thus at that time a considerable majority of the members

[1] The universities returned 5 members.

[2] Ninety members represented places of less than 50 voters each.

of the House of Commons was returned through the influence of small body of men who at the same time controlled the other House.

There were some boroughs with a fairly large or even democrat electorate. Here bribery was resorted to by the rich, which was easil possible and greatly encouraged by the fact that the polls were ke open for fifteen days. On the other hand there were large cities lik

Unrepresented cities

Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, which had r representation at all in the House of Commons, althoug they had a population of seventy-five or a hundred thousand or mor Well might the younger Pitt exclaim: "This House is not the represe tation of the people of Great Britain; it is the representation of nomin boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealth individuals, of foreign potentates." The government of England w not representative, but was oligarchical.

Closely identified with the State, and, like the State, thorough permeated with the principle of special privileges, was another bod

The Established Church

the Church of England. Though there was absolute re gious liberty in Great Britain, though men might worsh as they saw fit, the position of the Anglican Church w one greatly favored. Only members of that church possessed any re political power. No Catholic could be a member of Parliament, or ho any office in the state or municipality. In theory Protestants who d sented from the Anglican Church were likewise excluded from holdi office. In practice, however, they were enabled to, by the device of t so-called Act of Indemnity, an act passed each year by Parliame pardoning them for having held the positions illegally during the ye just past. The position of the Dissenter was both burdensome a

Dissenters

humiliating. He had to pay taxes for the support of t Church of England, though he did not belong to it. had to register his place of worship with authorities of the Church England. He could only be married by a clergyman of that chur unless he were a Quaker or a Jew. There was no such thing as ci marriage, or marriage by dissenting clergymen. A Roman Catholic a Dissenter could not graduate from Cambridge, could not even en Oxford, owing to the religious tests exacted, which only Anglicans co meet. The natural result of the supremacy of this church was t those entered it who were influenced by self-interest, who were am tious for political preferment, for social advancement, or for an Oxf

ambridge education for their sons. It was "ungentlemanlike" to Dissenter.

he great institutions of England, therefore, were controlled by the and in the interests of the rich. Legislation favored the powerful, landed nobility, and the rich class of manufacturers that was grow- up, whose interests were similar. The immense mass of the people ved scant consideration. Their education was woe- neglected. Probably three-fourths of the children of and did not receive the slightest instruction. Laborers were for- en to combine to improve their conditions, which the state itself r dreamed of improving. Even their food was made artificially by tariffs on breadstuffs passed in the interests of the landlords. reverse side of the picture of English greatness and power and pros- y was gloomy in the extreme. England was in need of sweeping numerous reforms to meet the demands of modern liberalism, her in politics or economics or in social institutions.

The people neglected

he demand for reform, checked by the Revolution and by the struggle with France, was resumed after the final victory over oleon at Waterloo. It drew its main strength from eep and widespread wretchedness of the people. For, ary to all expectations, peace did not bring happiness prosperity but rather intense suffering and hatred of against class. Manufacturers were obliged to discharge thousands rkmen, because the demand for British goods fell off after the peace g to the resumption of manufacturing in the conti- l countries. At the time when the number of labor- as greater than the demand 200,000 or more men were added to abor market by the reduction of the army and navy. Furthermore, ext few years saw a series of bad harvests. By these and by the Law of 1815, bread was made dearer. Add also the fact that the n industrial or factory system was painfully supplanting the old n of household industries and temporarily throwing multitudes out ployment, or employing them under hard, even inhuman condi- and it is not difficult to understand the widespread, desperate tent of the mass of the population. Parliament, an organ of the inority, refused to help them; it even forbade them to help them- , for it was a misdemeanor for workmen to combine. If they ney would be sent to jail. Labor was unorganized.

Widespread distress after Waterloo

Lack of employment

The demand for reforms came primarily from the poor and dishear ened masses, who possessed a remarkable leader in the person of Willia

William Cobbett

Cobbett, the son of an agricultural laborer. For son years Cobbett had published a liberal periodical calle "*The Weekly Political Register*," in which he had opposed the Gover ment. In 1816 he reduced the price of his paper from a shilling to tw pence, made his appeal directly to the laboring class, and became the guide and spokesman. The effect was instantaneous. For the fir time the lower class had an organ, cheap, moreover brilliantly writte for Cobbett's literary ability was such that a London paper, the *Stan ard*, declared that for clearness, force, and power of copious illustrati he was unrivaled since the time of Swift. Cobbett was the first gre popular editor, who for nearly thirty years, with but little interruptio expressed in his weekly paper the wishes and the emotions of the labo ing classes. He was a great democratic leader, a powerful popular ec tor, a pugnacious and venomous opponent of the existing régime, champion of the cause of parliamentary reform.

For Cobbett persuaded the working people that they must first g the right to vote before they could get social and economic reform

Parliamentary reform

Parliamentary reform must have precedence. Let t people get political power, let them change Parliame from the organ of a narrow class into a truly national assembly, and th they could abolish the evils from which they suffered, and put usef statutes into force. He demanded, therefore, universal suffrage. Oth leaders appeared, also, and a considerable fermentation of ideas amo the unpropertied and working classes characterized these years.

But against these demands of the disinherited the Tory party ha ened its heart. Scenting in every popular movement a new Fren Revolution it made no attempt to study or remove grievances but w resolved to go to any length to stamp out the troublesome spirit of unr

Suspension of Habeas Corpus

by force. This period of sorry reaction culminated in t suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, a grave measu which only the direst necessity could justify; also in t passage of so-called Gag Laws which stringently restricted the freed of speech, of the press, and of public meeting and discussion which h long been the boast of England. This period of harsh government, repressive legislation, which encroached gravely upon the traditio liberties of the British people, lasted for about five years.

n 1820 George III died at the age of eighty-one. He had for many
; been insane and the regency had been exercised by
on, who now became George IV and who reigned from
to 1830.

Death of George III

fter 1820 a change gradually came over the political life of England.
Tory party still maintained its great majority in Parliament but
al of the more reactionary members of the ministry
or resigned, and their places were taken by men of a
ger and more liberal generation, particularly by Can-
Peel, and Huskisson, who were able to make the Tory party an
e of partial reform. Canning, as Foreign Secretary, freed England's
n policy from all connection with the Holy Alliance. He boldly
ed the doctrine that each nation is free to determine
n form of government, which doctrine was the direct
ite of that of Metternich. Huskisson's reforms were
mic and aimed at the liberation of commerce, by removing some of
estrictions which had been thrown around the carrying trade, by
ing tariff duties on many articles of import, and by greatly simpli-
the administration of the tariff system.

The dawn of an era of reform

Defiance of the Holy Alliance

Robert Peel undertook at this time the reform of the Penal
That code was a disgrace to England and placed her far behind
e and other countries. The punishment of death
be legally inflicted for about two hundred offenses —
cking pockets, for stealing five shillings from a store,
y shillings from a dwelling house, for stealing a fish, for injuring
minster Bridge, for sending threatening letters. In 1823 the death
y was abolished in about a hundred cases.

The Penal Code reformed

other reform of these years lay in the direction of greater religious
. The disabilities from which Protestant dissenters suffered were
ed in 1828 by the abrogation of the requirement that
e-holders should take the sacrament according to the
the Church of England and should make a declara-
gainst the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the following year,
long and bitter controversy which went to the very verge of
r, Parliament redressed the grievances of the Catholics by the
of the Catholic Emancipation Act which permitted
ics henceforth to sit in either house of Parliament
hold, with a few exceptions, any municipal or national office.

Abolition of religious disabilities

Catholic emancipation

This act established real political equality between Catholics a Protestants.

The reforms that have just been described were carried through the Tory party. There was one reform, however, more fundamen and important, which it was clear that that party wo never concede, the reform of Parliament itself. The s nificant features of the parliamentary system have alrea been described. That they required profound alterat had been held by many of the Whigs for more than fifty years. I the Whigs had been powerless to effect anything, having long been the minority. A combination of circumstances, however, now brou about the downfall of the party so long dominant, and rendered p sible the great reform. George IV died on June 26, 1830, and was s ceeded by his brother William IV (1830–1837). The death of the m arch necessitated a new election of Parliament. The election resul in a Tory loss of fifty members in the House of Commons. The D of Wellington was shortly forced to resign and the Whigs came in. T was broken the control the Tory party had exercised, with one sli interruption, for forty-six years.

Tory opposition to the reform of Parliament

Earl Grey, who for forty years had demanded parliamentary refo now became prime minister. A ministry was formed with ease, included many able men, Durham, Russell, Brough Palmerston, Stanley, Melbourne, and on March 1, 183 Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord J Russell. It aimed to effect a redistribution of seats on a more e table plan, and the establishment of a uniform franchise for boro in place of the great and absurd variety of franchises then exist The redistribution of seats was based on two principles, the w drawal of the right of representation from small, decayed boroughs its bestowal upon large and wealthy towns hitherto without it.

The first Reform Bill

The bill amazed the House by its comprehensive character encouraged the reformers. Neither side had expected so sweepi change. The introduction of the bill precipitated a remarkable liamentary discussion, which continued with some intervals for fifteen months, from March 1, 1831, to June 5, 1832.

Lord John Russell in his introduction of the measure, after sta that the theory of the British Constitution was no taxation without resentation, and after showing that in former times Parliament

truly representative, said that it was no longer so. "A stranger who old that this country is unparalleled in wealth and in- y, and more civilized and more enlightened than any ry was before it — that it is a country that prides itself freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that free- — would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is d, and how the people choose their representatives, to whose faith uardianship they entrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a n would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound old that the mound sent two representatives to Parliament; if he aken to a stone wall and told that three niches in it sent two repre- tives to Parliament; if he were taken to a park where no houses o be seen, and told that that park sent two representatives to Par- nt. But if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines ery species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns no representatives to Parliament."

Lord John Russell's speech

his speech inaugurated a resounding and a bitter debate. Oppo- of the measure flatly denied that the population of a town had had anything to do with its representation or that rep- sation and taxation were in any way connected in the n Constitution. They said that some of the greatest n parliamentary annals had entered the House of Commons as the entatives of these nomination and rotten boroughs now so vigor- denounced, — which was true, as the cases of the younger Pitt, , Canning, Fox and others showed. To which Macaulay retorted we must judge of the form of government by its general tendency, happy accidents," and that if "there were a law that the hundred men in England should be members of Parliament, there would ly be some able men among those who would come into the House tue of this law."

Arguments for and against the bill

hus the debate went on, an unusual number of members partici- . But the bill did not have long to live. The Op- n was persistent, and on April 19 the ministry was d on an amendment. It resolved to appeal to the . Parliament was dissolved and a new election ordered. This

Ministry defeated, Parliament dissolved

election took place in the summer of 1831 amid the greatest excitemen and was one of the most momentous of the century. From one end o the land to the other the cry was, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothin but the bill." There was some violence and intimidation of voters, an bribery on a large scale was practised on both sides. The question pu the candidates was, "Will you support the bill or will you oppose it?" The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for th reformers.

On June 24, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the second Reform Bill, which was practically the same as the first. The Opposition di not yield, but fought it inch by inch. They tried to wea out the ministry by making dilatory motions and innu merable speeches which necessarily consisted of mere repetition. I the course of two weeks Sir Robert Peel spoke forty-eight time Croker fifty-seven times, Wetherell fifty-eight times. However, th bill was finally passed, September 22, by a majority c 106. It was then sent up to the House of Lords wher it was quickly killed (October 8, 1831).

Second Reform Bill

Defeated by the House of Lords

It was the Lords who chiefly profited by the existing system of nomi nation and rotten boroughs, and they were enraged at the proposal t end it. They were determined not to lose the power it gave them.

The defeat of the bill by the Upper House caused great indignatio throughout the country. Apparently the Lords were simply greedy their privileges. Again riots broke out in London and other town expressive of the popular feeling. Newspapers appeared in mourning Bells were tolled. Threats of personal violence to the Lords were mad and in certain instances carried out. Troops were called out in som places. England, it was widely felt, was on the brink of a civil war.

Parliament was now prorogued. It reassembled December 6th, an on the 12th Lord John Russell rose again and introduced his third R form Bill. Again the same tiresome tactics of the Oppos tion. But the bill finally passed the House of Common March 23, 1832, by a majority of 116.

Third Reform Bill

Again the bill was before the Lords, who showed the same dispos tion to defeat it as before. The situation seemed hopeless. Twice th Commons had passed the bill with the manifest and express approval the people. Were they to be foiled by a chamber based on heredita privilege? Riots, monster demonstrations, acrimonious and bitter d

nunciation, showed once more the temper of the people. There was one ay only in which the measure could be carried. The King might create nough new peers to give its supporters a majority in the House of Lords. his, however, William IV at first refused to do. The Grey ministry onsequently resigned. The King appealed to the Duke of Wellington o form a ministry. The Duke tried but failed. The King then gave ay, recalled Earl Grey to power and signed a paper stating, "The King rants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, o create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing the Reform Bill." The peers were never created. The threat sufficed. The bill passed the Lords, June 4, 1832, about 100 of its opponents absenting themselves from the House. It as signed and became a law.

The Bill passed

The bill had undergone some changes during its passage. In its final rm it provided that fifty-six nomination or close boroughs with a popu- tion of less than 2,000 should lose their representation entirely; that irty-two others with a population of less than 4,000 should lose one ember each. The seats thus obtained were redistributed as follows: enty-two large towns were given two members each; twenty others were given one each, and the larger counties ere given additional members, sixty-five in all. There was o attempt to make equal electoral districts, but only to remove more ngrant abuses. Constituencies still differed greatly in population.

Redistribution of seats

The Reform Bill also altered and widened the suffrage. Previously ne county franchise had depended entirely upon the ownership of land; at is, was limited to those who owned outright land of n annual value of forty shillings, the forty-shilling free- olders. The county suffrage was now extended to include, under rtain conditions, those who leased land. Thus in the counties the ffrage was dependent still upon the tenure of land, but not upon out- ght ownership.

The county franchise

In the boroughs a far greater change was made. The right to vote s given to all ten-pound householders, which meant all who owned rented a house or shop or other building of an annual tal value, with the land, of ten pounds. Thus the suf- ge was practically given in boroughs to the wealthier ddle class. There was henceforth a uniform suffrage in boroughs, d a diversified suffrage in counties.

The borough franchise

PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS
From an engraving after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The Reform Bill of 1832 was not a democratic measure, but it ma the House of Commons a truly representative body. It admitted the suffrage the wealthier middle class. The number of voters, parti ularly in the boroughs, was considerably increased; but the laborers England had no votes, nor had the poorer middle class. The avera

tio of voters to the whole population of Great Britain was about one thirty. The measure, therefore, though regarded as final the Whig ministry, was not so regarded by the vast ajority, who were still disfranchised. No further alteration as made until 1867, but during the whole period there was a demand r extension. In 1831 and 1832 the people, by their monster meetings, ots, acts of violence, had helped greatly to pass the bill only to find nen the struggle was over that others and not themselves had profited their efforts.

Not a democratic reform

The reforming activity of the Whigs, which had achieved the notable umph of the great change in the House of Commons, continued unated for several years. Several measures of great imrtance were passed by the reformed Parliament during e next few years.

A period of Whig government

One of the first of these was the abolition of slavery in 1833. It had en long held by the British courts that slavery could not exist in the ritish Isles, that the instant a slave touched the soil of England he bemme free. But slavery itself existed in the West Indies, in Mauritius, d in South Africa. There were about 750,000 slaves in ese colonies. To free them was a difficult matter for it as considered an interference with the rights of property, and it might in the prosperity of the colonies. But there was a growing sensitiveess to the moral iniquity of the institution and it was this that ultiately ensured the success of the anti-slavery agitation ably led by ilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian. A bill was ssed in August, 1833 decreeing that slavery should cease August 1, 34, and appropriating a hundred million dollars as compensation to the ve owners for the loss of their property. The slave owners were not tisfied, considering the sum insufficient, but were obliged to acquiesce.

Slavery in the colonies

Conscience was aroused at the same time by a cruel evil right at me, the employment, under barbarous conditions, of children in facies. The employment of child labor in British industries s one of the results of the rise of the modern factory tem. It was early seen that much of the work done by machinery ld be carried on by children, and as their labor was cheaper than that adults they were swept into the factories in larger and larger numbers, d a monstrous evil grew up. They were, of course, the children of the orest people. Many began this life of misery at the age of five or six,

Child labor

more at the age of eight or nine. Incredible as it may seem, they wer often compelled to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. Half hou intervals were allowed for meals, but by a refinement of cruelty the were expected to clean the machinery at such times. Falling asleep a their work they were beaten by overseers or injured by falling again the machinery. In this inhuman régime there was no time or strengt left for education or recreation or healthy development of any kin The moral atmosphere in which the children worked was harmful i the extreme. Physically, intellectually, morally, the result could onl be stunted human beings.

The system defended

This monstrous system was defended by political economists, manu facturers, and statesmen in the name of individual liberty, in whos name, moreover, crimes have often been committed, th liberty of the manufacturer to conduct his business withou interference from outside, the liberty of the laborer to sell his labo under whatever conditions he may be disposed or, as might more prop erly be said, compelled to accept. A Parliament, however, which ha been so sensitive to the wrongs of negro slaves in Jamaica, could no be indifferent to the fate of English children. Thus the long efforts o many English humanitarians, Robert Owen, Thomas Sadler, Fielde Lord Ashley, resulted in the passage of the Factory A of 1833, which prohibited the employment in spinning an weaving factories of children under nine, made a maximum eight hou day for those from nine to thirteen, and of twelve for those fro thirteen to eighteen. This was a very modest beginning, yet it repr sented a great advance on the preceding policy of England. It w the first of a series of acts regulating the conditions of laborers in th interests of society as a whole, acts which have become more numerou more minute, and more drastic from 1833 to the present day. Th idea that an employer may conduct his business entirely as he likes h no standing in modern English law.

The Factory Act, 1833

The reform spirit, which rendered the decade from 1830 to 1840 notable, achieved another vast improvement in the rad cal transformation of municipal government. The loc self-government of England enjoyed great fame abroad b was actually in a very sorry condition at home. Not on was the Parliament of 1830 the organ of an oligarchy, but so was th system of local government.

The decay of local self-government

Municipal government was in the hands of very small groups. Thus n Cambridge, with a population of 20,000 there were only 118 voters, n Portsmouth, with 46,000, only 102. In very numerous cases the situation was even worse and local government was in the hands of the corporation, that is, the mayor and the common council. The mayor was chosen by the council and the councillors held office for life and had the right to fill all vacancies in their body. These governments were notoriously corrupt and notoriously inefficient. Generally speaking, those Englishmen who lived in boroughs were not only not self-governed but were wretchedly misgoverned.

The necessity for reform

QUEEN VICTORIA, AT THE AGE OF 20
After the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer at Windsor Castle.

In 1835 a law was passed which provided for the election of town councillors by all the inhabitants who had paid taxes during the preceding three years. The council was to elect the mayor. It is estimated that about two million people thus secured the municipal vote. This was not democracy, but it was a long step toward it, and away from oligarchy. The suffrage has been widened since 1835.

The reform of municipal government

In the midst of this period of reform occurred a change in the occupancy of the throne. King William IV died June 20, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria. The young Queen was the daughter of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. She was, at the time of her accession, eighteen years of age. She had been carefully educated, but owing to the fact that William IV disliked her mother, she had seen very little of court life, and was very little known. Carlyle, oppressed with all the weary weight

Accession of Queen Victoria

of this unintelligible world, pitied her, quite unnecessarily. "Poor lit Queen!" said he, "she is at an age at which a girl can hardly be trus to choose a bonnet for herself; yet a task is laid upon her from wh an archangel might shrink." Not such was the mood of the Que She was buoyant and joyous, and entered with zest upon a reign wh was to prove the longest in the annals of England. She impressed who saw her with her dignity and poise. Her politi

Her political education

education was conducted under the guidance, first of L pold, King of Belgium, her uncle, and after her accessi of Lord Melbourne, both of whom instilled in her mind the principles constitutional monarchy. The question of her marriage was importa and was decided by herself. Summoning her cousin, Prince Albert Saxe-Coburg, into her presence, she offered him her hand — "a nervo thing to do," as she afterward said, yet the only thing as "he wou never have presumed to take such a liberty" himself as to ask for t hand of the Queen of England. It was a marriage of affection. "S is as full of love as Juliet," said Sir Robert Peel. Her married life w exceptionally happy, and when the Prince Consort died twenty-o years later, she was inconsolable. During these years he was her co stant adviser, and so complete was the harmony of their views that h was practically quite as much the ruler of the country as was she.

As the Reform Bill of 1832 had given the suffrage only to the upp part of the middle classes, as it excluded the working classes whethe in town or country from all political power, it was onl

Demand for further parliamentary reform

natural that the latter should refuse to consider it a finalit and should agitate for the extension of the suffrage t themselves, particularly as they had helped decidedly t pass the great measure. Therefore the workingmen conducted a vehe ment agitation for several years to secure the rights to which they fel they were as entitled as were those who were fortunate enough to b richer than they. In a pamphlet entitled *The Rotten House of Common* (December, 1836), Lovett, one of their leaders, proved from officia returns that, out of 6,023,752 adult males living in the United Kingdom only 839,519 were voters. He also showed that despite the reform o 1832 there were great inequalities among the constituencies, that twent members were chosen by 2,411 votes, twenty more by 86,072

The People's Charter

The immediate demands of the Radicals were expressed i "The People's Charter," or programme, a petition to Parliament drawn

up in 1838. They demanded that the right to vote be given to every adult man, declaring, "We perform the duties of freemen, we must have the privileges of freemen"; that voting be secret, by ballot rather than orally as was then the custom, so that every voter could be free from intimidation, and less exposed to bribery; that property qualifications for membership in the House be abolished; and that the members receive salaries so that poor men, laborers themselves and understanding the needs of laborers, might be elected to Parliament if the voters wished. They also demanded that the House of Commons should be elected, not for seven years, as was then the law, but simply for one year. The object of this was to prevent their representatives from misrepresenting them by proving faithless to their pledges or indifferent or hostile to the wishes of the voters. Annual elections would give the voters the chance to punish such representatives speedily by electing others in their place. "The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial, must be intimate," said the petition. Such were the five points of the famous Charter designed to make Parliament representative of the *people*, not of a class. Once adopted, it was felt that the masses would secure control of the legislature and could then improve their conditions.

The Chartists had almost no influence in Parliament, and their agitation had consequently to be carried on outside in workingmen's associations, in the cheap press, in popular songs and poems, in monster meetings addressed by impassioned orators, in numerous and unprecedentedly large petitions. One of these was presented in 1839. It was in the form of a large cylinder of parchment about four feet in diameter, and was said to have been signed by 1,286,000 persons. The petition was summarily rejected. Notwithstanding this failure another was presented in 1842, signed, it was asserted by over three million persons. Borne through the streets of London in a great procession it was found too large to be carried through the door of the House of Commons. It was therefore cut up into several parts and deposited on the floor. This, too, was rejected.

Character of the Chartist agitation

In 1848 another attempt was made. Encouraged by the French Revolution of that year the Chartists held a great national convention or people's parliament in London, and planned a vast demonstration on behalf of the Charter. Half a million men were to accompany a new petition to Parliament, which it was expected would be overawed and

would then yield to so imposing a demand of an insistent people. T Government was so alarmed that it entrusted the safety of London the Duke of Wellington, then seventy-nine years of age. His arran ments were made with his accustomed thoroughness. One hundred a seventy thousand special constables were enrolled, one of whom w Louis Napoleon, who before the year was out was to be President of t French Republic. The result was that the street demonstration was failure, and the petition, examined by a committee of the House, w found to contain, not 5,706,000 signatures, as asserted, but less than t million. It was summarily rejected. The movement died out owing ridicule, internal quarrels, but particularly because of the growing pr perity of the country, which resulted from the abolition of the Co Laws and the adoption of Free Trade.

The significance of the movement

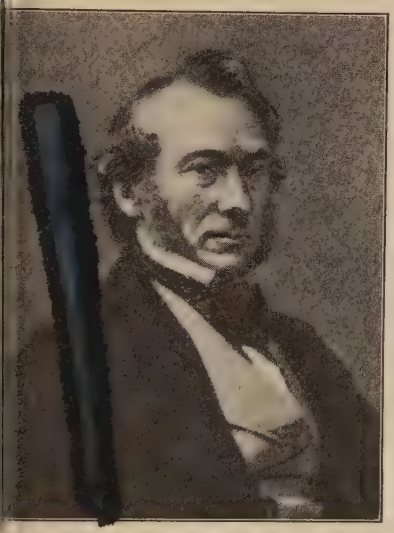
It is difficult to appraise the value and significance of this movemer Judged superficially and by immediate results the Chartists failed co pletely. Yet most of the changes they advocated ha since been brought about. There are now no proper qualifications for members of the House of Commons, a the secret ballot has been secured; the suffrage is enjoyed by t immense majority of men, though not by all; members now rece salaries, and Parliaments are now elected for five years. It seems th some of the tremendous impetus of England toward democracy, whi grew so marked toward the close of the nineteenth century, was deriv from this movement of the Chartists.

Simultaneously with the Chartist movement another was going which had a happier issue. The adoption of the principle of free tra must always remain a great event in English history, and was the c mination of a remarkable movement that extended over forty yea though its most decisive phase was concentrated into a few years intense activity. The change was complete from a policy which Engla in common with the rest of the world had followed for centuries a which other countries still follow.

England's policy of Protection

England had long believed in protection. Hundreds of articles we subject to duties as they entered the country, manufactured article raw materials. The most important single interest amo all those protected was agriculture. Corn is a word us in England to describe wheat and bread stuffs generall The laws imposing duties on corn were the keystone of the who

ystem of protection. The advocates of free trade necessarily therefore elivered their fiercest assaults upon the Corn Laws. If nese could be overthrown it was believed that the whole ystem would fall. But for a long while the landlord class was so entrenched in political power that the law remained impregnable. The manufacturers and the merchants, however, were in favor of free trade, as the only way of enlarging the foreign market of England and thus keeping English factories running and English workingmen employed. But foreigners would buy English goods only if they might pay for them in their own commodities, their grain, their lumber. Again, as the population was increasing, England needed cheaper food. In 1839 there was founded in Manchester, a great manufacturing center, the Anti-Corn Law League whose leader was Richard Cobden, a successful and traveled young business man. He was soon joined by John Bright, like himself a manufacturer, unlike him one of the great popular orators of the nineteenth century. The methods of the League were businesslike and thorough. Its campaign was one of persuasion. It distributed a vast number of pamphlets, sent out a corps of speakers to deliver lectures, setting forth the leading arguments in favor of free trade. Year after year this process of argumentation went on. It was an earnest and sober attempt to convince Englishmen that they should completely reverse their commercial policy in the interest of their own prosperity. But it does not seem that this agitation would have succeeded in securing the repeal of the Corn Laws had it not been for a great natural calamity, the Irish famine of 1845. The food of the vast majority of the Irish people was the potato. More than half of the eight million inhabitants of Ireland depended upon it alone for sustenance and with a large part of



RICHARD COBDEN

The Corn Laws

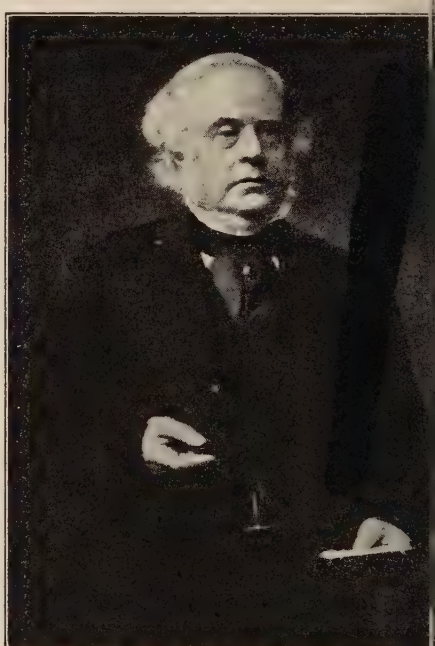
The Anti-Corn-Law League

The Irish famine of 1845

the rest it was the chief article of diet. Now this crop completely faile owing to a disease that had set in. Famine came and tens of thousan perished from starvation. The only way to rescue t population was to repeal the Corn Laws and thus let the food supplies of the Continent, to take the place of the blight potato. In 1846, under this tremendous pressure, Sir Robert Peel carried against bitter opposition the repeal of the Corn Laws. There still remained after this many duties in the English tariff but the keystone of the whole system of protection was removed. One after another during the next twenty years the remaining duties were removed. England still has a tariff but it is for revenue only, not for the protection of English industries. Nearly all of the revenue from the present tariff comes from the duties on tobacco, tea, spirits, wine, and sugar, mostly commodities not produced in England. England is absolutely dependent upon oth countries for her food supplies.

Repeal of the Corn Laws

Remaining protective duties gradually removed



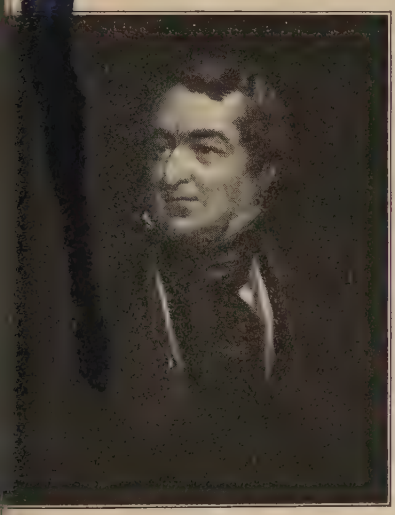
JOHN BRIGHT.

The twenty years succeeding the repeal of the Corn Laws were yea of quiescence and transition. Comparatively few changes of impo tance were made in legislation. Those of greatest signi cance concerned the regulation of employment in factori and mines. Such legislation, merciful in its immediate effects and m mentous in the reach of the principles on which it rested, was enacte particularly during the decade from 1840 to 1850. The initial step i such legislation had been taken in the Factory Act of 1833, already d scribed, a law that regulated somewhat the conditions under which chi

Labor legislation

ildren and women could be employed in the textile industries. But labor was unprotected in many other industries, in which gross abuses prevailed. One of the most famous parliamentary reports of the nineteenth century was that of a commission appointed to investigate the conditions in mines. Published in 1842, its amazing revelations revolted public opinion and led to quick action. It showed that children of five, six, seven years of age were employed underground in coal mines, girls as well as boys; that women as well as men labored under conditions fatal to health and morals; that the hours were long, twelve or fourteen a day, and the dangers great. They were veritable beasts of burden, dragging and pushing carts on hands and knees along narrow and low passageways, in which it was impossible to stand erect. Girls of eight or ten carried heavy buckets of coal on their backs up steep ladders many times a day. The revelations were so astounding and sickening that a law was passed in 1842 which forbade the employment of women and girls in mines, and which permitted the employment of boys of ten for only three days a week.

Regulation of labor in mines



Sir Robert Peel
After painting by John Linnell.

Once embarked on this policy of protecting the economically dependent classes, Parliament was forced to go further and further in the governmental regulation of private industry. It has enacted a long series of statutes which it is here impossible to describe, so extensive and minute are their provisions. The series is being constantly lengthened.

Factory laws

In these various acts of legislation just described and in other ways England showed during these middle years of the century that she was outgrowing old forms of thought and organization and was evidently tending more and more toward democracy. Yet this general trend was not mirrored in her political life and institutions. Parliament remained

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON. PRETTY, BUT COMPLETED, 32

hat the Reform Bill of 1832 had made it. From 1832 to 1867 there was o alteration either in the franchise or in the distribution of seats in the House of Commons. This was the era of middle class rule, as its predecessor had been one of aristocratic rule.

But during this period the demand was frequently made that the uffrage be extended. Not more than one man in six then had the right o vote—only "the ten-pound householders." In 1866, o meet the growing demand Gladstone, leader of the H of Commons under the Earl Russell ministry, pro- os a moderate extension of the suffrage. The very moderation sealed s om, as it aroused no enthusiasm among the people. There was no gn at the people wanted this measure and therefore the ons vatives, joined by many Liberals, joyously killed it. The inistry thereupon resigned and Lord Derby became rime minister, with Disraeli the leading member of the cabinet. The onse atives were once more in power, and the opponents of reform ough that they had effectually stemmed the advance toward democ- acy. Never were politicians more completely deceived. The rejection f even this modest measure aroused the people to indignation. Glad- tone lo all his timidity and became a fiery apostle of an extensive re- orm. "You cannot fight against the future; time is on our side" was Gladstonian phrase that now became a battle cry. John Bright, ith ill-concealed menace, incited the people to renew the scenes of 832. Great popular demonstrations of the familiar kind occurred in avor of the bill. The people were manifestly in earnest.

The demand for a wider suffrage

Reform defeated in 1866

Seeing this, and feeling that reform was inevitable, and that, such eing the case, the Conservative party might as well reap the advan- ages of granting it as to allow those advantages to accrue o others, Disraeli in the following year, 1867, introduced a eform Bill. This was remodeled almost entirely by the iberals, who, led by Gladstone, defeated the proposals of he ministry time after time, and succeeded in having their own prin- iples incorporated in the measure. The bill as finally passed was largely he work of Gladstone, practically everything he asked being in the end nceded, but it was the audacity and subtlety and resourcefulness of israeli that succeeded in getting a very radical bill adopted by the very me legislators who the year before had rejected a moderate one.

Reform carried by Disraeli in 1867

The bill, as finally passed in August, 1867, closed the rule of the

middle class in England, and made England a democracy. The fra

Provisions of the bill

chise in boroughs was given to all householders. Thu instead of ten-pound householders, all householders, wha ever the value of their houses, were admitted; also, all lodgers who ha occupied for a year lodgings of the value, unfurnished, of ten pound or about a dollar a week. In the counties the suffrage was given to a those who owned property yielding five pounds clear income a yea rather than ten pounds, as previously; and to all "occupiers" wh pa at least twelve pounds, rather than fifty pounds, as hitherto. Th better class of laborers in the boroughs, and practically all tenant ers in the counties, received the vote. By this bill the number of v te was nearly doubled.

So sweeping was the measure that the prime minister himse Lo Derby, called it a "leap in the dark." Carlyle, forecasting a ism future, called it "shooting Niagara." Robert Lowe, whose me orab attacks had been largely instrumental in defeating the meager measu of the year before, now said, "we must educate our masters." It shou be noted that during the debates on this bill, John Stuart Mil made strongly reasoned speech in favor of granting the suffrage to wome The House considered the proposition highly humorous. Ne erthele this movement, then in its very beginning, was destined to persi and grow.

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CHAPTER XXVI

ENGLAND SINCE 1868

There is little doubt that the Conservatives expected to be rewarded for passing the Reform Bill of 1867, as the Liberals had been for passing that of 1832, thought, that is, that the newly enfranchised would, out of gratitude, continue them in office. If so, they were destined to a great disappointment, for the elections of 1868 resulted in giving the Liberals a majority of a hundred and twenty in the House of Commons. Gladstone became the head of what was to prove a very notable ministry.

The Great Ministry

Gladstone possessed a more commanding majority than any prime minister had had since 1832. As the enlargement of the franchise in 1832 had been succeeded by a period of bold and sweeping reforms, so was that of 1867 to be. Gladstone was a perfect representative of the prevailing national mood. The recent campaign had shown that the people were ready for a period of reform, of important constructive legislation. Supported by such a majority, and by a public opinion so vigorous and enthusiastic, Gladstone stood forth master of the situation. No statesman could hope to have more favorable conditions attend his entrance into power. He was the head of a strong, united, and resolute party and several men of great ability were members of his cabinet.

William Ewart Gladstone, 1809–1898

The man who thus became prime minister at the age of fifty-nine was one of the notable figures of modern English history. His parents were Scotch. His father had hewed out his own career, and from small beginnings had, by energy and talent, made himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Liverpool, and had been elected a member of Parliament. Young William Ewart Gladstone received "the best education then going" at Eton College and Oxford University, in both of which institutions he stood out among his fellows. At Eton his most intimate friend was Arthur Hallam, the man whose splendid eulogy is Tennyson's

In Memoriam. His career at Oxford was crowned by brilliant scholarl successes, and here he also distinguished himself as a speaker in th Union, the university debating club. Before leaving the university h thought and inclination were to take orders in the church, but his fath was opposed to this and the son yielded. In 1833 he took his seat i

Entrance into Parliament

the House of Commons as representative for one of th rotten boroughs which the Reform Bill of the previous ye had not abolished. He was to be a member of that bod for over sixty years, and for more than half that time its leading mem ber. Before attaining the premiership, therefore, in 1868, he had had long political career and a varied training, had held many offices, cu minating in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership o the House of Commons. Beginning as a Conservative (Macaulay calle him in 1838 the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories"), h came under the influence of Sir Robert Peel, a man who, conservativ by instinct, was gifted with unusual prescience and adaptability, an who possessed the courage required to be inconsistent, the wisdom t change as the world changed. Gladstone had, after a long period o transition, landed in the opposite camp, and was now the leader of th

Leader of the Liberal Party

Liberal Party. By reason of his business ability, shown i the management of the nation's finances, his knowledge o parliamentary history and procedure, his moral fervor, h elevation of tone, his intrepidity and courage, his reforming spirit, an his remarkable eloquence, he was eminently qualified for leadership When almost sixty he became prime minister, a position he was destine

Gladstone's First Ministry, 1868–1874

to fill four times, displaying marvelous intellectual an physical energy. His administration, lasting from 1868 t 1874, is called the Great Ministry. The key to his polic is found in his remark to a friend when the summon came from the Queen for him to form a ministry: "My mission to pacify Ireland." The Irish question, in fact, was to be the mo

Dominance of Irish questions

absorbing interest of Mr. Gladstone's later political caree dominating all four of his ministries. It has been a ver lively and at times a decisive factor in English politi for the last fifty years.

To understand this question, a brief survey of Irish history in th nineteenth century is necessary. Ireland was all through the centur the most discontented and wretched part of the British Empire. Whi

England constantly grew in numbers and wealth, Ireland decreased in population, and her misery increased. Ireland was inhabited by two peoples, the native Irish, who were Catholics, and settlers from England and Scotland, who were for the most part Anglicans or Presbyterians. The latter were a small but powerful minority.

The fundamental cause of the Irish question lay in the fact that Ireland was a conquered country, that the Irish were a subject race. As early as the twelfth century the English began to invade the island. Attempts made by the Irish at various times during six hundred years to repel and drive out the invaders only resulted in rendering their subjection more complete and more galling. Irish insurrections have been pitilessly punished, and race hatred has been the consuming emotion in Ireland for centuries. The contest has been unequal, owing to the far greater resources of England during all this time. The result of this turbulent history was that the Irish were a subject people in their own land, as they had been for centuries, and that there were several evidences of this so conspicuous and so burdensome that most Irishmen could not pass a day without feeling the bitterness of their situation. It was a hate-laden atmosphere which they breathed.

Ireland a conquered country

The marks of subjection were various. The Irish did not own the land of Ireland, which had once belonged to their ancestors. The various conquests by English rulers had been followed by extensive confiscations of the land. Particularly extensive was that of Cromwell. These lands were given in large estates to Englishmen. The Irish were mere tenants, and most of them tenants-at-will, on lands that now belonged to others. The Irish have always regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the soil of Ireland, have regarded the English landlords as usurpers, and have desired to recover possession for themselves. Hence there has arisen the agrarian question, a part of the general Irish problem.

The agrarian question

Again, the Irish had long been the victims of religious intolerance. At the time of the Reformation they remained Catholic, while the English separated from Rome. Attempts to force the Anglican Church upon them only stiffened their opposition. Nevertheless, at the opening of the nineteenth century they were paying tithes to the Anglican Church in Ireland, though they were themselves ardent Catholics, never entered a Protestant church, and

The religious question

were supporting their own churches by voluntary gifts. Thus they co tributed to two churches, one alien, which they hated, and one to whic they were devoted. Thus a part of the Irish problem was the religiou question.

Again, the Irish did not make the laws which governed them. 1800 their separate Parliament in Dublin was abolished, and from 18 there was only one Parliament in Great Britain, that in London. Whi

The political question

Ireland henceforth had its quota of representatives in th House of Commons, it was always a hopeless minorit Moreover, the Irish members did not really represent th large majority of the Irish, as no Catholic could sit in the House of Con mons. There was this strange anomaly that, while the majority of th Irish could vote for members of Parliament, they must vote f Protestants — a bitter mockery. The Irish demanded the right govern themselves. Thus another aspect of the problem was pure political.

The abuse just mentioned was removed in 1829, when Catho Emancipation was carried, which henceforth permitted Catholi

Catholic Emancipation

to sit in the House of Commons. The English state men granted this concession only when forced to do by the imminent danger of civil war. The Irish cons quently felt no gratitude.

Shortly after Catholic Emancipation had been achieved, the Iris under the matchless leadership of O'Connell, endeavored by much th same methods to obtain the repeal of the Union between England a

The repeal movement

Ireland, effected in 1801, and to win back a separate leg lature and a large measure of independence. This mov ment, for some time very formidable, failed completely, owing to t iron determination of the English that the union should not be broke and to the fact that the leader, O'Connell, was not willing in la resort to risk civil war to accomplish the result, recognizing the hop lessness of such a contest. This movement came to an end in 184 However, a number of the younger followers of O'Connell, chagrin at his peaceful methods, formed a society called "Young Ireland the aim of which was Irish independence and a republic. They rose revolt in the troubled year, 1848. The revolt, however, was eas put down.

As if Ireland did not suffer enough from political and social evi

a appalling catastrophe of nature was added. The Irish famine of 45–47, to which reference has already been made, was a tragic calamity, far-reaching in its effects. The repeal of the Corn Laws did not check it. The distress continued for several years, though gradually growing less. The potato crop of 1846 was inferior to that of 1845, and the harvests of 1848 and 1849 were far from normal. Charity sought to aid, but was insufficient. The government gave money, and later gave rations. In March, 1847 over 700,000 people were receiving government support. In March and April of that year the deaths in the workhouses alone were more than ten thousand a month. Peasants ate roots and lichens, or flocked to the cities in the agony of despair, hoping for relief. Multitudes fled to England or crowded the emigrant ships to America, dying by the thousand of fever and exhaustion. It was a long drawn out horror, and when it was over it was found that the population had decreased from about 8,300,000 in 1845 to less than 6,600,000, in 1851. Since then the decrease occasioned by emigration has continued. By 1881 the population had fallen to 5,100,000, by 1891 to 4,700,000, by 1901 to about 4,450,000. Since 1851 perhaps 4,000,000 Irish have emigrated. Ireland, indeed, is probably the only country whose population decreased in the nineteenth century. Year after year the emigration to the United States continued.

The Irish famine

Decline of the population

When Gladstone came into power in 1868 he was resolved to pacify the Irish by removing some of their more pronounced grievances.

The question of the Irish Church, that is, of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the church of not more than one-eighth of the population, yet for which all Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant, paid tithes, was the first grievance attacked. In 1869 Gladstone procured the passage of a law disestablishing and partly disendowing this church. The Church henceforth ceased to be connected with the State. Its bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. It became a voluntary organization and was permitted to retain a large part of its property as an endowment. It was to have all the church buildings which it had formerly possessed. It was still very rich but the connection with the Church of England was to cease January 1, 1871.

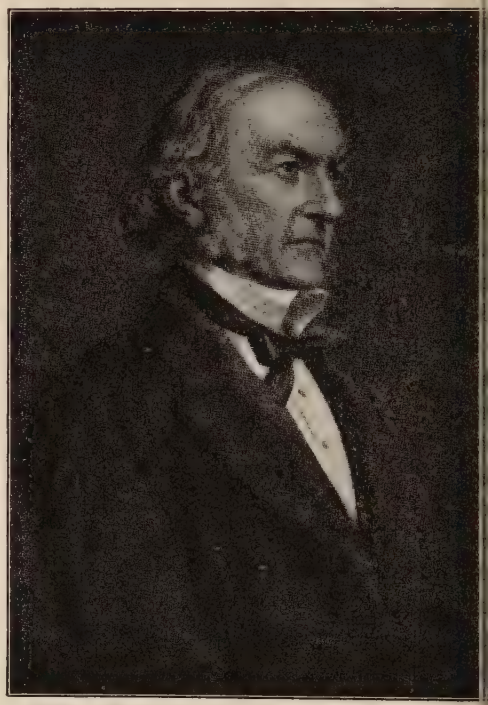
The Irish Church disestablished

Gladstone now approached a far more serious and perplexing problem, the system of land tenure. Ireland was almost exclusively an agri-

cultural country, yet the land was chiefly owned not by those who live on it and tilled it, but by a comparatively small number of landlords who held large estates. Many of these were Englishmen, absentees who rarely or never came to Ireland, and who regarded their estates simply as so many sources of revenue. The business relations with their tenants were carried on by agents or bailiffs, whose treatment of the tenants was frequently harsh and exasperating. If the peasant failed to pay his rent he could be evicted forthwith. As he was obliged to have land on which to raise his potatoes, almost his sole sustenance, he frequently agreed to pay a larger rent than the value of the land justified. Then in time he would be evicted and faced starvation. Moreover when a landlord evicted his tenant he was not obliged to pay for any buildings or improvements erected or carried out by the tenant. He simply appropriated so much property created by the tenant. Naturally there was no inducement to the peasant to develop his farm for to do so meant a higher rent, or eviction and confiscation of his improvements. It would be hard to conceive a more unwise or unjust system. It encouraged indolence and slothfulness.

System of land tenure

No compensation for improvements



William E. Gladstone

From engraving by T. O. Barlow, after the painting by J. E. Millais.

Chronic and shocking misery was the lot of the Irish peasantry. "The Irish peasant," says an official English document of the time, "... the most poorly nourished, most poorly housed, most poorly clothed ...

my in Europe; he has no reserve, no capital. He lives from day to ay." His house was generally a rude stone hut, with a **The peasantry** irt floor. The census of 1841 established the fact that in ne case of forty-six per cent of the population, the entire family lived n a house, or, more properly, hut of a single room. Frequently the oom served also as a barn for the live stock.

Stung by the misery of their position, and by the injustice of the ws which protected the landlord and gave them only two hard al-rnatives, surrender to the landlord or starvation, believ- **Deeds of violence** g that when evicted they were also robbed, and goaded y the hopeless outlook for the future, the Irish, in wild rage, com-itted many atrocious agrarian crimes, murders, arson, the killing or aiming of cattle. This in turn brought a new coercion law from the nglish Parliament which only aggravated the evil.

In the Land Act now passed to remedy the evils of this system (1870) was provided that, if evicted for any other reason than the non-yment of rent, the tenant could claim compensation. He **The Land Act of 1870** as also to receive compensation for any permanent im-rovements he had made on the land whenever he should give up his olding for any reason whatever. There were certain other clauses the bill designed to enable the peasants to buy the land outright, us ceasing to be tenants of other people and becoming landowners emselves. This could be done only by purchasing the estates of the ndlords, and this obviously the peasants were unable to do. It was ovided therefore that the state should help the peasant up to a rtain amount, he in turn repaying the state by easy installments for e money loaned. This Land Act of 1870 did not achieve what was ped from it, did not bring peace to Ireland. Landlords found ways evading it and evictions became more numerous than ever. Nor d the land purchase clauses prove effective. Only seven sales were de up to 1877. But the bill was important because of the prin-les it involved, and was to exercise a profound influence upon later slation. For the time being nothing further was done for Ireland.

Another measure of this active ministry was the Forster Education of 1870, designed to provide England with a national system of mentary education. England possessed no such sys- **Educational reform** , it being the accepted opinion that education was part of the duty of the state. The result was that the educa-

tional facilities were deplorably inadequate and inferior to those many other countries. The work that the state neglected was discharg

Church schools

in a measure by schools which were maintained by t various religious denominations, particularly the Anglic also the Catholic and the Methodist. But in 1869 it was estima that of 4,300,000 children in need of education, 2,000,000 were not school at all, 1,000,000 were in very inferior schools, and only 1,300,0 in schools that were fairly efficient.

The Gladstone ministry carried, in 1870, a bill designed to provi England for the first time in her history with a really national system

The Forster Education Act of 1870

elementary education. The system then established mained without essential change until 1902. It marked great progress in the educational facilities of England. T bill did not establish an entirely new educational machinery, to be pa for by the state and managed by the state. It adopted the church scho on condition that they submit to state inspection to see if they w maintaining a certain standard. In that case they would receive fina cial aid from the state. But where there were not enough such schoo local school boards were to be elected in each such district with pow to establish new schools, and to levy local taxes for the purpose. Und this system, which provided an adequate number of schools of respe able quality, popular education made great advances. In twenty ye the number of schools more than doubled, and were capable of acco modating all those of school age. The law of 1870 did not establi either free or compulsory or secular education, but, in 1880, attendan was made compulsory and in 1891 education was made free.

A number of other far-reaching reforms, democratic in their tenden were carried through by this ministry. The army was reformed son

Army reform

what along Prussian lines, though the principle of co pulsory military service was not adopted. Officers' positio which had previously been acquired by purchase and which were the fore monopolized by the rich, by the aristocracy, were now thro

Civil service reform

open to merit. The Civil Service was put on the ba of standing in open competitive examinations. The u versities of Oxford and Cambridge were rendered thoroughly natio

University reform

by the abolition of the religious tests which had previous made them a monopoly of the Church of England. Hen forth men of any religious faith or no religious faith could enter the

uld graduate from them. The universities henceforth belonged to all nglishmen.

The Australian ballot was introduced, thus giving to each voter his dependence. Previously intimidation or bribery had been very easy voting had been oral and public; now the voting was cret. Another feature of Gladstone's ministry, which st him much of his popularity at home, but was an act of high statesanship and an indisputable contribution to the cause of peace among tions, was its adoption of the principle of arbitration in the controrsy with the United States over the *Alabama* affair. The grievances the United States against England because of her conduct during our vil War were a dangerous source of friction between the two countries many years. Gladstone agreed to submit them to bitration, but as the decision of the Geneva Commission s against England (1872), his ministry suffered in popurity. Nevertheless, Gladstone had established a valuable precent. This was the greatest victory yet attained for the principle of ttling international difficulties by arbitration rather than by war. this sphere also this ministry advanced the interests of humanity, ough it drew only disadvantage for itself from its service.

Secret voting introduced

The Alabama award

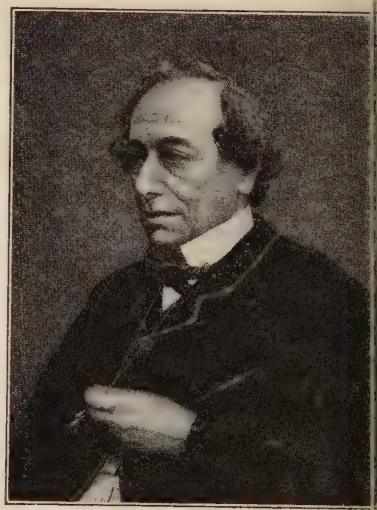
Gladstone fell from power in 1874 and the Conservatives came in, th Disraeli as prime minister. Disraeli's administration lasted from 74 to 1880. It differed as strikingly from Gladstone's his character differed from that of his predecessor. As adstone had busied himself with Irish and domestic oblems, Disraeli displayed his greatest interest in colonial and foreign airs. He found the situation favorable and the moment opportune impressing upon England the political ideal, long germinating in mind, succinctly called imperialism, that is, the transcendant imtance of breadth of view and vigor of assertion of Engd's position as a world power, as an empire, not as an ular state. In 1872 he had said: "In my judgment no minister in s country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconucting as much as possible our colonial empire, and of ponding to those distant sympathies which may become source of incalculable strength and happiness to this d." This principle Disraeli emphasized in act and speech ring his six years of power. It was imperfectly realized under him;

The Disraeli ministry

Imperialism

Importance of the colonies emphasized

it was partially reconsidered and revised by Gladstone upon his ret to power in 1880. But it had definitely received lodgment in the m of England before he left power. It gave a new note to English poli This is Disraeli's historic significance in the annals of British poli He greatly stimulated interest in the British colonies. He invoked "the sublime instinct of an ancient people."



Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfie
From a photograph.

His first conspicuous achievement in foreign affairs was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. The Suez Canal had been built by the French against ill-concealed English opposition. Disraeli had himself declared that the undertaking would inevitably be a failure. Now that the canal was built its success was speedily apparent. It radically changed the conditions of commerce with the East. It shortened greatly the distance to the Orient by water. Hitherto a considerable part of the commerce with Inc China, and Australia had been carried on by the long voyage arou the Cape of Good Hope. Some went by the Red Sea route, but tl involved transhipment at Alexandria. Now it could all pass throu the canal. About three-fourths of the tonnage passing through t canal was English. It was the direct road to India. There were so 400,000 shares in the Canal Company. The Khedive of Egypt hel large block of these, and the Khedive was nearly bankrupt. Disra bought, in 1875, his 177,000 shares by telegraph for four million poun and the fact was announced to a people who had never dreamed of but who applauded what seemed a brilliant stroke, somehow che mating the French. It was said that the highroad to India was n secure. The political significance of this act was that it determined least in principle the future of the relations of England to Egypt, a that it seemed to strike the note of imperial self-assertion which w

Purchase of the Suez Canal shares

sraeli's chief ambition and which was the most notable characteristic his administration.

At the same time Disraeli resolved to emphasize the importance of lia, England's leading colony, in another way. He proposed a new l sounding title for the British sovereign. She was to be Empress of lia. The Opposition denounced this as "cheap" and awdry," a vulgar piece of pretension. Was not the title King or Queen borne by the sovereigns of England for housand years glorious enough? But Disraeli urged it showing "the unanimous determination of the people of the country retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And it will be an wer to those mere economists and those diplomatists who announce t India is to us only a burden or a danger. By passing this bill then, House will show, in a manner that is unmistakable, that they look n India as one of the most precious possessions of the Crown, and ir pride that it is a part of her empire and governed by her imperial one."

The Queen proclaimed Empress of of India

The reasoning was weak, but the proposal gave great satisfaction to Queen, and it was enacted into law. On January 1, 1877, the Queen's umption of the new title was officially announced in India before an embly of the ruling princes.

In Europe Disraeli insisted upon carrying out a spirited foreign cy. His opportunity came with the reopening of the Eastern Ques-n, or the question of the integrity of Turkey, in 1876. two years this problem absorbed the interest and atten- a of rulers and diplomatists, and England had much to with the outcome. This subject may, however, be better lied in connection with the general history of the Eastern problem he nineteenth century.[1]

Reopening of the Eastern Question

Disraeli, who in 1876 became Lord Beaconsfield, continued in power ii 1880. The emphasis he put upon imperial and colonial problems to exert a considerable influence upon the rising generation, and n the later history of England. Imperial and colonial have vied Irish questions in dominating the political discussions of England ng the last thirty years.

In 1880 the Liberals were restored to power and Gladstone became ie minister for the second time.

[1] See Chapter XXXIII.

Gladstone's greatest ability lay in internal reform, as his previ ministry had shown. This was the field of his inclination, and, as

The Second Gladstone Ministry, 1880–1885

thought, of the national welfare. Peace, retrenchment, reform, the watchwords of his party, now represented programme he wished to follow. But this was not to While certain great measures of internal improvem were passed during the next five years, those years on the whole w characterized by the dominance of imperial and colonial questions, w attendant wars. Gladstone was forced to busy himself with fore policy far more than in his previous administration. Serious questi confronted him in Asia and Africa. These may best be studied, h ever, in the chapter on the British Empire.[1]

Two pieces of domestic legislation of great importance enacted d ing this ministry merit description, the Irish Land Act of 1881, and Reform Bills of 1884–85.

The legislation of Gladstone's preceding ministry had not paci Ireland. Indeed, the Land Act of 1870 had proved no final settleme

Failure of Land Act of 1870

but a great disappointment. It had established the p ciple that the tenant was to be compensated if deprive his farm except for non-payment of rent, and was to compensated, in any case, for all the permanent improvements wh he had made upon the land. But this was not sufficient to give tenant any security in his holding. It did not prevent the landlord fr raising the rent. Then if the peasant would not pay this increased r he must give up his holding. He therefore had no stable tenure. the new Land Act of 1881 Gladstone sought to give the peasant, in ac

Act of 1881

tion to the compensation for improvement previously cured, a fair rent, a fixed rent, one that is not constan subject to change at the will of the landlord, and freedom of sale, t is, the liberty of the peasant to sell his holding to some other peasa These were the "three F's," which had once represented the demands advanced Irishmen, though they no longer did. Henceforth, the r was to be determined by a court, established for the purpose. Re

Rents to be judicially determined

once judicially determined, were to be unchangeable fifteen years, during which time the tenant might not evicted except for breaches of covenant, such as n payment of rent. There was also attached to the bill a provision si

[1] Chapter XXVII.

to the one in the preceding measure of 1870, looking toward the ation of a peasant proprietorship. The Government was to loan ney to the peasants under certain conditions, and on easy terms, to able them to buy out the landlords, thus becoming complete owners emselves.

The bill passed though it was opposed with unusual bitterness. ndowners, believing that it meant a reduction of rents, determined by themselves but by a court, called it confiscation of perty. It was attacked because it established the prin- le that rents were not to be determined, like the price other things, by the law of supply and demand; were to be what the landlord might demand and the peasant agree to , but were to be reasonable and their reasonableness was to be ided by outsiders, judges, having no direct interest at all, that is, in resort, by the state. The bill was criticised as altering ruthlessly nature of property in land, as establishing dual ownership.

Denounced as confiscation of property

Gladstone carried through at this time the third of those great re- m acts of the nineteenth century by which England has been trans- med from an oligarchy into a democracy. The Reform l of 1832 had given the suffrage to the wealthier mem- s of the middle class. The Reform Bill of 1867 had taken a long step he direction of democracy by practically giving the vote to the lower idle class and the bulk of the laboring class in the boroughs but it not greatly benefit those living in the country districts. The fran- se in the boroughs was wider than in the counties. The result was t laborers in boroughs had the vote, but agricultural laborers did . There was apparently no reason for maintaining this difference. adstone's bill of 1884 aimed at the abolition of this inequality between two classes of constituencies, by extending the borough nchise to the counties so that the mass of workingmen uld have the right to vote whether they lived in town or ntry. The county franchise, previously higher, was to be exactly milated to the borough franchise. The bill as passed doubled the mber of county voters, and increased the total number of the electo- from over three to over five millions. Gladstone's chief argument that this measure would lay the foundations of the government d and deep in the people's will, and "array the people in one solid pacted mass around the ancient throne which it has loved so well,

The Reform Bill of 1884

The county franchise widened

and around a constitution now to be more than ever powerful, more than ever free."

Since 1884 there has been no extension of the suffrage. There many men who have no vote because they are unable to meet any

Various qualifications for voting

of the various property qualifications that give the v for it must be remembered that there is no such thing universal manhood suffrage in England. Only those v who have some one of the kinds of property indicated in the vari laws of 1832, 1867, and 1884. The present condition of the franchis historical, not rational. Many men have several votes; others h none at all. There is a demand for the enfranchisement of all ad males; there is a vigorous agitation for woman's suffrage; and the L eral party is pledged to the abolition of the practice of plural voti There has been no redistribution of parliamentary seats since 18 There is no periodical adjustment according to population, as in United States after each census. To-day some electoral districts ten, or even fifteen times as large as others. Constituencies ra from about 13,000 to over 217,000.

Gladstone's second ministry fell in 1885. There followed a

The First Salisbury Ministry

months of Conservative control under Lord Salisbu But in 1886 new elections were held and Gladstone ca back into power again, prime minister for the th time.

He was confronted by the Irish problem in a more acute form th ever before. For the Irish were now demanding a far-reaching cha in government. They were demanding Home Rule, t

The Home Rule Movement

is, an Irish Parliament for the management of the inter affairs of Ireland. They had constantly smarted un the injury which they felt had been done them by the abolition of th former Parliament, which sat in Dublin, and which was abolished by Act of Union of 1800. The feeling for nationality, one of the domin forces of the nineteenth century everywhere, acted upon them with usual force. They disliked, for historical and sentimental reasons, rule of an English Parliament, and the sense as well as reality of sub tion to an alien people. They did not wish the separation of Irel from England but they did wish a separate parliament for Irish aff on the ground that the Parliament at Westminster had neither the ti nor the understanding necessary for the proper consideration of m

res affecting the Irish. The Home Rule party had been slowly growg for several years when, in 1879, it came under the leadership of harles Stuart Parnell who, unlike the other great leaders of Irish hisry, such as Grattan and O'Connell, was no orator and was of a cold, ughty, distant nature, but of an inflexible will. Under his able leadership the party increased in numbers, in cohesion, in grim determination. Parnell's object was to make it so large that it could hold the balance of power in the House of Commons.

Charles Stewart Parnell
After the painting by Sydney P. Hall.

The Home Rulers hold the balance of power

In the Parliament which met in 1886 the Home Rulers were in this position. If they united with the Conservatives the two combined would have exactly the same number of votes as the Liberals. As the Conservatives would not help them they sided with the Liberals.

Gladstone's Third Ministry

Gladstone entered upon his third administration February 1, 1886. It was his shortest ministry, lasting less than six months. It was wholly devoted to e question of Ireland. The Irish had plainly indicated their wishes in e recent elections in returning a solid body of 85 Home Rulers out of the 3 members to which Ireland was entitled. Gladstone was enormously pressed by this fact, the outcome of the first election held on practically emocratic franchise. He had tried in previous legislation to rule the sh according to Irish rather than English ideas, where he considered se ideas just. He believed the great blot upon the annals of England be the Irish chapter, written, as it had been, by English arrogance, tred, and unintelligence. Reconciliation had been his ynote hitherto. Moreover, to him there seemed but o alternatives — either further reform along the lines desired by the

Home Rule or Coercion?

Irish, or the old, sad story of hard yet unsuccessful coercion. Gladstone would have nothing more to do with the latter method. He, therefore, resolved to endeavor to give to Ireland the Home Rule she plainly desired. On the 8th of April, 1886, he introduced the Irish Government Bill, announcing that it would be followed by a Land Bill, the two parts of a single scheme which could not be separated.

Introduction of the Home Rule Bill

The bill, thus introduced, provided for an Irish Parliament to sit in Dublin, controlling a ministry of its own, and legislating on Irish, as distinguished from imperial affairs. A difficulty arose right here. If the Irish were to have a legislature of their own for their own affairs, ought they still to sit in the Parliament in London, with power there to mix in English and Scotch affairs? On the other hand, if they ceased to have members in London, they would have no share in legislating for the Empire as a whole. "This," says Morley, "was from the first, and has ever since remained, the Gordian knot." The bill provided that they should be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster. On certain topics it was further provided that the Irish Parliament should never legislate: questions affecting the Crown, the army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs; nor could it establish or endow any religion.

Shall the Irish sit in Westminster?

Gladstone did not believe that the Irish difficulty would be solved simply by new political machinery. There was a serious social question not reached by this, the land question, not yet solved to the satisfaction of the Irish. He introduced immediately a Land Bill, which was to effect a vast transfer of land to the peasants by purchase from the landlords, and which might perhaps involve an expenditure to the state of about 120,000,000 pounds.

Land Purchase Bill

The introduction of these bills, whose passage would mean a radical transformation of Ireland, precipitated one of the fiercest struggles in English parliamentary annals. They were urged as necessary to settle the question once for all on a solid basis as adapted to bring peace and contentment to Ireland, and thus strengthen the Union. Otherwise, said those who supported them, England had no alternative but coercion, a dreary and dismal failure. On the other hand, the strongest opposition arose out of the belief that these bills imperiled the very existence of the Union. The exclusion of the Irish members from Parliament seemed to many to be the snapping of the

Opposition to the Bills

cords that held the countries together. Did not this bill really dismember the British Empire? Needless to say, no British statesman could urge any measure of that character. Gladstone thought that his bills meant the reconciliation of two peoples estranged for centuries, and that reconciliation meant the strengthening rather than the weakening of the Empire, that the historic policy of England towards Ireland had only resulted in alienation, hatred, the destruction of the spiritual harmony which is essential to real unity. But, said his opponents, to give the Irish a parliament of their own, and to exclude them from the Parliament in London, to give them control of their own legislature, their own executive, their own judiciary, their own police, must lead inevitably to separation. You exclude them from all participation in imperial affairs, thus rendering their patriotism the more intensely local. You provide, it is true, that they shall bear a part of the burdens of the Empire. Is this proviso worth the paper it is written on? Will they not next regard this as a grievance, this taxation without representation, and will not the old animosity break out anew? You abandon the Protestants of Ireland to the revenge of the Catholic majority of the new Parliament. To be sure, you provide for toleration in Ireland, but again is this toleration worth the paper it is written on?

The Union in danger!

Probably the strongest force in opposition to the bill was the opinion widely held in England of Irishmen, that they were thoroughly disloyal to the Empire, that they would delight to use their new autonomy to pay off old scores by aiding the enemies of England, that they were traitors in disguise, or undisguised, that they had no regard for property or contract, that an era of religious oppression and of confiscation of property would be inaugurated by this new agency of a parliament of their own.

English dislike of the Irish

The introduction of the Home Rule Bill aroused an amount of bitterness unknown in recent English history. The Conservative party opposed it to a man, and it badly disrupted the Liberal party. Nearly a hundred Liberals withdrew and joined the Conservatives. These men called themselves Liberal-Unionists, Liberals, but not men who were prepared to jeopardize the Union as they held that this measure would do. The result was that the bill was beaten by 343 votes to 313.

Disruption of the Liberal Party

Gladstone dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people. The question was vehemently discussed before the voters. The result was disastrous to the Gladstonian Home Rulers. A majority of over a hundred was rolled up against Gladstone's policy.

The Conservatives returned to power

The consequences of this introduction of the Home Rule proposition into British politics were momentous. One was the impotence, for most of the next twenty years, of the Liberal party. A considerable fraction of it, on the whole the least democratic, went over to the Conservatives and the result was the creation of the Unionist Coalition which for the next twenty years, with a single interruption, was to rule England. The Unionists had a new policy, that of Imperialism. They had preserved the Union, they thought, by defeating Home Rule. They now went further and became the champions of imperial expansion. On the other hand the Liberal party, now that its more aristocratic elements had left it, became more pronouncedly democratic. The line of division between the two parties became sharper. But for the present the Liberal party was in the hopeless minority.

On the fall of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury came into power, head of a Conservative or Unionist Government. The Irish question confronted it as it had confronted Gladstone's ministry. As it would not for a moment consider any measure granting self-government to the Irish, it was compelled to govern them in the old way, by coercion, by force, by relentless suppression of liberties freely enjoyed in England. But the policy of this ministry was not simply negative. Holding that the only serious Irish grievance was the land problem and that, if this were once completely solved, then this new-fangled demand for a political reform would drop away, the Conservatives adopted boldly the policy of purchase that had been timidly applied in Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. The idea was that if only the Irish could get full ownership of their land, could get the absentee and oppressive landlords out of the way, then they would be happy and prosperous and would no longer care for such political nostrums as Home Rule.

The Second Salisbury Ministry (1886–1892)

The policy of coercion

The land purchase clauses of Gladstone's acts had had no great effect as the state had offered to advance only two-thirds of the purchase price. The Conservatives now provided that the state should advance

the whole of it, the peasants repaying the state by installments covering a long number of years. The Government buys the land, sells it to the peasant, who that instant becomes its legal owner, and who pays for it gradually. He actually pays less in this way each year than he formerly paid for rent, and in the end he has his holding unencumbered. This bill was passed in 1891, and in five years some 35,000 tenants were thus enabled to purchase their holdings under its provisions. The system was extended much further in later years, particularly by the Land Act of 1903, which set aside a practically unlimited amount of money for the purpose. From 1903 to 1908 there were about 160,000 purchasers. Under this act, which simply increased the inducements to the landlords to sell, Ireland is becoming a country of small freeholders. The earlier principle of dual ownership recognized in Gladstone's land legislation of 1881 has given way completely to this new principle of individual ownership, but no longer individual ownership by the great landowners but now by the peasants, the inhabitants of Ireland. The economic prosperity of Ireland has steadily increased in recent years.

Land Purchase Act

This ministry passed other bills of a distinctly liberal character; among them an act absolutely prohibiting the employment of children under ten, an act designed to reduce the oppression of the sweat-shop by limiting the labor of women to twelve hours a day, with an hour and a half for meals, an act making education free, and a small allotment act intended to create a class of peasant proprietors in England. These measures were supported by all parties. They were important as indicating that social legislation was likely to be in the coming years more important than political legislation, which has proved to be the case. They also show that the Conservative party was changing in character, and was willing to assume a leading part in social reform.

Social legislation

In respect to another item of internal policy, the Salisbury ministry took a stand which has been decisive ever since. In 1889 it secured an immense increase of the navy. Seventy ships were to be added at an expense of 21,500,000 pounds during the next seven years. Lord Salisbury laid it down as a principle that the British navy ought to be equal to any other two navies of the world combined.

Increase of the navy

In foreign affairs the most important work of this ministry lay in its share in the partition of Africa, which will be described elsewhere.

The general elections of 1892 resulted in the return to power of the Liberals, supported by the Irish Home Rulers, and Gladstone, at the age of eighty-two, became for the fourth time prime minister, a record unparalleled in English history. As he himself said, the one single tie that still bound him to public life was his interest in securing Home Rule for Ireland before his end. It followed necessarily from the nature of the case that public attention was immediately concentrated anew on that question.

The Fourth Gladstone Ministry, (1892–1894)

Early in 1893 Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill. The opposition to it was exceedingly bitter and prolonged. Very few new arguments were brought forward on either side. Party spirit ran riot. Gladstone expressed with all his eloquence his faith in the Irish people, his belief that the only alternative to his policy was coercion, and that coercion would be forever unsuccessful, his conviction that it was the duty of England to atone for six centuries of misrule.

The Second Home Rule Bill

After eighty-two days of discussion, marked by scenes of great disorder, members on one occasion coming to blows to the great damage of decorous parliamentary traditions, the bill was carried by a majority of 34 (301 to 267). A week later it was defeated in the House of Lords by 419 to 41, or a majority of more than ten to one. The bill was dead.

Passed by the Commons, defeated by the Lords

Gladstone's fourth ministry was balked successfully at every turn by the House of Lords, which, under the able leadership of Lord Salisbury, recovered an actual power it had not possessed since 1832. In 1894 Gladstone resigned his office, thus bringing to a close one of the most remarkable political careers known to English history. His last speech in Parliament was a vigorous attack upon the House of Lords. In his opinion, that House had become the great obstacle to progress. "The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people," and an hereditary body, "is a controversy which, when once raised must go forward to an issue." This speech was his last in an assembly where his first had been delivered sixty-one years before. Gladstone died four years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey (1898).

Resignation of Gladstone

In the elections of 1895 the Unionists secured a majority of a hundred and fifty. They were to remain uninterruptedly in power until December, 1905.

Lord Salisbury became prime minister for the third time. He remained such until 1902, when he withdrew from public life, being succeeded by his nephew, Arthur James Balfour. There was, however, no change of party. Lord Salisbury had an immense majority in the House of Commons. His ministry contained several very able men. He himself assumed the Foreign Office, Joseph Chamberlain the Colonial Office, Balfour the leadership of the House of Commons. The withdrawal of Gladstone and the divisions in the Liberal party reduced that party to a position of ineffective opposition. The Irish question sank into the background as the Unionists, resolutely opposed to the policy of an independent parliament in Ireland, declined absolutely to consider Home Rule. They did on the other hand pass certain acts beneficial to Ireland, land purchase acts on a vast scale and measures extending somewhat the strictly local self-government in Ireland. Much social and labor legislation was also enacted.

The Third Salisbury Ministry

The commanding question of this period was to be that of imperialism, and the central figure was Joseph Chamberlain, a man remarkable for vigor and audacity, and the most popular member of the cabinet. Chamberlain, who had made his reputation as an advanced Liberal, an advocate of radical social and economic reforms, now stood forth as the spokesman of imperialism. His office, that of Colonial Secretary, gave him excellent opportunities to emphasize the importance of the colonies to the mother country, the desirability of drawing them closer together, of promoting imperial federation.

The sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession occurring in 1897 was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the colonies to the Empire, as well as of the universal respect and affection in which the sovereign was held. This diamond jubilee was an imposing demonstration of the strength of the sentiment of union that bound the various sections of the Empire together, of the advantages accruing to each from the connection with the others, of the pride of power. Advantage was taken, too, of the presence of the prime ministers of the various colonies in London to discuss methods of drawing the various parts of the Empire more closely together. All these circumstances gave expression to that "imperialism" which was becoming an increasing factor in British politics.

Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee

A period of great activity in foreign and colonial affairs began almost immediately after the inauguration of the new Unionist ministry. It was shown in the recovery of the Soudan by Lord Kitchener, but the most important chapter in this activity concerned the conditions in South Africa which led, in 1899, to the Boer War, and which had important consequences. This will better be described elsewhere.[1] This war, lasting from 1899 to 1902, much longer than had been anticipated, absorbed the attention of England until its successful termination. Internal legislation was of slight importance. During the war Queen Victoria died, January 22, 1901, after a reign of over sixty-three years, the longest in British history, and then exceeded elsewhere only by the seventy-one years' reign of Louis XIV of France. She had proved during her entire reign, which began in 1837, a model constitutional monarch, subordinating her will to that of the people, as expressed by the ministry and Parliament. "She passed away," said Balfour in the House of Commons, "without an enemy in the world, for even those who loved not England loved her." The reign of Edward VII (1901–1910), then in his sixty-second year, began.

War in South Africa

Death of Queen Victoria

Reign of Edward VII (1901–1910)

QUEEN VICTORIA, AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-EIGHT
From the painting by Baron von Angeli, at Windsor Castle.

When the South African war was over Parliament turned its attention to domestic affairs. In 1902 it passed an Education Act which

[1] See pp. 497–502.

superseded that of Gladstone's first ministry, the Forster Act of 1870, already described. It abolished the school boards established by that law. It admitted the principle of the support of denominational schools out of taxes. In such schools the head teacher must belong to the denomination concerned and a majority of the managers of those schools would also be members of the denomination. **Education Act of 1902**

The bill gave great offense to Dissenters and believers in secular education. It authorized taxation for the advantage of a denomination of which multitudes of taxpayers were not members. It was held to be a measure for increasing the power of the Church of England, considered one of the bulwarks of Conservatism.

The opposition to this law was intense. Thousands refused to pay their taxes, and their property was, therefore, sold by public authority to meet the taxes. Many were imprisoned. There were over 70,000 summonses to court. The agitation thus aroused was one of the great causes for the crushing defeat of the Conservative party in 1905. Yet the law of 1902 was put into force and is at this moment the law of England, the Liberals having failed in 1906 in an attempt to pass an education bill of their own to supersede it. The educational system remains one of the contentious problems of English politics.

The popularity of the Unionist ministry began to wane after the close of the South African war. Much of its legislation was denounced as class legislation designed to bolster up the Conservative party, not to serve the interest of all England. Moreover a new issue was now injected into British politics which divided the Unionists, as Home Rule had divided the Liberals. Chamberlain came forward with a proposition for tariff reform as a means of binding the Empire more closely together. He urged that England impose certain tariff duties against the outside world, at the same time exempting her colonies from their operation. He called this policy "colonial preference." It would be that but it would also be the abandonment of the free trade policy of Great Britain and the adoption of the protective system. **Tariff reform proposed**

As the discussion of this proposal developed it became apparent that Englishmen had not yet lost their faith in free trade as still greatly to their advantage, if not absolutely essential to their welfare. The new controversy disrupted the Unionist party and reunited the Liberals.

The result of this increasing disaffection was shown in the crushing

defeat of the Unionists and the inauguration of a very different polic

The Liberal party in power

under the Liberals. Since December, 1905 the Liber party has been in power, first under the premiership Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and since his death earl in 1908, under that of Herbert Asquith. This party won in the Ge eral Elections of 1906 the largest majority ever obtained since 1832.

An important achievement of this administration was the passage i 1908 of the Old Age Pensions Act, which marks a long step forward i

Old Age Pensions Law

the extension of state activity. It grants, under certai slight restrictions, pensions to all persons of a certain ag and of a small income. Denounced as paternalistic, a socialistic, as sure to undermine the thrift and the sense of responsibi ity of the laborers of Great Britain, it was urged as a reasonable an proper recognition of the value of the services to the country of the work ing classes, services as truly to be rewarded as those of army and nav and administration. The act provides that persons seventy years age whose income does not exceed twenty-five guineas a year sha receive a weekly pension of five shillings, that those with larger income shall receive proportionately smaller amounts, down to the minimum one shilling a week. Those whose income exceeds thirty guineas and te shillings a year receive no pensions. It was estimated by the prime minis ter that the initial burden to the state would be about seven and a ha million pounds, an amount that would necessarily increase in later years The post office is used as the distributing agent. This law went into forc on January 1, 1909. On that day over half a million men and women wen to the nearest post office and drew their first pensions of from one to fiv shillings, and on every Friday henceforth as long as they live they may d the same. It was noticed that these men and women accepted their pen sions not as a form of charity or poor relief, but as an honorable reward The statistics of those claiming under this law are instructive and sob ering. In the county of London one person in every one hundred an seventeen was a claimant; in England and Wales one in eighty-six; i Scotland one in sixty-seven; in Ireland one in twenty-one.

The Unionist party had been in control from 1895 to 1905. It

The Unionist party from 1895 to 1905

chief emphasis had been put upon problems of imperialism Social legislation had slipped into the background. Bu the conduct and course of the Boer War, the great advent ure in imperialism, had not increased the reputation for statesmanshi

ir the popularity of the Conservatives, and their domestic legislation iiming, as was held, at the strengthening of the Established Church and he liquor trade, two stout and constant defenders of the party, exposed hem to severe attack as aristocratic, as believers in privileged and vested nterests, as hostile to the development of the democratic forces in the ational life.

Now that the Liberals were in power they turned energetically to ndo the class legislation of the previous ministry, to remove the obtacles to the development of truly popular government. The new Liberal party was more radical than the old Liberal party of the time of the first Home Rule Bill as the more conservative Liberals had left it then and had gone over to the opposition. Moreover there now appeared in Parliament a party more radical still, the Labor party, with some fifty members. Radical social and labor legislation was now attempted. That the existing social system weighed with unjust severity upon the masses was recognized by the ministry. "Property" said Asquith, "must be associated in the mind of the masses of the people, with the ideas of reason and justice."

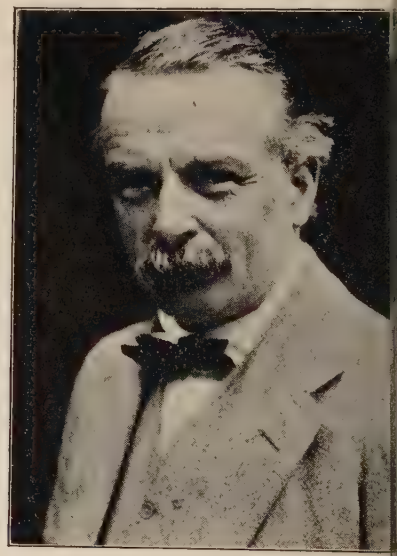
Democratic policy of the Liberal party since 1905

But when the Liberals attempted to carry out their fresh and progressive programme they immediately confronted a most formidable obstacle. They passed through the House of Commons an Education bill, to remedy the evils of the Education Act of 1902, enacted in the interests chiefly of the Established Church; also a Licensing bill designed to penalize the liquor trade which Conservative legislation had greatly favored; a bill abolishing plural voting, which gave such undue weight to the propertied classes, enabling rich men to cast several votes at a time when many poor men did not have even a single vote. The obstacle encountered at every step was the House of Lords, which threw out these bills and stood right athwart the path of the Liberal party, firmly resolved not to let any ultra-democratic measures pass, firmly resolved also to maintain all the ground the Conservatives had won in the previous administrations. A serious political and constitutional problem thus arose which had to be settled before the Liberals could use their immense popular majority, as shown in the House of Commons, for the enactment of Liberal policies. The House of Lords, which was always ruled by the Conserva-

The Liberals blocked by the House of Lords

A constitutional problem

tives, and which was not, being an hereditary body, subject to direct popular control, now asserted its power frequently and, in the opinion of the Liberals, flagrantly, by rejecting peremptorily the more distinctive Liberal measures. The Lords, encouraged by their easy successes in blocking the Commons, blithely took another step forward, a step which, as events were to prove, was to precede a resounding fall. The Lords in 1909 rejected the budget, a far more serious act of defiance of the popular chamber than any of these others had been, and a most conspicuous revelation of the spirit of confidence which the Lords had in their power, now being so variously and systematically asserted.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

The budget of 1909

In 1909 Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the budget. He announced correctly that two new lines of heavy expenditure, the payment of old age pensions and the rapid enlargement of the navy, necessitated new and additional taxation. The new taxes which he proposed would bear mainly on the wealthy classes. The income tax was to be increased. In addition there was to be a special or super-tax on incomes of over £5,000. A distinction was to be made between earned and unearned incomes — the former being the result of the labor of the individual, the latter being the income from investments, representing no direct personal activity on the part of the individual receiving them. Unearned incomes were to be taxed higher than earned. Inheritance taxes were to be graded more sharply and to vary decidedly according to the amount involved. New taxes on the land of various kinds were also to be levied.

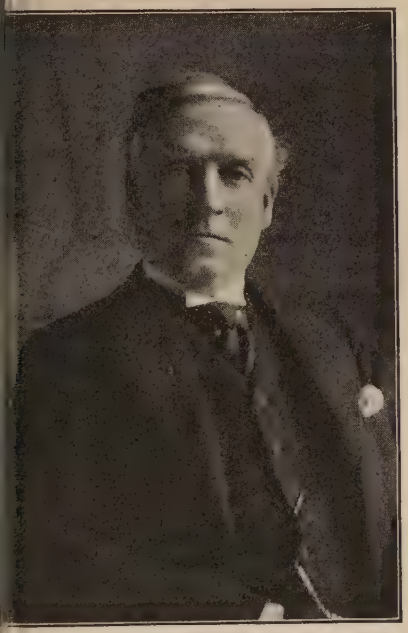
This budget aroused the most vehement opposition of the class of landowners, capitalists, bankers, persons of large property interests, persons who lived on the money they had inherited, on their investments

They denounced the bill as socialistic, as revolutionary, as in short, odious class legislation directed against the rich, as confiscatory, as destructive of all just property rights.

Opposition to the budget

The budget passed the House of Commons by a large majority. It then went to the House of Lords. For a long time it had not been supposed that the Lords had any right to reject money bills, as they were an hereditary and not a representative body. They, however, now asserted that they had that right, although they had not exercised it within the memory of men. After a few days of debate they rejected the budget by a vote of 350 to 75 (Nov. 30, 1909).

The Lords reject the budget



HERBERT ASQUITH

At once was precipitated an exciting and momentous political and constitutional struggle. The Liberals, blocked again by the hereditary chamber, consisting solely of the aristocracy of the land, and blocked this time in a field which had long been considered very particularly to be reserved for the House of Commons, indignantly picked up the gauntlet which the Lords had thrown down. The House of Commons voted overwhelmingly, 349 to 134, that the action of the Lords was "a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." Asquith declared in a crowded House that "the House would be unworthy of its past and of those traditions of which it is the custodian and the trustee," if it allowed any time to pass without showing that it would not brook this usurpation. He declared that the "power of the purse" belonged to the Commons alone. The very principle of representative government was at stake. For if the Lords possessed the right they had assumed the situation was ex-

The act declared unconstitutional by the Commons

Asquith defines the issue

actly this: that when the voters elected a majority of Conservatives t the Commons then the Conservatives would control the legislatio that, when they elected a majority of Liberals, the Conservatives woul still control by being able to block all legislation they disliked by th veto of the House of Lords, always and permanently a body adhering t the Conservative party. An hereditary body, not subject to the peopl could veto the people's wishes as expressed by the body that was repre sentative, the House of Commons. In other words the aristocratic ele ment in the state was really more powerful than the democratic, th house representing a class was more powerful than the house represent ing the people.

The question of the budget and the question of the proper positio and the future of the Upper Chamber were thus linked together. A these questions were of exceptional gravity the ministry resolved to see the opinion of the voters. Parliament was dissolved and a new electio was ordered. The campaign was one of extreme bitterness expressing itself in numerous deeds of violence. The elec tion, held in January, 1910, resulted in giving the Unionist a hundred more votes than they had had in the previous Parliament. Yet despite this gain the Liberals would have a majority of over a hundred in the new House of Commons if the Labor party and the Irish Home Rulers supported them, which they did.

General Election, January, 1910

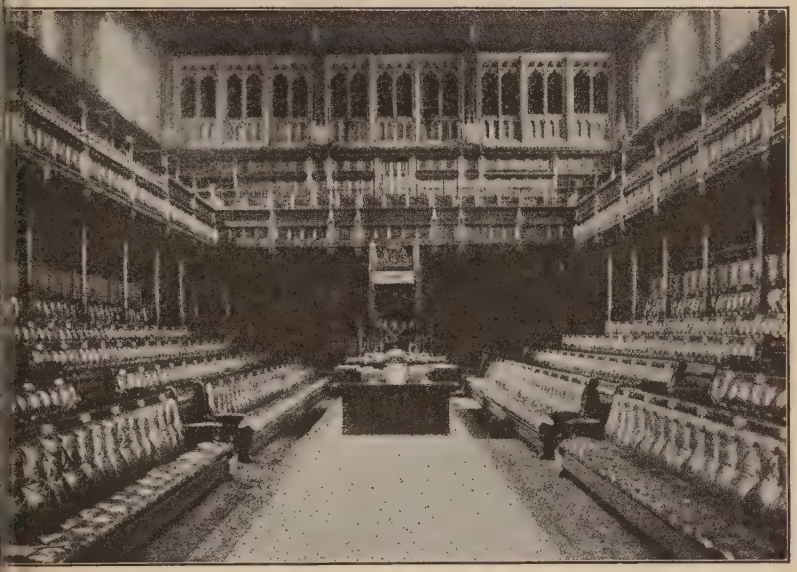
In the new Parliament the budget which had been thrown out the previous year was introduced again, without serious change. Again i passed the House of Commons and went to the Lords That House yielded this time and passed the budget witl all its so-called revolutionary and socialistic provisions.

The budget passed

The Liberals now turned their attention to this question of the "Lords' Veto," or of the position proper for an hereditary, aristocratic chamber in a nation that pretended to be democratic, as did England. The issue stated nearly twenty years before by Gladstone in his last speech in Parliament had now arrived at the crucial stage. What should be the relations between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than six million voters and an hereditary body? The question was vehemently discussed inside Parliament and outside. Various suggestions for reform of the House of Lords were made by the members of that House itself, justly apprehensive for their future. The death of the popular King Edward

The question of the Lords' Veto

II (May 6, 1910), and the accession of George V, occurring in the idst of this passionate campaign, somewhat sobered the combatants, nough only temporarily. Attempts were made to see if some compro- ise regarding the future of the House of Lords might not be worked it by the two parties. But the attempts were futile, the issue being oo deep and too far-reaching.



Interior of the House of Commons

The ministry, wishing the opinion of the people on this new question, issolved the House of Commons again and ordered new elections, he second within a single year (December, 1910). The esult was that the parties came back each with practi- ally the same number of members as before. The Gov- rnment's majority was undiminished.

The elections of December, 1910

The Asquith ministry now passed through the House of Commons a arliament Bill restricting the power of the House of Lords several important particulars and providing that the ouse of Commons should in last resort have its way in any ntroversy with the other chamber. This bill passed the ouse of Commons by a large majority. How could it be got through

The House of Commons passes the Parliament Bill

the House of Lords? Would the Lords be likely to vote in favor the recognition of their inferiority to the other House, would they co sent to this withdrawal from them of powers they had hitherto exercise would they acquiesce in this altered and reduced situation at the han of a chamber whose measures they had been freely blocking for seve years? Of course they would not if they could help it. But there is o way in which the opposition of the House of Lords can be overcom no matter however overwhelming. The King can create new peers — many as he likes — enough to overcome the majority against the mea ure in question. This supreme weapon the King, which course in fact meant the Asquith ministry, was now pr pared to use. Asquith announced that he had the conse of George V to create enough peers to secure the passage the bill in case it were necessary. The threat was sufficient. The Lor on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act which so profound altered their own status, power, and prestige. This measure establish new processes of law-making. If the Lords withhold the assent from a money bill, that is, any bill raising taxes making appropriations, for more than one month after it has passed th House of Commons, the bill may be presented for the King's signatu and on receiving it becomes law without the consent of the Lords. a bill other than a money bill is passed by the Commons in three succes ive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected b the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for th King's assent and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwith standing the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the b — provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading the bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes th Commons for the third time.

The Parliament Bill passed by the House of Lords

Provisions of the Bill

This Parliament or Veto Bill contained another important prov sion, substituting five years for seven as the maximum duration of Parliament; that is, members of the Commons are henceforth chosen fo five, not seven years. Their term was thus reduced.

Thus the veto power of the House of Lords is gone entirely for a financial legislation, and for all other legislation its veto merely suspensive. The Commons can have their way i the end. They may be delayed two years.

The Lords' Veto destroyed

The way was now cleared for the enactment of certain legislatio

desired by the Liberal party which could not secure the approval of the House of Lords. It was possible finally to pass a Home Rule Bill, to the principle of which the Liberal party had been committed for a quarter of a century. On April 11, 1912, Asquith introduced the third Home Rule Bill, granting Ire-

The Home Rule question again

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

and a Parliament of her own, consisting of a Senate of forty members and a House of Commons of 164. If the two houses should disagree, then they were to sit and vote together. On certain subjects the Irish Parliament should not have the right to legislate; on peace or war, naval or military affairs, treaties, currency, foreign commerce. It could not establish or endow any religion or impose any religious disabilities. The Irish were to be represented in the Parliament in London by forty-two members instead of the previous number, 103.

The third Home Rule Bill introduced

This measure was passionately opposed by the Conservative party and particularly by the Ulster party, Ulster being that province of Ire-

The Cabinet Room
At No. 10 Downing Street.

land in which the Protestants are strong. They went so far in thei

Opposition of Ulster

opposition as to threaten civil war, in case Ulster were no exempted from the operation of this law. During the nex two years the battle raged about this point, in conferences betwee

political leaders, in discussions in Parliament and the press. Attempts at compromise failed as the Home Rule party would not consent to the exemption of a quarter of Ireland from the jurisdiction of the proposed Irish Parliament.

The bill was, however, passed and was immediately vetoed by the House of Lords. At the next session it was passed again and again vetoed by the Lords. Finally on May 25, 1914, it was passed a third time by the House of Commons by a vote of 351 to 274, a majority of 77. The bill was later rejected by the Lords. It might now become a law without their consent, in conformity with the Parliament Act of 1911. Only the formal assent of the King was necessary.

The bill passed by the House of Commons

But the ministry was so impressed with the vehemence and the determination of the "Ulster party," which went so far as to organize an army and establish a sort of provisional government, that it decided to continue discussions in order to see whether some compromise might not be arranged. These discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of the European War.

Meanwhile a bill disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales had gone through the same process; had thrice been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. Like the Home Rule bill, it only awaited the signature of the sovereign.

Disestablishment of the Welsh Church

Finally that signature was given to both bills on September 18, 1914, but Parliament passed on that same day a bill suspending these laws from operation until the close of the war.

Both laws suspended

England now had far more serious things to consider and she wisely swept the deck clean of contentious domestic matters until a more convenient season. Whether the Home Rule Act when finally put into force will be accompanied with amendments which will pacify the Protestants of Ulster, remains, of course, to be seen.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

We have thus far concerned ourselves with the history of the European continent. But one of the most remarkable features of the nineteenth century was the reaching out of Europe for the conquest of the world. It was not only a century of nation building but also of empire building on a colossal scale, a century of European emigration and colonization, a century during which the white race seized whatever regions of the earth remained still unappropriated or were too weak to preserve themselves inviolate. Thus magnificent imperial claims were staked out by various powers either for immediate or for ultimate use.

The expansion of Europe

The growth of colonial empires

Many were the causes of this new Wandering of the Peoples. One was the extraordinary increase during the century of the population of Europe — perhaps a hundred and seventy-five millions in 1815, more than four hundred and fifty millions a century later. This is unquestionably one of the most important facts in modern history, the fundamental cause of the colossal emigration. Another cause was the transformation of the economic system, the marvelous increase in the power of production, which impelled the producers to ransack the world for new markets and new sources of raw material. And another and potent cause was the spectacle of the British Empire which touched the imagination or aroused the envy of other peoples, who therefore fell to imitating, within the range of the possible. An examination of the history and characteristics of that Empire is essential to an understanding of modern Europe.

Causes of this growth

At the close of the eighteenth century England possessed in the New World, the region of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and a large, vague region known as the Hudson Bay territory; Jamaica, and other West Indian islands; in Australia, a strip of the eastern coast; in India, the Bengal or lower Ganges region,

The British Empire at the close of the eighteenth century

Bombay, and strips along the eastern and western coasts. The most important feature of her colonial policy had been her elimination of France as a rival, from whom she had taken in the Seven Years' War almost all of her North American and East Indian possessions. This Empire she increased during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, largely at the expense of France and Holland, the ally of France. Thus she acquired the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana in South America, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and the large island of Ceylon. In the Mediterranean she acquired Malta. She also obtained Helgoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

Vast growth of the British Empire since 1815

Since 1815 her Empire has been vastly augumented by a long series of wars, and by the natural advance of her colonists over countries contiguous to the early settlements, as in Canada and Australia. Her Empire lies in every quarter of the globe.

INDIA

The acquisition of India, a world in itself, for the British Crown was the work of a private commercial organization, the East India Company which was founded in the sixteenth century and given a monopoly of the trade with India. This company established trading stations in various parts of that peninsula. Coming into conflict with the French and mixing in the quarrels of the native princes, it succeeded in winning direct control of large sections, and indirect control of others by assuming protectorates over certain of the princes, who allied themselves with the English and were left on their thrones. This commercial company became invested with the government of these acquisitions under the provisions of laws passed by the English Parliament at various times. In the nineteenth century the area of British control steadily widened, until it became complete. Its progress was immensely furthered by the overthrow, after a long and intermittent war, of the Mahratta confederacy, a loose union of Indian princes dominating central and western India. This confederacy was finally conquered in a war which lasted from 1816 to 1818, when a large part of its territories were added directly to the English possessions, and other parts were left under their native rulers who, however, were brought effectively under English control by being obliged to conform to English policy, to accept English *Resident* at their courts, whose advice they were practically compelled to follow

Overthrow of the Mahratta confederacy

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS
of the
EUROPEAN POWERS
IN 1815.
West Longitude from Greenwich
ASIA
Bering Str.
Wrangell I.
Alaska
Bering Sea
Aleutian Is
Alaska Penins.
Sitka
Charlotte I.
Vancouver I.
Columbia
C. Mendocino
Ft S. Francisco
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Sandwich Is
Hawai
Johnston I.
Fanning I.
Christmas I.
Equator
POLYNESIA
Manihiki
Marquesas I.
Society Is
Samoa Is
Tonga Is
Paumotu or Low I.
Tahiti
Tubuai
Austral (Tubuai) Is
Kermadec Is
Harvey (Cook)
Chatham I.
SOUTH SEA
Mackenzie R. 1789
Gr. Bear L.
Mackenzie R.
New Wales
Hudson Bay
Hudson Str.
Baffin Bay
Greenland
Upernivik
Disko
Godthavn
Fox B.
Baffin Ld
Davis Str.
Prudhoe Ld
Smith
Denmark Str.
Reykjavik
Iceland
Frederikshal
C. Farewell
Labrador
Winnipeg
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
St. Charles R.
Newfoundland
Nova Scotia
NORTH AMERICA
Missouri
St. Louis
Philadelphia
New York
Bermudas
Florida
Azores
Madeira
Canary Is
Tropic of Cancer
C. Blanco
C. Verde Is
Freetown
Sierra Leone
Ft. Bonne Espérance
Pernambuco
Bahia
Rio de Janeiro
Trinidad
Tristan da Cunha
Montevideo
La Plata
Buenos Ayres
Falkland Is
Str. of Magalhaens
Tierra del Fuego
S. Georgia I.
C. Horn
Sandwich
Antarctic
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Low California
New Mexico
Rio Grande
G. of Mexico
Havana
Cuba
Hayti
Jamaica
Caribbean Sea
Lesser Antilles
Trinidad
Georgetown
Guyana
Surinam
Cayenne
Para
Amazon R.
Ft. Nassau
Ft. Orleans
Galapagos I.
G. of Panama
Quito
Lima
Peru
Brazil
Sucre
Tucuman
Chile
Valparaiso
Santiago
Juan Fernandez Is
Valdivia
Patagonia
Easter I.
Sala y Gomez
Tropic of Capricorn
WEST INDIES
British
French
Spanish
Danish
Dutch
Florida
Bahama
Havana
Cuba
I. of Pines
Gr. Inagua
Caicos I.
Jamaica
Kingston
Hayti
Santo Domingo
Porto Rico
St. Thomas
St. Croix
Virgin Is
Anguilla
St. Martin
Barbuda Br.
Antigua
Guadaloupe
Montserrat
Dominica Br.
Martinique
St. Lucia Br.
Barbadas
St. Vincent
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
CARIBBEAN SEA
Orinoco
Curaçoa
Puerto Cabello
Caracas
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Colombia
Venezuela
Brit
Spa
Dan

East Longitude from Greenwich
0
40
60
80
100
120
140
160
180
ARCTIC OCEAN
K.g Charles Ld.
Barents I.
Spitzbergen
Edge I.
North East Land
Bear I.
C.Nassau
C.Mauritius
C.Cheljuskin
Taimyr I.
New Sibiria
Taimyr Pening
I.Kotelnoi
I.Blishnij
White I.
Karish Sea
Karish Str.
North Cape
Vardo
Alexandrowsk
Lappland
Laponia
Archanget
Onega
L.Onega
Ladoga L.
Petersburg
Russia
Moscow
Kazan
EUROPE
Orenburg
Tartary
Odessa
Black Sea
Constantinople
Smyrna
Gulf
Aegean Sea
Cairo
Suez
Egypt
Arabia
Mecca
Nubia
Abyssinia
Ethiopia
Tobolsk
Yenisseisk
Ekaterinb
Tomsk
Omsk
Irtish R.
Obi R.
Lena R.
Yakutsk
Sea of Okhotsk
Kamchatka
V.Kluchev
Okhotsk
Sea
Sakhalin
Amur R.
Siberia
ASIA
Mongolia
Desert of Gobi
L.Baikal
Peking
Japan
Yesso
Empire of Japan
Sea of Japan
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Ganges
Bonin I.
Tibet
China
Kiusiu
Shanghai
Formosa
Chinese Sea
Bengal
Calcutta
Hindostan
Bombay
Arabian Sea
C.Comorin
Ceylon
Maldives
Laccadives
Madras
Pondicherry
Mangalore
Goa
Canton
Macao
Hainan
Manilla
Philippines
Ladrones (Marianna) Wake I.
Marshall I.
Carolines
Palau Is
Equator
Gilbert I.
Celebes
Gilolo
Sunda Islands
Singapore
Borneo
Batavia
Java
New Guinea
Solomon Is
S.Cruz I.
Torres Str.
N.Hebrides
Vili (Fiji Is)
N.Caledonia
Loyalty I.
Seychelles
Amirantes
Chagos I.
Cocos I.
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Comoro I.
Mauritius
Rodriguez
Reunion
INDIAN OCEAN
North West C.
NEW HOLLAND
South West C.
New Holland
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
North Is
Cook Str.
New Zealand
South I
Tasmania
Macquarie I.
Prince Edward I.
Crozet I.
Kerguelen Is
Heard I.
New Amsterdam
St.Paul
C.Leeuwin
Grassmere Bay
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
70
60
40
20
0

and by putting their native armies under British direction. Such is the condition of many of them at the present day.

The English also advanced to the north and northwest, from Bengal. One of their most important annexations was that of the Punjab, an immense territory on the Indus, taken as a result of two difficult wars (1845 to 1849), and the Oudh province, one of the richest sections of India, lying between the Punjab and Bengal, annexed in 1856.

Annexation of the Punjab

The steady march of English conquest aroused a bitter feeling of hostility to the English, which came to a head in the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which for a time threatened the complete overthrow of the British in northern India. There were various causes of this insurrection: the bitter discontent of the deposed princes and their adherents, who sent out emissaries to stir up hatred against the intruders; the fear of other princes that their turn might come; the introduction of railways and telegraphs, represented by the priests as an attack upon their religion; rumors that the English intended to force Christianity upon the people and destroy their religion and civilization; the attempts to stamp out the custom of female infanticide; a prophecy of the soothsayers that English domination was destined to end on the hundredth anniversary of its beginning at the battle of Plassey (1757).

English domination rested on military force, and in the main upon the native Indian soldiers. There were in India in 1857 about 45,000 English troops, and over 250,000 native soldiers, the Sepoys. In that year a mutiny broke out among the Sepoys of the Ganges provinces in northern India. The immediate occasion was the introduction of a new rifle, or rather of the paper-covered cartridges for it, which were lubricated, it was alleged, with the fat of cows and pigs. One end of the cartridges had to be bitten by the teeth before being put into the barrel. This outraged the religious feelings of the Hindus, who regarded the cow as a sacred animal, and of the Mohammedans, who regarded the pig as unclean, the lard as contaminating. The English tried to dispel the rumor by publishing a formula of the grease used, and by ordering officers to assure the soldiers that these ingredients were not employed, but their efforts were unavailing. A cavalry regiment refused to receive the new munitions, some of its members were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, their comrades began an insurrection to save them, and the insurrection spread swiftly. The

The Indian Mutiny (1857)

native soldiery seized Delhi, the ancient capital of the Moguls, Luc now, Cawnpore, and other places, massacring with barbarous cruelt large numbers of men, women, and children. Shortly all northern Ind seemed lost.

The English took a fearful and decisive revenge. Many of the Sepoy remained loyal, European troops were rushed to the scene of the di turbance, and the insurrection was crushed. Beside themselves with ra and terrified by the narrowness of the escape, the English meted out f rocious punishment. Hundreds were shot in cold blood, without tria and thousands were hanged after trials that were a travesty of justic Many were fastened to the mouths of cannon and blown to pieces.

Since this mutiny of 1857 no attempts have been made to ove throw English control. One important consequence was that in 185

Change in the government of India

the government of India was transferred to the Crown fro the private company which had conducted it for a cen tury. It passed under the direct authority of England In 1876, as we have seen, India was declared an empir and Queen Victoria assumed the title Empress of India, January 1877. This fact was officially announced in India by Lord Lytton, th Viceroy, to an imposing assembly of the ruling princes.

An Empire it surely is, with its three hundred million inhabitants A Viceroy stands at the head of the government. There is a Secretar

The vast population of India

for India in the British Ministry. The government i largely carried on by the highly organized Civil Servic of India, and is in the hands of about eleven hundred Eng lishmen. About 220 millions of people are under the direct control c Great Britain; about 67 millions live in native states under native rul ers, the "Protected Princes of India," of whom there were, a few year ago, nearly seven hundred. For all practical purposes, however, thes princes must follow the advice of English officials, or Residents, station in their capitals.

Not only did England complete her control of India in the nine

Annexation of Burma and Baluchistan

teenth century, but she added countries round about India Burma toward the east, and, toward the west, Baluchistan a part of which was annexed outright, and the remainde brought under a protectorate. She also imposed a kind o protectorate upon Afghanistan, as a result of two Afghan wars (1839–4 and 1878–80).

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

In 1815, as already stated, Great Britain possessed, in North America, six colonies: Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland; and the Hudson Bay Company's territories stretched to the north and northwest with undefined boundaries. The total population of these colonies was about 460,000. The colonies were entirely separate from each other. Each had its own government, and its relations were not with the others, but with England. The oldest and most populous was Lower Canada, which included Montreal and Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley. This was the French colony conquered by England in 1763. Its population was French-speaking, and Roman Catholic in religion.

The two most important of these colonies were Lower Canada, largely French, and Upper Canada, entirely English. Each had received a constitution in 1791, but in neither colony did the constitution work well and the fundamental reason was that neither the people nor their legislatures had any control over the executive. The Governor, who could practically veto all legislation, considered himself responsible primarily to the English Government, not to the people of the province. England had not yet learned the secret of successful management of colonies despite the fact that the lesson of the American Revolution and the loss of the thirteen colonies a half a century earlier was sufficiently plain. It took a second revolt to point the moral and adorn the tale. In 1837 disaffection had reached such a stage that revolutionary movements broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. These were easily suppressed by the Canadian authorities without help from England, but the grievances of the colonists still remained.

Upper and Lower Canada

The rebellion of 1837

The English Government, thoroughly alarmed at the danger of the loss of another empire, adopted the part of discretion and sent out to Canada a commissioner to study the grievances of the colonists. The man chosen was Lord Durham, whose part in the reform of 1832 had been brilliant. Durham was in Canada five months. The report in which he analyzed the causes of the rebellion and suggested changes in policy entitles him to the rank of the greatest colonial statesman in British history. In a word he adopted the dictum of Fox who had said "the only method of retaining distant

The Durham Mission

colonies with advantage, is to enable them to govern themselves." H proposed the introduction of the cabinet system of government a worked out in England. This gives the popular house of the legislatu control over the executive.

Durham's recommendations were not immediately followed, as t many Englishmen they seemed to render the colonies independen

Ministerial responsibility introduced into Canada

Ten years later, however, this principle of ministerial r sponsibility was adopted by Lord Elgin (1847), the Gove nor of Canada and the son-in-law of Durham. His examp was followed by his successors and gradually became e tablished usage. The custom spread rapidly to the other colonies Great Britain which were of English stock and were therefore co sidered capable of self-government. This is the cement that holds t British Empire together. For self-government has brought with contentment.

Lord Durham had also suggested a federation of all the North Amer can colonies. This was brought about in 1867 when the British Nort

The founding of the Dominion of Canada, 1867

America Act, which had been drawn up in Canada an which expressed Canadian sentiment, was passed witho change by the English Parliament. By this act Upper an Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick we joined into a confederation called the Dominion of Canada. The was to be a central or federal parliament sitting in Ottawa. There we also to be local or provincial legislatures in each province to legisla for local affairs. Questions affecting the whole Dominion were reserve for the Dominion Parliament.

The central or Dominion Parliament was to consist of a Senate an a House of Commons. The Senate was to be composed of seventy me

The Dominion Parliament

bers nominated for life by the Governor-General, himse appointed by the monarch, and representing the Crow The House of Commons was to be elected by the peopl In some respects the example of the English Government was followe in the constitution, in others that of the United States.

Though the Dominion began with only four provinces provisio

Growth of the Dominion

was made for the possible admission of others. Man toba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia in 187 Prince Edward Island in 1873.

In 1846, by the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the line dividin

150
70
140
130
120
110
60
50
40
ALASKA
Yukon R.
Mackenzie Bay
Banks Land
Melville Sound
Prince Albert Land
Wollaston Land
Mt. St. Elias
Mt. Logan
Malaspina
Klondike
Dawson
Region
YUKON
Selkirk
Pelly R.
Lake Athabasca
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Great Fish R.
Lake
Alexander Archipelago
White Horse
Stikine R.
Liard R.
Ft. Simpson
Ft. Providence
Ft. Rae
Ft. Liard
St. Anne
Ft. Resolution
Ft. Reliance
R. Reliance
Ft. Nelson
Peace R.
Hay R.
Lake Athabaska
Chipewyan
Ft. Chu.
Reindeer Lake
Indian
Yelo.
One Charlotte Is.
Dease Lake
Dease R.
Finlay R.
Parsnip R.
Peace R.
Fraser R.
Quesnel
Quesnel R.
Stuart L.
Nechaco R.
Nechaco
Vancouver Island
Victoria
Nanaimo
Edmonton
Strathcona
Calgary
Banff
Banff Park
Ft. Pitt
Prince Albert
Battleford
Saskatchewan R.
Lake
Seattle
Tacoma
Olympia
Columbia R.
Portland
Snake R.
Spokane
Kootenay R.
Kootenay L.
Missoula
Helena
Butte
Bozeman
Yellowstone R.
Missouri R.
Great Falls
Medicine Hat
Swift Current
Qu'Appelle
Regina
Portage la Prairie
Brandon
Winnipeg
Pembina
Northern Pacific
Bismarck
Fargo
Great Salt Lake
Minneapo
Missouri R.
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
ASSINIBOIA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ATHABASCA
KEEWATIN
UNITED
Long. West 100 of Greenw.

CANADA
AND NEWFOUNDLAND
Scale of Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
80
70
60
50
40
30
BAFFIN BAY
Baffin Land
DAVIS STRAIT
GREENLAND
Cumberland Peninsula
Cumberland Sound
C. Mercy
Fox Land
Hall Peninsula
Frobisher Bay
Resolution I.
Fox Channel
Hudson Strait
C. Chidley
ATLANTIC OCEAN
To Newfoundland
Ungava Bay
Hopedale Mission
Hamilton
Belle Isle
Labrador C.
Big R.
Height of Land
James Bay
East Main R.
Anticosti
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Rupert R.
L. Mistassini
Moose Factory
Ft. Albany
PR. EDWARD I.
Breton I.
Louisburg
Banks of Newfoundland
St. Johns
Ferryland
Race
Tadousac
St. John
Dalhousie
Quebec
Three Rivers
Montreal
Lachine
Halifax
Yarmouth
Shelburne
C. Sable
Sudbury
Sault Ste. Marie
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Ottawa
Brockville
Kingston
Toronto
Lake Ontario
Hamilton
London
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
Detroit
Windsor
Lake Erie
Erie
Portland
Boston
C. Cod
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL M.Y.

e English possessions from the United States was extended to the Paci- Ocean, and in 1869 the Dominion acquired by purchase (£300,000) e vast territories belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, out of which e great provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have been carved and dmitted into the union (1905). The Dominion now includes all of ritish North America except the island of Newfoundland, which has eadily refused to join. It thus extends from ocean to ocean. Except r the fact that she receives a Governor-General from England and that e possesses no treaty powers, Canada is practically independent. She anages her own affairs, and even imposes tariffs which are disadvan- geous to the mother country. That she has imperial as well as local atriotism, however, was shown strikingly in her support of England in he South African war. She sent Canadian regiments thither at her wn expense to coöperate in an enterprise not closely connected with r own fortunes. The same spirit, the same willingness to make costly acrifices, were to be shown, on a larger scale, in the war of 1914.

The founding of the Canadian union in 1867 rendered possible the onstruction of a great transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, uilt between 1881 and 1885. This has in turn reacted pon the Dominion, binding the different provinces together nd contributing to the remarkable development of the est. Another transcontinental railway has recently been uilt farther to the north. Canada is connected by steamship lines with urope and with Japan and Australia. Her population has increased om less than five hundred thousand in 1815 to more than seven million. er prosperity has grown immensely, and her economic life is becoming ore varied. Largely an agricultural and timber producing country, her anufactures are now developing under the stimulus of protective tariffs, nd her vast mineral resources are in process of rapid development.

The Canadian Pacific Railway

AUSTRALIA

In the Southern Hemisphere, too, a new empire was created by Great ritain during the nineeenth century, an empire nearly as extensive erritorially as the United States or Canada, about three-fourths as rge as Europe, and inhabited almost entirely by a population of English escent.

No systematic exploration of this southern continent, *Terra Aus- alis*, was undertaken until toward the close of the eighteenth century,

but certain parts had been sighted or traced much earlier by Spanis

Early explorations

Portuguese, and particularly by Dutch navigators. Amo the last, Tasman is to be mentioned, who in 1642 explor the southeastern portion, though he did not discover that the lar which was later to bear his name was an island, a fact not known, indee for a century and a half. He discovered the islands to the east of Au tralia, and gave to them a Dutch name, New Zealand. The Dut called the *Terra Australis* New Holland, claiming it by right of disco ery. But they made no attempt to occupy it. The attention of th

The voyages of Captain Cook

English was first directed thither by the famous Capta Cook, who made three voyages to this region between 17 and 1779. Cook sailed around New Zealand, and the along the eastern coast of this New Holland. He put into a certain ha bor, which was forthwith named Botany Bay, so varied was the veg tation on the shores. Sailing up the eastern coast, he claimed it all f George III, and called it New South Wales because it reminded hi of the Welsh coast. Seventeen years, however, went by before an settlement was made.

At first Australia was considered by English statesmen a good plac to which to send criminals, and it was as a convict colony that the ne

A convict colony

empire began. The first expedition for the colonization the country sailed from England in May, 1787 with 75 convicts on board, and reached Botany Bay in January, 1788. Here th first settlement was made, and to it was given the name of the colonia secretary of the day, Sydney. For many years fresh cargoes of convict were sent out, who, on the expiration of their sentences, received lands Free settlers came too, led to emigrate by various periods of economi depression at home, by promises of land and food, and by an increasin knowledge of the adaptability of the new continent to agriculture, an particularly to sheep raising. By 1820 the population was not far fro 40,000. During the first thirty years the government was military i character.

The free settlers were strongly opposed to having Australia regarde as a prison for English convicts, and after 1840 the system was gradually

The discovery of gold

abolished. Australia was at first mainly a pastoral country producing wool and hides. But, in 1851 and 1852, rich deposits of gold were found, rivaled only by those discovered a littl earlier in California. A tremendous immigration ensued. The popula

on of the colony of Victoria (cut off from New South Wales) increased om 70,000 to more than 300,000 in five years. Australia has ever since mained one of the great gold producing countries of the world.

Thus there gradually grew up six colonies, New South Wales, Queensnd, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and the neighborg island of Tasmania. These were gradually invested ith self-government, parliaments, and responsible ministies in the fashion worked out in Canada. The population creased steadily, and by the end of the century numbered about four illions.

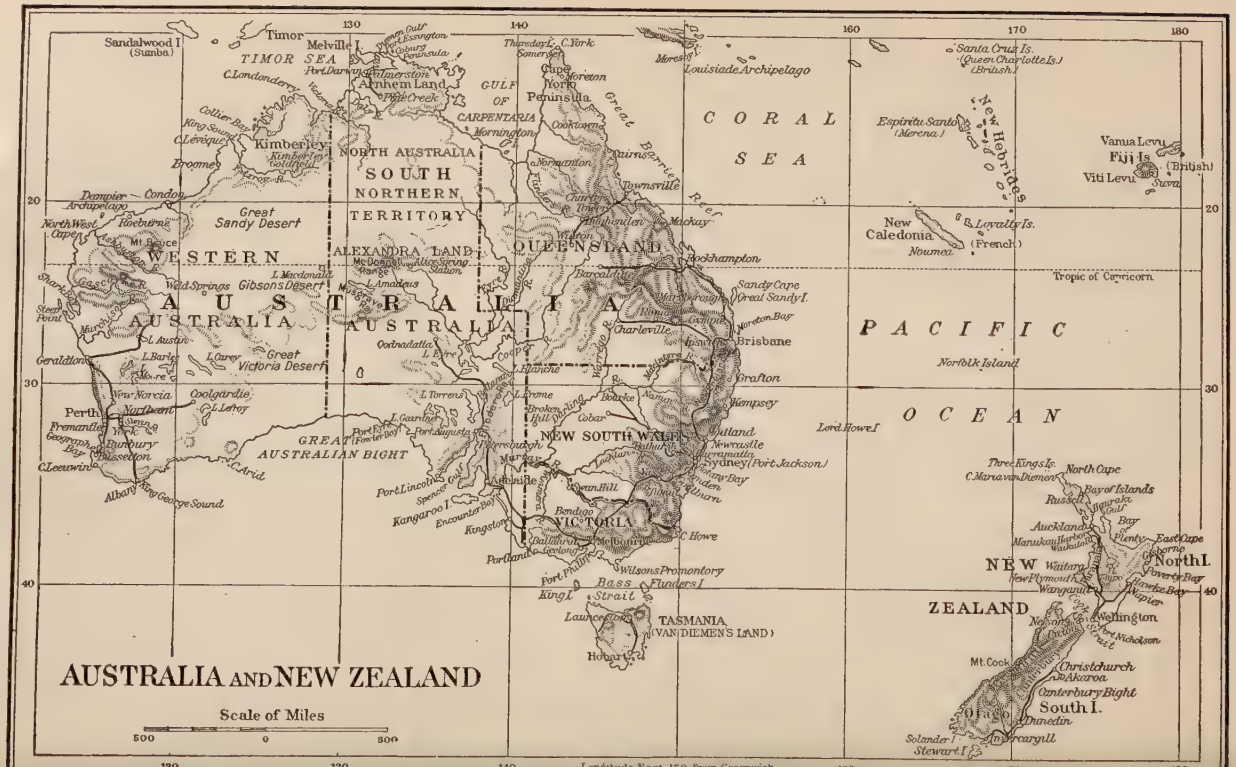
The Six Australian Colonies

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their nion into a confederation at the close of the century. Up to that time ie colonies had been legally unconnected with each other, and their nly form of union was the loose one under the British rown. For a long time there was discussion as to the dvisability of binding them more closely together. Varius reasons contributed to convince the Australians of the advantages f federation; the desirability of uniform legislation concerning commerial and industrial matters, railway regulation, navigation, irrigation, nd tariffs. Moreover the desire for nationality, which has accomlished such remarkable changes in Europe in the nineenth century, was also active here. An Australian atriotism had grown up. Australians desired to make neir country the dominant authority in the Southern Iemisphere. They longed for a larger outlook than that given by the fe of the separate colonies, and thus both reason and sentiment ombined toward the same end, a close union, the creation of another colonial nation."

Reasons for their federation

Creation of the Australian Commonwealth

Union was finally achieved after ten years of earnest discussion 1890–1900). The various experiments in federation were carefully tudied, particularly the constitutions of the United States and Canada. he draft of the constitution was worked over by several conventions, y the ministers and the governments of the various colonies, and was nally submitted to the people for ratification. Ratification being seired, the constitution was then passed through the British Parliament nder the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act" 900). The constitution was the work of the Australians. The part ken by England was simply one of acceptance. Though Parliament


AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
Scale of Miles
500 0 500
Longitude East 150 from Greenwich
120 130 140 160 170 180
AUSTRALIA
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA (VAN DIEMEN'S LAND)
NEW ZEALAND
North I.
South I.
CORAL SEA
TIMOR SEA
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
PACIFIC OCEAN
Great Sandy Desert
Great Victoria Desert
Gibsons Desert
Great Barrier Reef
Tropic of Capricorn
Timor
Sandalwood I (Sumba)
Melville I
Arnhem Land
Kimberley
Broome
Darwin
Port Darwin
Palmerston
Pine Creek
Cape York
Torres Strait
Thursday I
Coen
Normanton
Cairns
Townsville
Mackay
Rockhampton
Gladstone
Maryborough
Brisbane
Ipswich
Toowoomba
Charleville
Sandy Cape
Great Sandy I
Fraser I
Norfolk Island
Lord Howe I
Grafton
Kempsey
Newcastle
Sydney (Port Jackson)
Port Stephens
Broken Hill
Bourke
Cobar
Darling R
Murray R
Albury
Port Phillip
Melbourne
Ballarat
Bendigo
Geelong
Portland
Wilsons Promontory
Port Lincoln
Kangaroo I
Adelaide
Encounter Bay
Kingston
Spencer Gulf
Gulf St Vincent
Port Augusta
Port Pirie
Flinders R
Lake Eyre
Lake Torrens
Lake Gairdner
Lake Amadeus
Lake Macdonald
Lake Darlot
Lake Carey
Lake Austin
Lake Barlee
Lake Lefroy
Coolgardie
New Norcia
Perth
Fremantle
Northam
Geographe Bay
Busselton
Cape Leeuwin
Albany
King George Sound
Esperance Bay
Cape Arid
Eucla
Nullarbor Plain
Eyre Peninsula
Yorke Peninsula
Kangaroo I
Flinders I
King I
Bass Strait
Launceston
Hobart
Port Arthur
Louisiade Archipelago
Santa Cruz Is. (Queen Charlotte Is.) (British)
Espiritu Santo (Morena)
New Hebrides
Vanua Levu
Fiji Is (British)
Viti Levu
Suva
New Caledonia (French)
Noumea
Loyalty Is.
Three Kings Is.
North Cape
C Maria van Diemen
Bay of Islands
Russell
Auckland
Manukau Harbour
Waitemata Harbour
Waikato R
Plenty
East Cape
Tauranga
Bay of Plenty
Waitara
New Plymouth
Wanganui
Napier
Hawke Bay
Wellington
Cook Strait
Nelson
Port Nicholson
Mt Cook
Christchurch
Akaroa
Canterbury Bight
Otago
Dunedin
Invercargill
Solander I
Stewart I

ade certain suggestions of detail, it did not insist upon them in the case Australian opposition.

The constitution established a federation consisting of the six colnies which were henceforth to be called states, not provinces as in the se of Canada. It created a federal Parliament of two houses, a Senate consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives apportioned among the several states cording to population. The powers given to the Federal Government ere carefully defined. The new system was inaugurated January 1, 01. **The Federal Parliament**

NEW ZEALAND

Not included in the new commonwealth is an important group of ands of Australasia called New Zealand, situated 1,200 miles east of ustralia. England began to have some connection with these islands ortly after 1815, but it was not until 1839 that they were formally nexed to the British Empire. In 1854 New Zealand was given sponsible government, and in 1865 was entirely separated from New outh Wales and made a separate colony. Emigration was methodally encouraged. New Zealand was never a convict colony. Populaon increased and it gradually became the most democratic colony of e Empire. In 1907 the designation of the colony was changed to the ominion of New Zealand.

New Zealand consists of two main islands with many smaller ones. is about a fourth larger than Great Britain and has a population of out 1,000,000, of whom about 50,000 are aborigines, the Maoris. Its capital is Wellington, with a population of out 70,000. Auckland is another important city. New Zealand is an gricultural and grazing country, and also possesses rich mineral deposits, cluding gold. **New Zealand**

New Zealand is of great interest to the world of to-day because of s experiments in advanced social reform, legislation concerning labor d capital, landowning and commerce. State control has been exnded over more branches of industry than has been the case in any her country.

The Government owns and operates the railways. The roads are n, not for profit, but for service to the people. As raply as profits exceed three per cent passenger and freight tes are reduced. Comprehensive and successful attempts **Advanced social legislation**

are made by very low rates to induce the people in congested distric to live in the country. Workmen going in and out travel about thr miles for a cent. Children in the primary grades in schools are carri free, and those in higher grades at very low fares.

The Government also owns and operates the telegraphs and tel phones and conducts postal savings banks. Life insurance is largely its hands. It has a fire and accident insurance department. In 19 it began the operation of some state coal mines. Its land legislation remarkable. Its main purpose is to prevent the land from being mono olized by a few, and to enable the people to become landholders. 1892 progressive taxation on the large estates was adopted, and in 18 the sale of such estates to the government was made compulsory, an thus extensive areas have come under government ownership. Th state transfers them under various forms of tenure to the landless an working classes. The system of taxation, based on th principle of graduation, higher rates for larger income properties, and inheritances, is designed to break up or prevent mono oly and to favor the small proprietor or producer.

System of taxation

In industrial and labor legislation New Zealand has also made rad cal experiments. Arbitration in labor disputes is compulsory if eith side invokes it, and the decision is binding. Factory laws are stringen aiming particularly at the protection of women, the elimination "sweating." In stores the Saturday half-holiday is universal. Th Government has a Labor Department whose head is a member of th cabinet. Its first duty is to find work for the unemployed and its great effort is to get the people out of the citie into the country. There is an Old Age Pension Law, enacted in 189 and amended in 1905, providing pensions of about a hundred and twenty five dollars for all men and women after the age of sixty-five whose in come is less than five dollars a week.

Old Age Pensions

All this governmental activity rests on a democratic basis. Ther are no property qualifications for voting, and women have the suffrag as well as men. The referendum has been adopted.

The Australian colony of Victoria has enacted much legislation re sembling that described in the case of New Zealand.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

As an incident in the wars against France and her ally and dependent, Holland, England seized the Dutch possession in South Africa, Cape Colony. This colony she retained in 1814, together with certain Dutch possessions in South America, paying six million pounds as compensation. This was the beginning of English expansion into Africa, which was to attain remarkable proportions before the close of the century. The population at the time England took possession consisted of about 27,000 people of European descent, mostly Dutch, and of about 30,000 African and Malay slaves owned by the Dutch, and about 17,000 Hottentots. Immigration of Englishmen began forthwith.

England acquires Cape Colony

Friction between the Dutch (called Boers, i.e., peasants), and the English was not slow in developing. The forms of local government to which the Boers were accustomed were abolished and new ones established. English was made the sole language used in the courts. The Boers, irritated by these measures, were rendered indignant by the abolition of slavery in 1834. They did not consider slavery wrong. Moreover, they felt defrauded of their property as the compensation given was inadequate — about three million pounds — little more than a third of what they considered their slaves were worth.

Friction with the Boers

The Boers resolved to leave the colony and to settle in the interior where they could live unmolested by the intruders. This migration or Great Trek began in 1836, and continued for several years. About 10,000 Boers thus withdrew from Cape Colony. Rude carts drawn by several pairs of oxen transported their families and their possessions into the wilderness. The result was the founding of two independent Boer republics to the north of Cape Colony, namely the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic. A most checquered career has been theirs. The Orange Free State was declared annexed to the British Empire in 1848 but it rebelled and its independence was recognized by Great Britain in 1854. From that time until 1899 it pursued a peaceful career, its independence not infringed upon.

The Great Trek

The independence of the Transvaal was also recognized, in 1852. But twenty-five years later, in 1877, under the strongly imperialistic

ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, it was abruptly declared annexed to the British Empire, on the ground that its independence was a menace to the peace of England's other South African possessions. The Boers' hatred of the English naturally expressed itself and they took up arms in the defense of their independence.

The Transvaal annexed to the British Empire

Majuba Hill

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield was overthrown and Gladstone came into power. Gladstone had denounced the annexation, and was convinced that a mistake had been made which must be rectified. He was negotiating with the Boer leaders, hoping to reach, by peaceful means, a solution that would be satisfactory to both sides, when his problem was made immensely more difficult by the Boers themselves, who, in December, 1880, rose in revolt and defeated a small detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881. In a military sense this so-called battle of Majuba Hill was an insignificant affair, but its effects upon Englishmen and Boers were tremendous and far-reaching. Gladstone, who had already been negotiating with a view to restoring the independence of the Transvaal, which he considered had been unjustly overthrown, did not think

Majuba Hill

right to reverse his policy because of a mere skirmish, however humiliating. His ministry therefore went its way, not believing that it should be deflected from an act of justice and conciliation merely because of a military misfortune of no importance in itself. The independence of the Transvaal was formally recognized with the restriction that it could not make treaties with foreign countries without the approval of Great Britain and with the proviso, which was destined to gain tremendous importance later, that "white men were to have full liberty to reside in any part of the republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic."

Policy of the Gladstone administration

Gladstone's action was severely criticised by Englishmen who did not believe in retiring, leaving a defeat unavenged. They denounced the policy of the ministry as hostile to the welfare of the South African colonies and damaging to the prestige of the Empire. The Boers on the other hand considered that they had won their independence by arms, by the humiliation of the traditional enemy, and were accordingly elated. In holding this opinion they were injuring themselves by self-deception and by the idea that what they had once done they could do again, and they were angering the British by keeping alive the memory of Majuba Hill. The phrase just quoted, concerning immigration, contained the germ of future trouble, which in the end was to result in the violent overthrow of the republic, for a momentous change in the character of the population was impending.

The South African Republic was entirely inhabited by Boers, a people exclusively interested in agriculture and grazing, solid, sturdy, religious, freedom-loving, but, in the modern sense, unprogressive, ill-educated, suspicious of foreigners, and particularly of Englishmen. The peace and contentment of this rural people were disturbed by the discovery, in 1884, that gold in immense quantities lay hidden in their mountains, the Rand. Immediately a great influx of miners and speculators began. These were chiefly Englishmen. In the heart of the mining district the city of Johannesburg grew rapidly, numbering in a few years over 100,000 inhabitants, a city of foreigners. Troubles quickly arose between the native Boers and the aggressive, energetic Uitlanders or foreigners.

The Boers

The Uitlanders

The Uitlanders gave wide publicity to their grievances. Great obstacles were put in the way of their naturalization; they were given no

share in the government, not even the right to vote. Yet in parts of th Transvaal they were more numerous than the natives, and bore th larger share of taxation. In addition they were forced to render mili tary service, which, in their opinion, implied citizenship. They looke to the British Government to push their demand for reforms. The Boe Government was undoubtedly an oligarchy, but the Boers felt that i was only by refusing the suffrage to the unwelcome intruders that the could keep control of their own state, which at the cost c much hardship they had created in the wilderness. I 1895 occurred an event which deeply embittered them the Jameson Raid — an invasion of the Transvaal by a few hundre troopers under Dr. Jameson, th administrator of Rhodesia, wit the apparent purpose of over throwing the Boer Government The raiders were easily capture by the Boers, who, with grea magnanimity, handed them ove to England. This indefensibl attack and the fact that the guilt were only lightly punished in Eng land, and that the man whom al Boers held responsible as the arch conspirator, Cecil Rhodes, wa shielded by the British Govern ment, entered like iron into th souls of the Boers and only hard ened their resistance to the de mands of the Uitlanders. Thes demands were refused and th grievances of the Uitlanders, who now outnumbered the natives perhap two to one, continued. Friction steadily increased. The British charge that the Boers were aiming at nothing less than the ultimate expulsion of the English from South Africa, the Boers charged that the Britis were aiming at the extinction of the two Boer republics. There was n spirit of conciliation in either government.

The Jameson Raid

Joseph Chamberlain

Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, was arrogant an insolent. Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, was obstinate an

ll-informed. Ultimately in October, 1899 the Boers declared war upon Great Britain. The Orange Free State, no party to the quarrel, threw in its lot with its sister Boer republic. **The South African War**

This war was lightly entered upon by both sides. Each grossly underestimated both the resources and the spirit of the other. The English Government had made no preparation at all adequate, appar-

PAUL KRUGER

LORD ROBERTS

ently not believing that in the end this petty state would dare oppose the mighty British Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, had been long preparing for a conflict, and knew that the number of British troops in South Africa was small, totally insufficient to put down their resistance. Moreover, for years they had deceived themselves with a gross exaggeration of the significance of Majuba Hill as a victory over the British. Each side believed that the war would be short, and would result in its favor.

The war, which they supposed would be over in a few months, lasted for nearly three years. England suffered at the outset many humiliating

reverses. The war was not characterized by great battles, but by many sieges at first, and then by guerilla fighting and elaborate, systematic, and difficult conquest of the country. It was fought with great bravery on both sides. For the English, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were the leaders, and of the Boers several greatly distinguished themselves, obtaining world-wide reputations, Christian de Wet, Louis Botha, Delarey.

Victory of the English

The English won in the end by sheer force of numbers and peace was finally concluded on June 1, 1902. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence, and became colonies of the British Empire. Otherwise the terms offered by the conquerors were liberal. Generous money grants and loans were to be made by England to enable the Boers to begin again in their sadly devastated land. Their language was to be respected wherever possible.

Annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

The work of reconciliation has proceeded with remarkable rapidity since the close of the war. Responsible government, that is, self-government, was granted to the Transvaal Colony in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. This liberal conduct of the English Government had the most happy consequences, as was shown very convincingly by the spontaneity and the strength of the movement for closer union, which culminated in 1909 in the creation of a new "colonial nation" within the British Empire. In 1908 a convention was held in which the four colonies were represented. The outcome of its deliberations, which lasted several months, was the draft of a constitution for the South African Union. This was then submitted to the colonies for approval and, by June, 1909, had been ratified by them all. The constitution was in the form of a statute to be enacted by the British Parliament. It became law September 20, 1909.

The South African Union was the work of the South Africans themselves, the former enemies, Boers and British, harmoniously coöperating. The central government consists of a Governor-General appointed by the Crown; an Executive Council; a Senate and a House of Assembly. Both Dutch and English are official languages and enjoy equal privileges. Difficulty was experienced in selecting the capital, so intense was the rivalry of different cities. The result was a compromise. Pretoria was chosen as the seat of the executive branch of the government, Cape Town as the seat of the legislative branch.

The South African Union

The creation of the South African Union is the most recent triumph of the spirit of nationality which has so greatly transformed the world since 1815. The new commonwealth has a population of about 1,150,000 whites and more than 6,000,000 people of non-European descent. Provision has been made for the ultimate admission of Rhodesia into the Union.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

At the opening of the twentieth century Great Britain possesses an empire far more extensive and far more populous than any the world has ever seen, covering about thirteen millions of square miles, if Egypt and the Soudan be included, with a total population of over four hundred and twenty millions. This Empire is scattered everywhere, in Asia, Africa, Australasia, the two Americas, and the islands of the seven seas. The population includes a motley host of peoples. Only fifty-four million are English-speaking, and of these about forty-two million live in Great Britain. Most of the colonies are self-supporting. They present every form of government, military, autocratic, representative, democratic. The sea alone binds the Empire. England's throne is on the mountain wave in a literal as well as in a metaphorical sense. Dominance of the oceans is essential that she may keep open her communications with her far-flung colonies. It is no accident that England is the greatest sea-power of the world, and intends to remain such. She regards this as the very vital principle of her imperial existence.

The far-flung British Empire

A noteworthy feature of the British Empire, as already sufficiently indicated, is the practically unlimited self-government enjoyed by several of the colonies, those in which the English stock predominates, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand. This policy is in contrast to that pursued by the French and German governments, which rule their colonies directly from Paris and Berlin. But this system does not apply to the greatest of them all, India, nor to a multitude of smaller possessions.

A question much and earnestly discussed during the last twenty-five years is that of Imperial Federation. May not some machinery be developed, some method be found, whereby the vast empire may be more closely consolidated, and for certain purposes act as a single state? If so, its power will be greatly augmented, and the world will witness the most stupendous achievement

The problem of Imperial Federation

in the art of government recorded in its history. The creation of such a Greater Britain has seized, in recent years, the imagination of many thoughtful statesmen. That the War of 1914 will contribute to the solution of this problem seems a reasonable expectation. For that war has shown the existence of an intense imperial patriotism among Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and apparently even Indians, all rushing instinctively to support the mother country in her hour of need, all evidently willing to give the last full measure of devotion to a cause which they regard as common to them all. So powerful a spirit may well find a way of embodying and crystallizing itself in permanent political institutions. The sense of unity, indisputably revealed, may well be the harbinger of a coming organization adapted to preserve and foster that sense and to develop it more richly still.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Lying almost within sight of Europe and forming the southern boundary of her great inland sea is the immense continent, three times the size of Europe, whose real nature was revealed only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In some respects the Africa three times the size of Europe
at of very ancient history, in most its history is just beginning. In Egypt a rich and advanced civilization appeared in very early mes along the lower valley of the Nile. Yet only after thousands of ears and only in our own day have the sources and the upper course that famous river been discovered. Along the northern coasts arose ne civilization and state of Carthage, rich, mysterious, and redoubtable, or a while the powerful rival of Rome, succumbing to the latter only fter severe and memorable struggles. The ancient world knew therefore the northern shores of Africa. The rest was practically unknown. In the fifteenth century came the great eries of geographical discoveries, which immensely widened the known oundaries of the world. Among other things they revealed the hitherto nknown outline and magnitude of the continent. But its great inner nass remained as before, unexplored, and so it remained until well into he nineteenth century. The period of discovery

In 1815 the situation was as follows: the Turkish Empire extended long the whole northern coast to Morocco, that is, the Sultan was nominally sovereign of Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. Morocco was independent under its own sultan. Along Situation in 1815
he western coasts were scattered settlements, or rather stations, of ngland, France, Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. Portugal ad certain claims on the eastern coast, opposite Madagascar. England ad just acquired the Dutch Cape Colony whence, as we have seen, her pansion into a great South African power has proceeded. The interior of the continent was unknown, and was of interest only to eographers.

For sixty years after 1815, progress in the appropriation of Africa by

Europe was slow. The most important annexation was that of Al-

The French conquest of Algeria

geria by France between 1830 and 1847. In the south England was spreading out, and the Boers were founding their two republics.

European annexation waited upon exploration. Africa was th "Dark Continent," and until the darkness was lifted it was not coveted About the middle of the century the darkness began to disappear. Ex plorers penetrated farther and farther into the interior, traversing th continent in various directions, opening a chapter of geographical dis covery of absorbing interest. It is impossible within our limits to d more than allude to the wonderful work participated in by many in trepid explorers, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Dutch, Germans and Belgians. A few incidents only can be mentioned.

It was natural that Europeans should be curious about the source of the Nile, a river famous since the dawn of history, but whose sourc

The sources of the Nile

remained enveloped in obscurity. In 1858 one source wa found by Speke, an English explorer, to consist of a grea lake south of the equator, to which the name Victoria Nyanza was given Six years later another Englishman, Sir Samuel Baker, discovere another lake, also a source, and named it Albert Nyanza.

Two names particularly stand out in this record of African explora tion, Livingstone and Stanley. David Livingstone, a Scotch mission

David Livingstone

ary and traveler, began his African career in 1840, an continued it until his death in 1873. He traced the cours of the Zambesi River, of the upper Congo, and the region round abou Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa. He crossed Africa from sea to sea He opened up a new country to the world. His explorations caught th attention of Europe, and when, on one of his journeys, Europe though that he was lost or dead, and an expedition was sent out to find him that expedition riveted the attention of Europe as no other in Africa history had done. It was under the direction of Henry M. Stanley

Stanley

sent out by the New York *Herald*. Stanley's story of hov he found Livingstone was read with the greatest interest i Europe, and heightened the desire, already widespread, for more knowl edge about the great continent. Livingstone, whose name is the mos important in the history of African exploration, died in 1873. His bod was borne with all honor to England and given the burial of a nationa hero in Westminster Abbey.

By this time not only was the scientific curiosity of Europe thoroughly roused, but missionary zeal saw a new field for activity. Thus Stanley's journey across Africa, from 1874 to 1878, was followed in Europe with an attention unparalleled in the history of modern explorations. Stanley explored the equatorial lake region, making important additions to knowledge. His great work was, however, his exploration of the Congo River system. Little had been known of this river save its lower course as it approached the sea. Stanley proved that it was one of the largest rivers in the world, that its length was more than three thousand miles, that it was fed by an enormous number of tributaries, that it drained an area of over 1,300,000 square miles, that in the volume of its waters it was only exceeded by the Amazon.

Stanley's explorations of the Congo

Thus, by 1880, the scientific enthusiasm and curiosity, the missionary and philanthropic zeal of Europeans, the hatred of slave hunters who plied their trade in the interior, had solved the great mystery of Africa. The map showed rivers and lakes where previously all had been blank.

Upon discovery quickly followed appropriation. France entered upon her protectorate of Tunis in 1881, England upon her "occupation" of Egypt in 1882. This was a signal for a general scramble. A feverish period of partition succeeded the long, slow one of discovery. European powers swept down upon this continent lying at their very door, hitherto neglected and despised, and carved it up among themselves. This they did without recourse to war by a series of treaties among themselves, defining the boundaries of their claims. Africa became an annex of Europe. Out of this rush for territories the great powers, England, France, and Germany, naturally emerged with the largest acquisitions, but Portugal and Italy each secured a share. The situation and relative extent of these may best be appreciated by an examination of the map. Most of the treaties by which this division was affected were made between 1884 and 1890.

Africa appropriated by Europe

One feature of this appropriation of Africa by Europe was the foundation of the Congo Free State. This was the work of the second King of Belgium, Leopold II, a man who was greatly interested in the exploration of that continent. After the discoveries of Livingstone, and the early ones of Stanley, he called a conference of the powers in 1876. As a result of its deliberations an International African Association was established, which was to have its seat in Brus-

The Congo Free State

sels, and whose aim was to be the exploration and civilization of central Africa. Each nation wishing to coöperate was to collect funds for the common object.

In 1879 Stanley was sent out to carry on the work he had already begun. Hitherto an explorer he now became, in addition, an organizer and state builder.

During the next four or five years, 1879–84, he made hundreds of treaties with native chiefs and founded many stations in the Congo basin. Nominally an emissary of an international association, his expenses were largely borne by King Leopold II.

Portugal now put forth extensive claims to much of this Congo region on the ground of previous discovery. To adjust these claims and other matters a general conference was held in Berlin, in 1884–5, attended by all the states of Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, and also by the United States. The conference recognized the existence as an independent power of the Congo Free State, with an extensive area, most of the Congo basin. It was evidently its understanding that this was to be a neutral and international state. Trade in it was to be open to all nations on equal terms, the rivers were to be free to all, and only such dues were to be levied as should be required to provide for the necessities of commerce. No trade monopolies were to be granted. The conference, however, provided no machinery for the enforcement of its decrees. Those decrees have remained unfulfilled. The state quickly ceased to be international, monopolies have been granted, trade in the Congo has not been free to all.

The Berlin Conference

The new state became practically Belgian because the King of Belgium was the only one to show much practical interest in the project. In 1885, Leopold II assumed the position of sovereign, declaring that the connection of the Congo Free State and Belgium should be merely personal, he being the ruler of both. This and later changes in the status of the Congo have either been formally recognized or acquiesced in by the powers. This international state finally in 1908 was converted outright into a Belgian colony subject, not to the personal rule of the King, but to Parliament.

The Congo Free State declared a Belgian colony

AFRICA
European Possessions
in 1884.
English Standard Mile (63,16-1")
English
French
Portuguese
Spanish
Abbreviations:
Nat.-Natal
Po.-Pondo Land
TT.-Transkei (Fingo Land)
E.Gr.-East Griqua Land
T.-Tembu Land
Bas.-Basuto Land.
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
Barca
Libyan Desert
EGYPT
Fezzan
SAHARA
Nubia
ARABIA
Mahdi Possessions
Anglo-Egyptian
Dar Fur
Kordofan
ABYSSINIA
Gulf of Aden
Hadramaut
Red Sea
Yemen
Asia Minor
TURKEY
GREECE
ITALY
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Malta
Sardinia
Sicily
Corsica
Balearic
Canary Is
Madeira Is
Cape Verde Is
Tropic of Cancer
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
Kaarta
Futa Jallon
French Guinea
Portuguese Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast Colony
Upper Guinea
Lagos
Benin
Dahomey
Togo
Ashanti
Kong
Mossi
Gando
Segu Sikoro
Sokoto
Bornu
Kanem
Wadai
Baghirmi
Messenia
Borgu
Sokoto
Adamaua
Rabeh
Bahr-el-Ghazal
Equatorial Prov.
Kaffa
Shoa
Abyssinia
Harar
Brit. Somali Ld.
Ogaden
Berbera
Zeila
Bas Hafun
Aden
Perim I.
Socotra
Hodeida
Mokha
Khartum
Kassala
Massaua
Suakin
Berber
Wadi Halfa
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Nedjed
Bereida
Aneiza
Hasa
Persian G.
Red Sea
Suez Canal
Cairo
Alexandria
Damascus
Beirut
Haifa
Jerusalem
Aleppo
Smyrna
Constantinople
Black Sea
Armenia
Erzerum
Trebizond
Angora
Athens
Naples
Rome
Marseilles
Barcelona
Valencia
Algiers
Bona
Constantine
Tripoli
Gabes
Tuggurt
Ghadames
Sokna
Mursuk
Ghat
Gatrun
Tummo
Bardai
Tibesti
Kanuar
Air or Tintellust
Aspen
Agades
Agadem
Damergu
Timbuktu
Bassikunu
Mauritania
Adrar
Arguin
Wadshanga
Bodele
Egui
Dorku
Kanem
Mao
Kuka
Chad
Kano
Messenia
Baghirmi
Yola
Rabeh
Adamaua
Fashoda
Gondar
Tana L.
Blue Nile
White Nile
Sobat
Gallabat
Khartum
Kordofan
Dar Fur
Kaffa
Omo
Lake Rudolf
Lake Stephanie
Lake Baringo
Lake Victoria
Lake Albert
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyassa
Lake Shirwa
Lake Ngami
Lake Chad
Lake Tsad
Niger
Senegal
Gambia
Volta
Congo
Zambesi
Limpopo
Orange R.
Nile
Tigris
Euphrates
Persian Gulf
Indian Ocean
Madagascar
Mozambique
Zanzibar
Pemba I.
Mombasa
Melinda
Lamu
Brava
Juba
Webi
Jubaland
Kilimanjaro
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Ruwenzori
Mt. Cameroon
Mt. Kong
Mt. Loma
Mt. Atlas
Mt. Sinai
Mt. Lebanon
Mt. Ararat
Mt. Etna
Mt. Vesuvius
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Athos
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Ida
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Parnes

ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Tropic of Capricorn
Ascension I.
I.S. Helena
Mayumba Fr.
Loango
Kabinda
Banana
Boma
Leopoldville
Stanley R.
LUNDA
Urua
Lukuga R.
Lualaba R.
Unyamwesi
Melinde
Mombasa
Pemba
Zanzibar
Amirante
Seychelles
Bagamoyo
Dar-es-Salaam
Mafia
Kiwindge I.
Rufiji R.
Cosmoledo
Aldabra Is
Farquhar I.
Comoro
Aloriosa I.
Diego Suarez B.
Johanna
Pt. Amelia
Maretta
Nossi Be
Vohimar
Mozambique
Moganga
Mozambique Channel
I. Ste Marie
Tamatave
Antahanarivo
Andovorante
MADAGASCAR
Port Louis
Mauritius
S. Denis
Réunion Fr.
St. Paul de Loanda
Kuanza R.
Benguella
Bihe
Huilla
Cubango R.
Cubango
Cuando
Cuito
Cunene
Mossamedes
Porto Alexandre
Gr. Fish B.
Cunene R.
Cape Frio
Kassai
Kassai R.
Kasai
Kangamba
Barotse Ld.
Lualui
Katanga
Lobisa
Lyosso
Nyassa L.
Nyassa
Rovuma R.
Shire R.
Lake Shirwa
Lake Chiuta
Tanganyika L.
Moero L.
Lukuga
Kuena R.
Rukwa R.
Lindi
Bingo R.
Bingo
Kaoko
Damara Land
Ngami L.
Swakopmund
Walfish B.
Gr. Namaqua Land
Angra Pequena
Orange R.
Liverlight
BECHUANA LAND
Mashona Ld.
Matabele Land
Gasa Land
Lambeti R.
Lambezi R.
Bantyre
Quelimane
Sofala
Sofala
Bazaruto I.
Inhambane
Tullear
Ambohy
Ft. Dauphin
TRANSVAAL
Limpopo R.
Limpopo
Sabi R.
Sabi
Lourenco Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Pretoria
Potchefstroom
Lichenberg
Makeking
Kimberley
ORANGE FREE STATE
SWAZI LAND
ZULU LAND
S. Lucia B.
Durban (Pt. Natal)
Natal
Basutos
Basutos
Hopetown
Colesberg
CAPE COL.
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
Mossel B.
Port Elizabeth
East London
KAFFARIA
T.
T.
T.
T.
10
20
30
40
20
10
West Longitude
0
Greenwich
East Longitude
10
20
30
40
50
60

EGYPT

Egypt, a seat of ancient civilization, was conquered by the Turks and became a part of the Turkish Empire in 1517. It remained nominally such down to 1915 when Great Britain declared it annexed to the British Empire as a protected state. During all that time its supreme ruler was the Sultan who resided in Constantinople. But a series of remarkable events in the nineteenth century resulted in giving it a most singular and complicated position. To put down certain opponents of the Sultan an Albanian warrior, Mehemet Ali, was sent out early in the nineteenth century. Appointed by the Sultan Governor of Egypt in 1806, he had, by 1811, made himself absolute master of the country. He had succeeded only too well. Originally merely the representative of the Sultan, he had become the real ruler of the land. His ambitions grew with his successes, and he was able to gain the important concession that the right to rule as viceroy in Egypt should be hereditary in his family. The title was later changed to that of Khedive. Thus was founded an Egyptian dynasty, subject to the dynasty of Constantinople.

Egypt

Mehemet Ali founds a semi-royal house

The fifth ruler of this family was Ismail (1863–79). It was under him that the Suez Canal was completed, a great undertaking carried through by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the money coming largely from European investors. This Khedive plunged into the most reckless extravagance. As a result the Egyptian debt rose with extraordinary rapidity from three million pounds in 1863 to eighty-nine million in 1876.

Ismail and the rapid growth of the Egyptian debt

The Khedive, needing money, sold, in 1875, his shares in the Suez Canal Company to Great Britain for about four million pounds, to the great irritation of the French. This was a mere temporary relief to the Khedive's finances, but was an important advantage to England, as the canal was destined inevitably to be the favorite route to India.

This extraordinary increase of the Egyptian debt is the key to the whole later history of that country. The money had been borrowed abroad, mainly in England and France. Fearing the bankruptcy of Egypt the governments of the two countries intervened in the interest of their investors, and succeeded in imposing their control over a large part of the financial administration. This was the famous Dual Control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883.

Intervention of England and France

The Khedive, Ismail, resented this tutelage, was consequently forced to abdicate, and was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. The new Khedive did not struggle against the Dual Control, but certain elements of the population did. The bitter hatred inspired by this intervention of the foreigners flared up in a native movement which had as its war cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and as its leader, Arabi Pasha, an officer in the army. Before this movement of his subjects the Khedive was powerless. It was evident that the foreign control, established in the interests of foreign bond-holders, could only be perpetuated by the suppression of Arabi and his fellow-malcontents, and that the suppression could be accomplished only by the foreigners themselves. Thus financial intervention led directly to military intervention. England sought the coöperation of France, but France declined. She then proceeded alone, defeated Arabi in September, 1882, and crushed the rebellion.

Revolt of Arabi Pasha

English expedition crushes the insurrection

The English had intervened nominally in the interest of the Khedive's authority against his rebel, Arabi, though they had not been asked so to intervene either by the Khedive himself or by the Sultan of Turkey, legal sovereign of Egypt, or by the powers of Europe. Having suppressed the insurrection, what would they do? Would they withdraw their army? The question was a difficult one. To withdraw was to leave Egypt a prey to anarchy; to remain was certainly to offend the European powers, which would look upon this as a piece of British aggression. Particularly would such action be resented by France. Consequently England did not annex Egypt. She recognized the Khedive as still the ruler, Egypt as still technically a part of Turkey. But she insisted on holding the position of "adviser" to the Khedive and also insisted that her "advice" in the government of Egypt be followed. From 1883 to 1915 such was the situation. A British force remained in Egypt, the "occupation," as it was called, continued, advice was compulsory. England was ruler in fact not in law. The Dual Control ended in 1883, and England began in earnest a work of reconstruction and reform which was carried forward under the guidance of Lord Cromer, who was British Consul-General in Egypt until 1907.

England assumes the position of "adviser"

In intervening in Egypt in 1882, England became immediately involved in a further enterprise which brought disaster and humiliation

gypt possessed a dependency to the south, the Soudan, a vast region mprising chiefly the basin of the Upper Nile, a poorly organized terri- ry with a varied, semi-civilized, nomadic population, and a capital at hartoum. This province, long oppressed by Egypt, was in full process revolt. It found a chief in a man called the Mahdi, or leader, who succeeded in arousing the fierce religious fanaticism of the Soudanese by claiming to be a kind of Prophet or Messiah. Winning successes over the Egyptian troops, he proclaimed a religious war, the people of the whole Soudan rallied about him, and the result was that the troops were driven into their fortresses and there besieged. Would England recognize any obligation to preserve the Soudan for Egypt? Gladstone, then prime minister, determined to abandon the Soudan. But even this was a matter of difficulty. It involved at least ne rescue of the imprisoned garrisons. The ministry was unwilling to end a military expedition. It finally decided to send out General Gor- on, a man who had shown a remarkable power in influencing half- ivilized races. It was understood that there was to be no expedition. t was apparently supposed that somehow Gordon, without military aid, ould accomplish the safe withdrawal of the garrisons. He reached hartoum, but found the danger far more serious than had been sup- osed, the rebellion far more menacing. He found himself shortly ut up in Khartoum, surrounded by frenzied and confident Mahdists. t once there arose in England a cry for the relief of Gordon, a man hose personality, marked by heroic, eccentric, magnetic qualities, baf- ingly contradictory, had seized in a remarkable degree the interest, nthusiasm, and imagination of the English people. But the Govern- ent was dilatory. Weeks, and even months, went by. Finally, an xpedition was sent out in September, 1884. Pushing forward rapidly,

General Gordon

Loss of the Soudan

against great difficulties, it reached Khartoum January 28, 1885, c

Death of Gordon

to find the flag of the Mahdi floating over it. Only days before the place had been stormed and Gordon eleven thousand of his men massacred.

Lord Kitchener

For a decade after this the Soudan was left in the hands of the dervishes, completely aban-

Recovery of the Soudan

doned. But finally England resolved to recover this territory, which she did by the battle of Omdurman in which General Kitchener completely annihilated the power of the dervishes, September 2, 1898.

Egypt and the Soudan were formally declared annexed to the

Egypt and the Soudan annexed to the British Empire

British Empire in 1915 as an incident of the European War. The Khedive was deposed and a new Khedive was put in his place, and Great Britain prepared to rule Egypt as she rules many of the states of Ind preserving the formality of a native prince as sovereign. Egypt w declared a "Protected State."

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AFRICA
1910
English Standard Mile 63.36 1"
European Possessions
German
French
Spanish
under Turkish Suzerainty.
British
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
Abbreviations:
Nat. - Natal
Bas. - Basuto Land
Tr. - Transkei (Pongo Land)
Po - Pondo Land
K. - British Kaffraria
W Gr - West Griqua Land
E. Gr - East Griqua Land
T. - Tembu Land
To. - Tongo Land.
SAHARA
Libyan Desert
Nubia
Arabia
Abyssinia
Sudan
Nigeria
Mauretania
Senegambia
French Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast Colony
Togoland
Dahomey
Lagos
Kamerun
Upper Senegal & Niger
Fezzan
Tripoli
Algeria
Morocco
Tunis
Egypt
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Italian Somaliland
Ogaden
Equatorial Prov.
Bahr el Ghasal
Dar Fur
Kordofan
Wadai
Bornu
Sokoto
Borgu
Nupe
Yoruba
Benin
Ashanti
Gambia
Portuguese Guinea
Rio de Oro
Spanish Morocco
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
Gulf of Aden
Persian Gulf
Hedjaz Railway
Suez Canal
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Cape Verde Is.
Canary Is.
Madeira Is.
Spain
Portugal
Italy
Turkey
Greece
Cyprus
Crete
Rhodes
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Malta
Balearic Is.
Gibraltar
Lisbon
Madrid
Barcelona
Marseilles
Rome
Naples
Constantinople
Smyrna
Beirut
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Aden
Khartum
Omdurman
Berber
Suakim
Port Sudan
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Wady Halfa
Assuan
Luxor
Kosseir
Berenice
Aneisa
Hodeida
Mocha
Hadramaut
Yemen
Asmara
Massawa
Kassala
Gondar
Adowa
Adua
Harar
Berbera
Zeila
Obock
Jibuti
Tadjura
Somali Land
Addis Abbeba
Shoa
Lake Rudolf
Lake Tsana
Lake Victoria
Lake Albert
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyassa
Lake Chad
Lake Rikwa
Lake Ngami
Lake Shirwa
Lake Bangweolo
Lake Mweru
Lake Dilolo
Lake Leopold II
Lake Kamalondo
Lake Kisale
Lake Kassali
Lake Kabele
Lake Kabamba

The Boer Republics Until 1902.
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
ORANGE FREE STATE
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Bloemfontein
Ladysmith
Durban
Pt. Natal
Pietermaritzburg
Majuba Hill
Laurenco Marquez
Sta Lucia Bay
Tropic of Capricorn
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
S. Louis
Senegal
Dakar
Gambia
Bathurst
Bissau
Bissagos Id.
Ascension I
I. S. Helena
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
BELGIAN CONGO
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
ANGOLA
LUNDA
Baroste Ld
Mashona Ld
Matabele Land
GERMAN Kaoko
Damara Ld
SO. WEST BECHUANA LAND
Gr. Nama-Land
GERMAN AFRICA
Angra Pequeña
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
CAPE PROV.
ORANGE STATE PROV.
TRANSVAAL PROV.
TRANSVAAL COL.
ZULULAND
Nat.
Port Elizabeth
East London
Durban (Pt. Natal)
Lourenco Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Beira
Tabora
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salaam
Mombasa
Pemba
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
Antananarivo
Tamatave
Tullear
Majunga
Comoro Is
Mayotta
Johanna
Mohilla
Diego Suarez
Nossi Be
Nohimar
Seychelles
Amirante
Mauritius
Réunion
Port Louis
St. Denis
Lourenco Marquez
Mozambique Channel
Freedom Protectorate 1896
Colony 1909
Ambaliz
Pt. Dauphin
Fort Dauphin
Zambezi R.
Shire R.
Nyassa
Tanganyika
Victoria Nyanza
Albert Nyanza
Kilimanjaro
Mt. Pemba
Kinabinda
Boma
Loanda
St Paul de Loanda
Benguella
Mossamedes
Huilla
Caconda
Caconda
Katema
Kazembe
Katanga
Lobisa
Bihe
Kabompo
Kasai R.
Kwango
Kwando
Zambesi R.
Victoria Falls
Kafue R.
Luapula
Bangweolo
Nyassa
Shire R.
Quelimane
Sofala
Inhambane
Bazaruto I.
Mozambique
Mafeking
Vryburg
Kimberley
Barkly West
Orange R.
Colesberg
Hopetown
Aliwal North
Ladybrand
Harrismith
Newcastle
Majuba Hill
Laurenco Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Tullear
Fort Dauphin
Mauritius
Seychelles
Amirante
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Pemba
Tabora
Kilimanjaro
Victoria Nyanza
Albert Nyanza
Lake Rudolf
Abyssinia
Somaliland
Aden
Red Sea
Suez Canal
Egypt
Nile R.
Khartoum
Fashoda
Bahr el Ghazal
Lado
Uganda
Unyoro
Ruanda
Urundi
Kivu L.
Tanganyika
Nyassa
Lake Chilwa
Lake Shirwa
Lake Ngami
Okavango R.
Chobe R.
Zambesi R.
Victoria Falls
Kafue R.
Luapula
Bangweolo
Lake Mweru
Lake Dilolo
Kasai R.
Kwango
Kwando
Cunene R.
Orange R.
Fish R.
Walfish B.
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Otavi
Grootfontein
Namutoni
Etosha Pan
Lake Ngami
Okavango R.
Chobe R.
Zambesi R.
Victoria Falls
Kafue R.
Luapula
Bangweolo
Lake Mweru
Lake Dilolo
Kasai R.
Kwango
Kwando
Cunene R.
Orange R.
Fish R.
Walfish B.
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Otavi
Grootfontein
Namutoni
Etosha Pan

CHAPTER XXIX

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

SPAIN SINCE 1823

We have traced the history of Spain from the downfall of Napoleon p the year 1823, and have seen the restored King Ferdinand VII reign n a manner so cruel, so unintelligent, and tyrannical that he people rose in insurrection and insisted upon being ccorded a liberal constitution.[1] And we have seen that as a result the owers, commonly called the Holy Alliance, intervened in 1823 to put own this reform movement, sent a French army into the peninsula, nd restored to Ferdinand his former absolute authority. This recovery f his former position through foreign aid was followed by period of disgraceful and ruthless revenge on the part of erdinand upon all who were considered Liberals. Hun- reds were executed at the order of courts-martial for the nost trivial acts. Various classes were carefully watched as "sus- ects," military men, lawyers, doctors, professors, and even veterinary urgeons. Universities and clubs, political and social, were closed as angerous.

Spain

Revenge of Ferdinand VII after 1823

Ferdinand VII ruled for ten years after his second restoration, and n the spirit of unprogressive, unenlightened absolutism. His reign was ot signalized by any attempt to improve the conditions of country that sorely needed reform. It was notable mainly or the loss of the immense Spanish empire in the new world, nd the rise of the independent states of Central and South America. ractically nothing remained under the scepter of the King save Cuba, orto Rico, and the Philippines.

Loss of the American colonies

Upon the death of Ferdinand in 1833 his daughter Isabella, three ears of age, was proclaimed Queen under her mother hristina as Regent. Don Carlos, brother of the late ing, claimed that he was the lawful sovereign, asserting hat the Salic law, excluding women from the throne, was the law of

Isabella proclaimed Queen

[1] See page 263.

the land. A war of seven years followed to determine whether he or his niece should rule. The supporters of the Queen were victorious but during the war in order to gain strength the Regent was forced to grant a seemingly liberal constitution. This was more an apparent than a real concession; yet, at least nominally, the monarchy was henceforth constitutional and not absolute. Spain's political education was at least begun. As a matter of fact, however, the real rulers of the country for many years were the military leaders who overthrew and succeeded each other as ministers.

The Carlist War

The reign of Isabella lasted from 1833 to 1868. She was declared of age in 1843. Her reign was, on the whole, one of reaction. Adhering tenaciously to the principle of monarchical authority, the Queen was influenced throughout by her favorites, and did not observe the spirit, and frequently not the letter, of the constitution. Her reign was marked by absolutism nearly as unqualified as that of her predecessors. Constitutional forms were used to cover arbitrary actions. It was a period of short and weak ministries, court intrigues, petty politics, a period little instructive. Whatever disturbances occurred were vigorously repressed.

Character of Isabella's reign

Dissatisfaction with this régime, marked, as it was, by arbitrariness, by religious and intellectual intolerance, by abuses and corruption, and by the scandalous immorality of the Queen, increased as the reign progressed. Finally in 1868 a revolt broke out which resulted in the flight of the Queen to France, and in the establishment of a provisional government, in which Marshal Serrano and General Prim were the leading figures. The reign of the Spanish Bourbons was declared at an end, and universal suffrage, religious liberty, and freedom of the press were proclaimed as the fundamental principles of the future constitution.

The overthrow of Isabella II

The Cortes were elected a little later by universal suffrage and the future government of Spain was left to their determination. They pronounced in favor of a monarchy and against a republic. They then ransacked Europe for a king and finally chose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. His candidacy is important in history as having been the immediate occasion of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. In the end Leopold declined the invitation.

The Hohenzollern condidacy

In November, 1870, the crown was offered by a vote of 191 out o

III, to Amadeo, second son of Victor Emmanuel II,[1] King of Italy. The smallness of the majority was ominous. The new king's reign was destined to be short and troubled. Landing in Spain at the close of 1870, he was coldly received. Opposition to him came from several sources — from the Republicans, who were opposed to any monarch; from the Carlists, who claimed that the heir of Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII, was the lawful king; from the supporters of Alfonso, son of Isabella, who held that he was the legitimate ruler. Amadeo was disliked also for the simple reason that he was a foreigner. The clergy attacked him for his adherence to constitutional principles of government. No strong body of politicians supported him. Ministries rose and fell with great rapidity, eight in two years, one of them lasting only seventeen days. Each change left the government more disorganized and more unpopular. Believing that the problem of giving peace to Spain was insoluble, and wearying of an uneasy crown, Amadeo, in February, 1873, abdicated.

Amadeo of Savoy chosen king

Abdication of Amadeo

Immediately the Cortes or Parliament declared Spain a Republic, by a vote of 258 to 32. But the advent of the Republic did not bring peace. Indeed, its history was short and agitated. European powers, with the exception of Switzerland, withdrew their diplomatic representatives. The United States alone recognized the new government. The Republic lasted from February, 1873 to the end of December, 1874. It established a wide suffrage, proclaimed religious liberty, proposed the complete separation of the church and state, and voted unanimously for the immediate emancipation of slaves in Porto Rico.

Spain declared a republic

The causes of its fall were numerous. The fundamental one was that the Spaniards had had no long political training, essential for efficient self-government, no true experience in party management. The leaders did not work together harmoniously. Moreover, the Republicans, once in power, immediately broke up into various groups, which fell to wrangling with each other. The enemies of the Republic were numerous, the Monarchists, the clergy, offended by the proclamation of religious liberty, all those who profited by the old régime and who resented the reforms which were threatened. Also, the problems that faced the new government increased the confusion. Three

The causes of its fall

[1] Sixty-three voted for a republic; the other votes were scattering or blank.

wars were in progress during the brief life of the Republic — a war in Cuba, a Carlist war, and a war with the Federalists in southern Spain.

Presidents succeeded each other rapidly. Figueras was in office four months, Pi y Margall six weeks, Salmeron and Castelar for short periods. Finally, Serrano became practically dictator. The fate of the Republic was determined by the generals of the army, the most powerful body in the country, who declared in December, 1874 in favor of Alfonso, son of Isabella II. The Republic fell without a struggle. Alfonso, landing in Spain early in 1875, and being received in Madrid with great enthusiasm, assumed the government, promising a constitutional monarchy. Thus, six years after the dethronement of Isabella, her son was welcomed back as king. The new King was now seventeen years of age. His reign lasted ten years, until his death in November, 1885. In 1876 a new Constitution was voted, the last in the long line of ephemeral documents issuing during the century from either monarch or Cortes or revolutionary junta. Still in force, the Constitution of 1876 creates a responsible ministry, and a Parliament of two chambers. Spain possesses the machinery of parliamentary government, ministries rising and falling according to the votes of Parliament. Practically, however, the political warfare is largely mimic, determined by the desire for office not by devotion to principles or policies.

Alfonso XII recognized as king

The Constitution of 1876

Alfonso XII died in 1885. His wife, an Austrian princess, Maria Christina, was proclaimed regent for a child born a few months later, the present King, Alfonso XIII. Maria Christina, during the sixteen years of her regency, confronted many difficulties. Of these the most serious was the condition of Cuba, Spain's chief colony. An insurrection had broken out in that island in 1868, occasioned by gross misgovernment by the mother country. This Cuban war dragged on for ten years, cost Spain nearly 100,000 men and $200,000,000, and was only ended in 1878 by means of lavish bribes and liberal promises of reform in the direction of self-government. As these promises were not fulfilled, and as the condition of the Cubans became more unendurable, another rebellion broke out in 1895. This new war, prosecuted with great and savage severity by Weyler, ultimately aroused the United States to intervene in the interests of humanity and civilization. A war resulted between the United States and Spain in

Death of Alfonso XII

The Spanish-American War

898, which proved most disastrous to the latter. Her naval power as annihilated in the battles of Santiago and Cavite; her army in antiago was forced to surrender, and she was compelled to sign the Treaty of Paris of 1898, by which she renounced uba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. The panish Empire, which at the opening of the nineteenth entury bulked large on the map of the world, comprising immense ossessions in America and the islands of both hemispheres, has disppeared. Revolts in Central and South America, beginning when oseph Napoleon became king in 1808, and ending with Cuban indeendence ninety years later, have left Spain with the mere shreds of er former possessions, Rio de Oro, Rio Muni in western Africa, some nd about her ancient *presidios* in Morocco, and a few small islands ff the African coast. The disappearance of the Spanish colonial empire one of the most significant features of the nineteenth century. Once ne of the great world powers, Spain is to-day a state of inferior rank.

Loss of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines

In 1902 the present King, Alfonso XIII, formally assumed the reins f government. He married in May, 1906 a member of the royal mily of England, Princess Ena of Battenberg. Profound nd numerous reforms are necessary to range the country n the line of progress. Though universal suffrage was esablished in 1890, political conditions and methods have not changed. lliteracy is widespread. Out of a population of 18,000,000 perhaps 2,000,000 are illiterate. In recent years attempts have been made to mprove this situation; also to reduce the influence of the Roman atholic Church in the state. Nothing important has yet been accomlished in this direction. Liberty of public worship has only recently een secured for the members of other churches.

Alfonso XIII assumes power

PORTUGAL, 1815–1914

Portugal, like other countries, felt the full shock of Napoleonic agression. French armies were sent into the peninsula in 1807 for the urpose of forcing that country into the Continental Sysm, of closing all Europe to English commerce. The royal mily fled from Lisbon just as the French were approachg, and went to the capital of Portugal's leading colony, razil. The actual authority in Portugal for several years was the Engsh army and Lord Beresford. After the fall of Napoleon the Portuuese hoped for the return of the royal family, but this did not occur.

Flight of royal family to Brazil, 1807

The King, John VI, was contented in Rio de Janeiro; moreover, he felt that his departure from Brazil would be the signal for a rebellion in that colony which would end in its independence. The situation gave great dissatisfaction to the Portuguese, whose pride was hurt by the fact that they no longer had a court in Lisbon, and that the mother country seemed to be in the position of a colony, inferior in importance to Brazil. The King finally returned from Brazil, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as regent of that country. In 1822 Brazil declared itself an independent empire under Dom Pedro I. Three years later its independence was recognized by Portugal. Thus Portugal lost its leading colony.

Portugal loses Brazil

The death of John VI in 1826 created a new crisis which distracted the country for many years. His eldest son, Dom Pedro, was Emperor of Brazil. His younger son was Dom Miguel. Dom Pedro was lawfully King of Portugal. He opened his reign as Pedro IV by granting a liberal constitutional charter introducing parliamentary government of the English type. Then, not wishing to return from Brazil, he abdicated in favor of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria. Hoping to disarm his brother Dom Miguel, who himself wished to be king, he betrothed his daughter, aged seven, to Dom Miguel, decreeing that the marriage should be celebrated when Donna Maria became of age. He then appointed Dom Miguel regent for the little princess. But Miguel, landing in Portugal in 1828, was proclaimed king by the absolutists. He accepted the crown. His reign was odious in the extreme, characterized by cruelty and arbitrariness, by a complete defiance of the law, of all personal liberty, by imprisonments and deportations and executions. Dom Pedro abdicated his position as Emperor of Brazil, and returned to Europe to take charge of the cause of his daughter. This civil war between Maria da Gloria and Dom Miguel resulted in the favor of the former. Dom Miguel formally renounced all claims to the throne and left Portugal never to return (1834).

Introduction of parliamentary government

Donna Maria da Gloria

Maria reigned until her death in 1853, a reign rendered turbulent and unstable by the violence of political struggles and by frequent insurrections. In 1852 the Charter of 1826, restored by Maria's government, was liberalized by important alterations, with the result that various parties were satisfied, and political life under her successor, Pedro V, was mild and orderly. His reign was

Death of Maria

neventful. He was followed in 1861 by Louis I, and he in 1889 by Carlos I.

Meanwhile radical parties, Republican, Socialist, grew up. Discontent expressed itself by deeds of violence. The Government replied by becoming more and more arbitrary. The King, Carlos even assumed to alter the Charter of 1826, still the basis of Portuguese political life, by mere decree. The controversy between Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives developed astounding bitterness. Parliamentary institutions ceased to work normally, necessary legislation could not be secured. On February 1, 1908, the King and the Crown Prince were assassinated in the streets of Lisbon. The King's second son, Manuel, succeeded. Manuel's reign was brief, for, in October, 1910, a revolution broke out in Lisbon. After several days of severe street fighting the monarchy was overthrown and a Republic was proclaimed. The King escaped to England. Dr. Theophile Braga, a native of the Azores, and for over forty years a very distinguished man of letters, was chosen President. The constitution was remodeled and liberalized. The Church was separated from the State in 1911, and State payments for the maintenance and expenses of worship ceased.

Recent events in Portugal

Portugal proclaimed a republic, 1910

Since 1910 Portugal, therefore, has been a Republic. The problems confronting her are numerous and serious. She is burdened with an immense debt, disproportionate to her resources, and entailing oppressive taxation. Although primary education has been compulsory since 1911, over seventy per cent of the population over six years of age still remain illiterate. Her population is about six millions. She has small colonial possessions in Asia and extensive ones in Africa, which have thus far proved of little value. The Azores and Madeira are not colonies but are integral parts of the republic.

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CHAPTER XXX

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM SINCE 1830

HOLLAND

We have described the dismemberment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830 and the years succeeding. That kingdom, which included what we know as Holland and Belgium, was the work of the Congress of Vienna, created as a bulwark against France. The Belgians had revolted and, supported in the end by some of the great powers, had won their independence. Since then there have been two kingdoms.

Kingdom of the Netherlands

The old Dutch provinces preserved the name henceforth of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This kingdom, more frequently called Holland in English-speaking countries, has had a history of comparatively quiet internal development, and has played no important rôle in international politics. It has passed through several reigns, that of William I, from 1814 to 1840; of William II, from 1840 to 1849; of William III, from 1849 to 1890, and of Queen Wilhelmina since 1890. The questions of greatest prominence in its separate history have been those concerning constitutional liberties, educational policy, and colonial administration.

The political system rested upon the Fundamental Law granted by William I in 1815. By this the kingdom became a constitutional monarchy, but a monarchy in which the king was more powerful than the Parliament, or States-General. The legislative power of the States-General was restricted to the acceptance and rejection of bills submitted by the Government. They had no powers of origination or of amendment. The budget was voted for a period of years; the civil service was beyond their control. The ministry was not responsible to them, but to the king alone.

The Fundamental Law of 1815

Such a system was an advance upon absolutism, but it left the king extensive powers, not easily or adequately controlled, and rendered possible the personal government of William I, which ended in

he revolt of the Belgians in 1830. The Liberals of Holland demanded hat this system should be radically changed, and that thenceforth the mphasis should be laid upon Parliament, and that Parliament should e brought into closer connection with the people. After n agitation of several years they succeeded in securing a evision of the constitution. By the revised Constitution f 1848 the power of the king was diminished, that of Parliament greatly ncreased. The Upper House was no longer to be appointed by the monarch, but elected by the provincial estates. The Lower House was o be chosen directly by the voters, that is, those who paid a certain roperty tax, varying according to locality. The ministers were made esponsible to the States-General, which also acquired the right to ini- iate legislation, to amend projects submitted, and to vote the budget nnually. Their sessions became public. Since 1848 the constitution as been subjected to slight amendments, one of the more mportant being the enlargement in 1887 of the electorate nd the extension of the suffrage practically to householders nd lodgers, as in England. This increased the number of voters from bout 140,000 to about 300,000. By a later reform, voted in 1896, in- reasing the variety of property qualifications, the number was augmented o about 700,000, or one for every seven inhabitants. Universal suffrage, demanded by Socialists and Liberals, has not been granted.

The constitution of 1848

Extension of the franchise

The Kingdom of the Netherlands possesses extensive colonies in the East Indies and the West Indies. Of these the most important is Java. Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes in Asia, Curaçao and Surinam or Dutch Guiana in America, are valuable possessions. The Dutch colonial empire has a population of about 38,000,000, compared with a population of about 6,000,000 in the Netherlands themselves. The colonies are of great importance commercially, furnishing tropical commodities in large quantities, sugar, coffee, pepper, tea, tobacco, and indigo.

The Dutch Colonies

BELGIUM

The constitution adopted by the Belgians in 1831, at the time of their separation from Holland, is still the basis of the state. It established an hereditary monarchy, a Parliament of two chambers, and a ministry responsible to it. The King, Leopold I, scrupulously observed the methods of parliamentary government from the outset, choosing his ministers from the party having the majority in the

chambers. Leopold's reign lasted from 1831 to his death in 1865. It was one of peaceful development. Institutions essential to the welfare of the people were founded. Though the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the powers, it was nevertheless essential that she should herself have force enough to assert her neutrality. The army was consequently organized and put upon a war basis of 100,000 men. State universities were founded, and primary and secondary schools were opened in large numbers. Legislation favorable to industry and commerce was adopted. Railroads were built. Liberty of religion, of the press, of association, of education, was guaranteed by the constitution. Foreign relations were prudently conducted by Leopold I, whose influence with other rulers of Europe was great, owing to his extensive acquaintance with European statesmen, his knowledge of politics, his sureness of judgment. Under Leopold I Belgium's material and intellectual development was rapid.

The reign of Leopold I

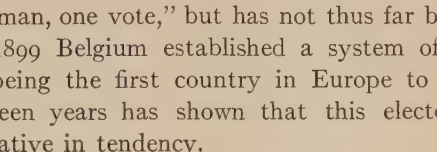
KING ALBERT I
From a photograph by Collings, London.

He was succeeded in 1865 by his son, Leopold II, who ruled for forty-four years. The two most important political questions during most of this period concerned the suffrage and the schools. The suffrage was limited by a comparatively high property qualification, with the result that in 1890 there were only about 135,000 voters out of a population of six millions. As the cities had grown rapidly, and as the working classes were practically disfranchised, the demand for universal suffrage became increasingly clamorous until it could no longer be ignored. In 1893 the constitution was revised, and the suffrage greatly enlarged. Every man of twenty-

The suffrage

ve years of age, not disqualified for some special reason, received ne franchise. But supplementary votes were given to those who, in ddition to the age qualification, could meet certain property qualifica- ions. This is the principle of plural voting, and was designed to give ne propertied classes more weight than they would have from numbers lone. It was provided that no voter should have more than three otes. This form of suffrage is strongly opposed by the Socialists, a rowing party which has attempted to secure the recognition of the rinciple of "one man, one vote," but has not thus far been successful.

By a law of 1899 Belgium established a system of Proportional Representation, being the first country in Europe to do this. An xperience of fifteen years has shown that this electoral device is listinctly conservative in tendency.



Article VII

La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux Articles I, II, et IV, formera un Etat independant et perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres Etats

FACSIMILE OF ARTICLE VII OF THE TREATY OF 1839, WHICH GUARANTEED THE INDEPENDENCE AND PERPETUAL NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM

The political parties of most importance have been the Liberal and he Catholic. The Catholics have struggled to gain sectarian religious nstruction in the schools, and have in great measure suc- eeded. Their opponents desire unsectarian schools.

Education

Belgium is the most densely populated country in Europe. Its popu- ation of more than seven millions is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. t possesses one colony, the former Congo Free State, transformed into colony in 1908.

Leopold II died December 17, 1909, and was succeeded by his nephew lbert I.

In August, 1914 the neutrality of Belgium was broken by Germany, espite her explicit and solemn recognition by treaty of Belgian in- iolability. Germany overran, devastated, and conquered that country. ts future will depend upon the outcome of the European War.

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CHAPTER XXXI

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland in 1815 was a loose confederation of twenty-two tates or cantons.[1] These varied greatly in their forms of govern- nent. A few were pure democracies, the people meeting *en masse* at ated periods, generally in some meadow or open place, to enact laws nd to elect officials to execute them. But these were the smaller and oorer cantons. In others, the government was not democratic, but as representative. In some of these political power was practically nonopolized by a group of important families, the patricians; in others y the propertied class. Most of the cantons, therefore, were not demo- ratic, but were governed by privileged classes. The central govern- nent consisted of a Diet, which really was a congress of mbassadors, who voted according to the instructions given hem by the cantons that sent them. The constitution was he Pact of 1815. Switzerland did not have a capital. The Diet sat lternately in three leading cities, Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne.

The Constitution of 1815

In Swiss institutions, therefore, the emphasis was put upon the can- ons, not upon the confederation. This had been the case during the ve hundred years of Swiss history, save during a short eriod of French domination under the Directory and nder Napoleon. The cantons retained all powers that ere not expressly granted to the Diet. They had their own postal ystems, their own coinage. A person was a citizen of a canton, not of Switzerland. Leaving his canton, he was a man without a country. Cantons might make commercial treaties with foreign powers. The act of 1815 said nothing about the usual liberties of the press, of public eeting, of religion. These matters were, therefore, left in the hands of

The importance of the cantons

[1] Three of these were divided into "half-cantons," thus making in all wenty-five cantonal governments. A "half-canton" has the same powers in cal government as has a whole canton. In federal affairs, however, it has nly half the weight.

the cantons, which legislated as they chose, in some cases very illib ally. Several possessed established churches, and did not allow a others. Valais did not permit Protestant worship, Vaud did not per Catholic. Education was entirely a cantonal affair. Most of the c tons were neither democratic nor liberal, and it remained for the fut to accomplish the unification of these petty states.

For about fifteen years after 1815 most of the cantons followed g erally reactionary policies. Then began the period which the Swiss c

The "Era of Regeneration"

the era of regeneration, in which the constitutions of ma of the cantons were liberalized by the recognition of t classes hitherto excluded from power, and now becomi clamorous. The cantonal governments were wise enough to ma the concessions demanded, such as universal suffrage, freedom of t press, equality before the law, before discontent appealed to for Between 1830 and 1847 there were nearly thirty revisions of cantor constitutions.

The same party which demanded liberal cantonal constitutio demanded a stronger central government. This, however, was n effected so easily, but only after a short civil war, the war of t *Sonderbund*.

As each canton possessed control of religion and education, it ha come about that in the seven Catholic cantons the Jesuits had gain great influence, which they were striving to increase. The Radic party stood for liberty of religion, secular education, a lay state. wished to increase the power of the central government, so that it migl impose its views upon the whole confederation. For this reason th Catholic cantons were opposed to any increase of the federal powe and wished to maintain the authority of the cantons untouched, fo only thus could they maintain their views. Religious and politica passions finally rose so high that in 1847 the seven Catholic canton

The Sonderbund

formed a special league (*Sonderbund*), for the purpose o protecting the interests which they considered threatened They regarded their action as merely defensive against possible attack The Radicals were, however, able to get a vote through the Diet order ing the disbandment of this league. As the members of the league re fused to disband, a war resulted (1847). It was of brief duration an was over in three weeks. The victory, which did not cost many lives was easily won by the forces of the federal government, which were muc

ore numerous and better equipped than those of the league. The *Sonderbund* was dissolved, the Jesuits were expelled, and the triumphant adicals proceeded to carry out their cherished plan of strengthening e federal government. This they accomplished by the Constitution of 48, which superseded the Pact of 1815. This constitution, with some changes, is still in force. It transformed witzerland into a true federal union, resembling, in many spects, the United States. The Diet of ambassadors gave way to representative body with extensive powers of legislation.

The Constitution of 1848

The federal legislature was henceforth to consist of two houses: the ational Council, elected directly by the people, one member for ery 20,000 inhabitants; and the Council of States, composed of two members for each canton. In the former, population counts; in the latter, the equality of the cantons is reserved. The two bodies sitting together choose the Federal Tribul, and also a committee of seven, the Federal Council, to serve as the ecutive. From this committee of seven they elect each year one who ts as its chairman and whose title is "President of the Swiss Confedation," but whose power is no greater than that of any of the other embers. It was recognized that there should be a single capital, and ern was chosen as such, on account of its position near the border of e German- and French-speaking districts.

The Federal Government

Larger powers were now given to the confederation: the control of reign affairs, the army, tariffs, the postal system, and the inage. The cantons retained great powers, such as the ght to legislate concerning civil and criminal matters, ligion, and education.

Powers of the Federal and cantonal governments

The new constitution was put immediately into force. It converted ancient league of states into a strong federal union. It created for e first time in history a real Swiss nation. This was one of the triphs of the nationalistic spirit, of which Europe saw so many during e nineteenth century. It was also a triumph of another of the motive ces of the century, the democratic spirit.

Since 1848 Switzerland has pursued a course of peaceful develop-ent, but one of extraordinary interest to the outside orld. This interest consists not in great events, nor in reign policy, for Switzerland has constantly preserved a ict neutrality, but in the steady and thoroughgoing evo-

The chief significance of Switzerland

lution of certain political forms which may be of great value to all self-governing countries. There have been developed in Switzerland certain processes of law-making the most democratic in character known to the world. The achievement has been so remarkable, the process so uninterrupted, that it merits description.

In all countries calling themselves democratic, the political machinery is representative, not direct, i.e., the voters do not make the laws themselves, but merely at certain periods choose people, their representatives, who make them. These laws are not ratified or rejected by the voters; they never come before the voters directly. But the Swiss have sought, and with great success, to render the voters law-makers themselves, and not the mere choosers of law-makers, to apply the power of the democracy to the national life at every point, and constantly. They have done this in various ways. Their methods have been first worked out in the cantons and later in the confederation.

Important contributions to democratic government

Some of the smaller cantons have from time immemorial been pure democracies. The voters have met together at stated times, usually in the open air, have elected their officials, and by a show of hands have voted the laws. There are six such cantons to-day. Such direct government is possible, because these cantons are small both in area and population. They are so small that no voter has more than fifteen miles to go to the voting place, and most have a much shorter distance.

The Landesgemeinde cantons

But in the other cantons this method does not prevail. In them the people elect representative assemblies, as in England and the United States, but they exercise a control over them not exercised in these countries, a control which renders self-government almost as complete as in the six cantons described above. They do this by the so-called referendum and initiative. In the cantons where these processes are in vogue the people do not, as in the *Landesgemeinde* cantons, come together in mass meeting and enact their own laws. They elect, as in other countries, their own legislature, which enacts the laws. The government is representative, not democratic. But the action of the legislature is not final, only to be altered, if altered at all, by a succeeding legislature.

The referendum

Laws passed by the cantonal legislature may or must be referred to the people (referendum), who then have the right to reject or accept them, who, in other words, become the law

makers, their legislature being simply a kind of committee to help them by suggesting measures and by drafting them.

The initiative, on the other hand, enables a certain number of voters to propose a law or a principle of legislation and to require that the legislature submit the proposal to the people, even though it is itself opposed to it. If ratified the proposal becomes law. The initiative thus reverses the order of the process. The impulse to the making of a new law comes from the people, not from the legislature. The referendum is negative and preventive. It is the veto power given to the people. The initiative is positive, originative, constructive. By these two processes a democracy makes whatever laws it pleases. The one is the complement of the other. They do not abolish legislatures, but they give the people control whenever a sufficient number wish to exercise it. The constitution of the canton of Zurich expresses the relation as follows: "The people exercise the law-making power with the assistance of the state legislature." The legislature is not the final law-making body. The voters are the supreme legislators. These two devices, the referendum and the intiative, are intended to establish, and do establish, government of the people, and by the people. They are of immense interest to all who wish to make the practice of democracy correspond to the theory. By them Switzerland has more nearly approached democracy than has any other country.

The initiative

Switzerland has made great progress in education and in industry. The population has increased over a million since 1850 and now numbers about three and a half millions. The population is not homogeneous in race or language. About 71 per cent speak German, 21 per cent French, 5 per cent Italian, and a small fraction speak a peculiar Romance language called Roumansch. But language is not a divisive force, as it is elsewhere, as it is, for example, in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkan peninsula, probably because no political advantages or disadvantages are connected with it.

The population of Switzerland

The neutralization of Switzerland

The neutrality of Switzerland is guaranteed by the powers.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

DENMARK

During the later wars of Napoleon Denmark had been his ally, maining loyal to the end, while other allies had taken favorable occa- on to desert him. For this conduct the conquerors of Napoleon pun- hed her severely by forcing her, by the Treaty of Kiel, nuary, 1814, to cede Norway to Sweden, which had sided ith the conquerors. The condition of the Danish king- om was therefore deplorable, indeed. By the loss of Norway her popu- tion was reduced one-third. Her trade was ruined, and her finances ere in the greatest disorder.

Denmark loses Norway

The government was an absolute monarchy and it remained so own to the memorable mid-century upheaval of Europe in 1848. In 849 the King, Frederick VII, issued a constitution. In 854 he promulgated another and in 1855 still another. he difficulty was that the question of a constitution was bound up ith that vastly complicated problem of the relation of the duchies, chleswig and Holstein, to Denmark. That problem was settled, as e have seen, in 1864, by the attack of two great powers, russia and Austria, upon Denmark, and their appropri- tion of the duchies for themselves. The question of the uchies was thus settled, as far as Denmark was con- erned. For the second time in the nineteenth century Denmark suf- ered a dismemberment at the hands of the great military powers. his reduced her territorial extent by a third, her population by about million.

Constitution granted

Denmark loses Schleswig-Holstein

Since that war Denmark has pursued a policy of internal develop- ent, undisturbed by foreign politics. A constitution was issued in 866, a revision of that of 1849, establishing a Parliament two houses. This Parliament, long conservative, has come in recent years increasingly liberal. In 1891, an d age pension system was established. All over sixty years, of good

Revision of the Constitution

character, are entitled to a pension, half of which is paid by the state, half by the local authority. There is no requirement of previous payments on the part of the recipients as there is in Germany. By amendments to the constitution adopted in 1915 the suffrage was made practically universal, being extended to nearly all women as well as men. Voters must be at least twenty-five years of age. Education is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen. The population of Denmark is about two million and three quarters. The area is about that of Switzerland.

Growth of radicalism

Denmark has extensive possessions — Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and the three small West Indian islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John. Of these the most important is Iceland, 600 miles west of Norway, with an area of over 40,000 square miles and a population of about 85,000. Iceland was granted home rule in 1874, and has its own Parliament of thirty-six members. In 1874 Iceland celebrated the thousandth anniversary of its settlement. The Faroes are not colonies, but parts of the kingdom.

Denmark's colonies

The present king is Frederick VIII, who has been on the throne since 1906.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Both Sweden and Norway were affected by the course of the Napoleonic wars. After the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807, by which Russia and France became allies, Russia proceeded to gratify a long cherished ambition by seizing Finland from Sweden, thus gaining a large territory and a long coast line on the Baltic Sea. Later, Sweden, uniting with the Allies against Napoleon, was rewarded in 1814 by the acquisition of Norway, torn from Denmark, which had adhered to Napoleon to the end, and which was accordingly considered a proper subject for punishment.

The Norwegians had not been consulted in this transaction. They were regarded as a negligible quantity, a passive pawn in the international game, a conception that proved erroneous, for no sooner did they hear that they were being handed by outsiders from Denmark to Sweden than they protested, and proceeded to organize resistance.

The Constitution of Eidsvold

Claiming that the Danish King's renunciation of the crown of Norway restored that crown to themselves, they proceeded to elect a king of their own, May 17, 1814, and they adopted a liberal constitution, the Constitution of Eidsvold, establishing a Parliament, or Storthing.

But the King of Sweden, to whom this country had been assigned by the consent of the powers, did not propose to be deprived of it by act of the Norwegians themselves. He sent the Crown Prince, Bernadotte, into Norway to take possession. A war resulted between the Swedes and the Norwegians, the latter being victorious. Then the great powers intervened so peremptorily that the newly elected Norwegian king, Christian, resigned his crown into the hands of the Storthing. The Storthing then acquiesced in the union with Sweden, but only after having formally elected the King of Sweden as the King of Norway, thus asserting its sovereignty, and also after the King had promised to recognize the Constitution of 1814, which the Norwegians had given themselves.

Thus there was no fusion of Norway and Sweden. There were two kingdoms and one king. The same person was King of Sweden and King of Norway, but he governed each according to its own laws, and by means of separate ministries. No Swede could hold office in Norway, no Norwegian in Sweden. Each country had its separate constitution, its separate parliament. In Sweden the parliament, or Diet, consisted of four houses, representing respectively the nobility, the clergy, the cities, and the peasantry. In Norway the parliament, or Storthing, consisted of two chambers. Sweden had a strong aristocracy, Norway only a small and feeble one. Swedish government and society were aristocratic and feudal, Norwegian very democratic. Norway, indeed, was a land of peasants, who owned their farms, and fisherfolk, sturdy, simple, independent. Each country had its own language, each its own capital, that of Sweden at Stockholm, that of Norway at Christiania.

Sweden and Norway separate nations under the same king

The two kingdoms, therefore, were very dissimilar, with their different languages, different institutions, and different conditions. They had in common a king, and ministers of war and foreign affairs. The connection between the two countries, limited as it was, led during the century to frequent and bitter disagreements, ending a few years ago in their final separation.

The institutions of Sweden were aristocratic and antiquated. They remained such until 1866 when the first breach was made in this stiff and illiberal régime. In that year the Diet was transformed into a modern parliament, consisting of two chambers. But the Upper Chamber was to be controlled by the noble

The Constitution of 1866

and rich classes; the Lower also represented propertied classes, as such high property qualifications were to be required of voters that as a matter of fact only about eight per cent of the people possessed the suffrage under this constitution. This system went into force in 1866, and remained in force until 1909.

Under Oscar II, who ruled from 1872 to 1907, the relations between Sweden and Norway became acute, ending finally in complete rupture.

Friction between Sweden and Norway

Friction between them had existed ever since 1814, and had provoked frequent crises. The fundamental cause had lain in the different conceptions prevalent among the two peoples as to the real nature of the union effected in that year. The Swedes maintained that Norway was unqualifiedly ceded to them by the Treaty of Kiel in 1814; that they later were willing to recognize that the Norwegians should have a certain amount of independence; that they, nevertheless, possessed certain rights in Norway and preponderance in the Union. The Norwegians, on the other hand, maintained that the Union rested, not upon the Treaty of Kiel, a treaty between Denmark and Sweden, but upon their own act; that they had been independent, and had drawn up a constitution for themselves, the Constitution of Eidsvold; that they had voluntarily united themselves with Sweden by freely electing the King of Sweden as King of Norway; that there was no fusion of the two states; that Sweden had no power in Norway; that Sweden had no preponderance in the Union, but that the two states were on a plane of entire equality. With two such dissimilar views friction could not fail to develop, and it began immediately after 1814 on a question of trivial importance. The Norwegians were resolved to

Dissimilar views in regard to the Union

Oscar II

anage their own internal affairs as they saw fit, without any intermix-
ure of Swedish influence. But their King was also King of Sweden, and,
s a matter of fact, lived in Sweden most of the time, and was rarely
en in Norway. Moreover, Sweden was in population much the larger
artner in this uncomfortable union.

By the Constitution of Eidsvold the King had only a suspensive
eto over the laws of the Storthing, the Norwegian parliament. Any
aw could be enacted over that veto if passed by three successive Stor-
nings, with intervals of three years between the votes. The process
as slow, but sufficient to insure victory in any cause in which the Nor-
egians were in earnest. It was thus that, despite the King's veto,
ney carried through the abolition of the Norwegian nobility. Contests
etween the Storthing and the King of Norway, occurring from time to time, over the question of the national flag, of annual sessions, and other matters, kept alive the antipathy of the Norwegians to the Union. Meanwhile, their prosperity increased. Particularly did they develop an important commerce. One-fourth of the merchant marine of the continent of Europe passed gradually into their hands. This gave rise to a question more serious than any that had hitherto arisen — that of the consular service.

Abolition of Norwegian nobility

About 1892 began a fateful discussion over the question of the consular service. The Norwegian Parliament demanded a separate consular service for Norway, to be conducted by itself, to care for Norway's commercial interests, so much more important than those of Sweden. This the King would not grant, on the ground that it would break up the Union, that Sweden and Norway could not have two foreign policies. The conflict thus begun dragged on for years, embittering the relations of the Norwegians and the Swedes and inflaming passions until in 1905 (June 7) the Norwegian Parliament declared unanimously "that the Union with Sweden under one king has ceased." The war feeling in Sweden was strong, but the Government finally decided, in order to avoid the evils of a conflict, to recognize the dissolution of the Union, on condition that the question of separation should be submitted to the people of Norway. Sweden held that there was no proof that the Norwegian people desired this, but was evidently of the opinion that the whole crisis was simply the work of the Storthing. That such an opinion was erroneous was established by the vote on August 13, 1905, which showed over 368,000 in favor of

Dissolution of the Union

separation and only 184 votes in opposition. A conference was then held at Carlstad to draw up a treaty or agreement of dissolution. This agreement provided that any disputes arising in the future between the two countries, which could not be settled by direct diplomatic negotiations should be referred to the Hague International Arbitration Tribunal. It further provided for the establishment of a neutral zone along the frontiers of the two countries, on which no military fortifications should ever be erected.

Treaty of Carlstad

Later in the year the Norwegians chose Prince Charles of Denmark, grandson of the then King of Denmark, as King of Norway. There was a strong feeling in favor of a republic, but it seemed clear that the election of a king would be more acceptable to the monarchies of Europe, and would avoid all possibilities of foreign intervention. The new king assumed the name of Haakon VII, thus indicating the historical continuity of the independent kingdom of Norway, which had grown up in the Middle Ages. He took up his residence in Christiania.

On December 8, 1907, Oscar II, since 1905 King of Sweden only, died, and was succeeded by his son as Gustavus V.

Death of Oscar II

In 1909 Sweden took a long step toward democracy. A franchise reform bill, which had long been before parliament, was finally passed. Manhood suffrage was established for the Lower House, and the qualifications for election to the Upper House were greatly reduced.

In Norway, men who have reached the age of twenty-five, and who have been residents of the country for five years, have the right to vote. By a constitutional amendment adopted in 1907 the right to vote for members of the Storthing was granted to women who meet the same qualifications, and who, in addition, pay, or whose husbands pay, a tax upon an income ranging from about seventy-five dollars in the country to about one hundred dollars in cities. About 300,000 of the 550,000 Norwegian women of the age of twenty-five or older, thus secured the suffrage. They had previously enjoyed the suffrage in local elections.

Suffrage in Norway

Sweden has a population of about five and a half millions; Norway of less than two and a half millions.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE DISRUPTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

Decay of the Ottoman Empire

All through the period covered by this book there went on the process of the dismemberment of an empire which had once terrified the western world, threatening all Europe with subjection beneath her peculiarly galling and debasing yoke. During the past two centuries that empire has been on the defensive and has steadily lost ground. In the eighteenth century Russia and Austria, her neighbors, despoiled her of some of her valuable lands. In the nineteenth it was, in the main, her own subjects who rose against her, who tore the empire apart, and founded a number of independent states on soil that was formerly Turkish. The map of modern Europe shows no greater change as compared with the map a hundred years ago than in the Balkan peninsula. That change is the product of a most eventful history, the solution thus far given to one of the most intricate and contentious problems European statesmen have ever had to consider, the Eastern Question, the question, that is, of what should be done with Turkey.

The Eastern Question

The Turks, an Asiatic, Mohammedan people, had conquered southeastern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and had subdued many different races; the Greeks, claiming descent from the Greeks of antiquity; the Roumanians, claiming descent from Roman colonists of the Empire; the Albanians, and various branches of the great Slavic race, the Servians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Full of contempt for those whom they had conquered, the Turks made no attempt to assimilate them or to fuse them into one body politic. They were satisfied with reducing them to subjection, and with exploiting them. These Christian peoples were effaced for several centuries beneath Mohammedan oppression, their property likely to be confiscated, their lives taken, whenever it suited their rulers. They bore their ills with resignation as long as they thought it impossible to resist oppression, yet they never acquiesced in their

Treatment of subject peoples

position. Hating their oppressors with a deathless hatred they only waited for their hour of liberation. That hour seemed to come at the opening of the nineteenth century with the vast changes then being effected as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. But the wars of liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Turks, begun in the first decade of the nineteenth century, are not yet over, in the second decade of the twentieth century. It is a long, bloody, turbulent, confused, heroic history.

SERVIA

The Servians were the first to rise, — in 1804 under Kara George, a vineherd. The Turks were driven from Servia for a time, but they regained it in 1813. The Servians again arose, and in 1820, Milosch Obrenovitch, who had instigated the murder of Kara George in 1817, and who thus became leader himself, secured from the Sultan the title of "Prince of the Servians of the Pashalik of Belgrade." His policy henceforth was directed to the acquisition of complete autonomy for Servia. This, after long negotiations and strongly supported by Russia, he achieved in 1830, when a decree of the Sultan bestowed upon him the title of "Hereditary Prince of the Servians." Thus, after many years of war and negotiations, Servia ceased to be a mere Turkish province, and became a principality tributary to the Sultan, but self-governing, and with a princely house ruling by right of heredity — the house of Obrenovitch which had succeeded in crushing the earlier house of Kara George. This was the first state to arise in the nineteenth century out of the dismemberment of European Turkey. Its capital was Belgrade.

The revolt of the Servians

THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The next of these subject peoples to rise against the hated oppressor was the Greeks. The Greeks had been submerged by the Turkish flood but not destroyed. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had experienced a great reinvigoration of their racial and national consciousness. Their condition in 1820 was better than it had been for centuries, their spirit was higher and less disposed to bend before Turkish arrogance, their prosperity was greater. There had occurred in the eighteenth century a remarkable intellectual revival, connected with the restoration and purification of the Greek language.

The condition of the Greeks

In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt and began a war which did not end until they had achieved their independence in 1829. During the first six years they fought alone against the Turks. This period was followed by a period of foreign intervention. The war was one of utter atrocity on both sides, a war of extermination, a war not limited to the armies. Each side, when victorious, murdered large numbers of non-combatants, men, women and children.

The Greek war of independence

The war was ineffectually prosecuted by Turkey. The period was made still more wretched by the inability of the Greeks to work together harmoniously. Torn by violent factional quarrels, they were unable to gain any pronounced advantage. On the other hand, Turkey, unable to conquer by her own forces called upon the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, for aid. This ruler had built up a strong, disciplined army, well-equipped and trained in European methods, a force far superior to any which the Sultan or the Greeks possessed. Under Ibrahim, the Pasha's son, an Egyptian army of 11,000 landed in the Morea early in 1825, and began a war of extermination. The Morea was rapidly conquered. The fall of Missolonghi after a remarkable siege lasting about a year (April, 1825–April, 1826), with the loss of almost all the inhabitants, and the capture the following year of Athens and the Acropolis, seemed to have completed the subjugation of Greece. Few places remained to be seized.

Factional quarrels among the Greeks

From the extremity of their misfortune the Greeks were rescued by the decision of foreign powers finally to intervene. The sympathy of cultivated people had, from the first, been aroused for the country which had given intellectual freedom and distinction to the world, this Mother of the Arts, which was now making an heroic and romantic struggle for an independent and worthy life of her own. Everywhere Philhellenic societies were formed under this inspiration of the memories of Ancient Greece. These societies, founded in France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and the United States, sought to aid the insurgents by sending money, arms, and volunteers, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the governments to intervene. Many men from western Europe joined the Greek armies. The most illustrious of these was Lord Byron, who gave his life for the idea of a free Greece, dying of fever at Missolonghi in 1824. Finally the governments resolved to intervene. England, Russia, and France by the Treaty of London of 1827,

Foreign intervention

greed to demand that Greece be made a self-governing state under urkish sovereignty, be therefore placed in practically the me situation as Servia. The demand was refused by the urkish government. A naval battle at Navarino, October 20, 1827, re-ulted in the destruction of the Turkish fleet. The following year Russia eclared war upon Turkey. This Russo-Turkish war lasted ver a year. In the first campaign the Russians were un-uccessful, but, redoubling their efforts, and under better eadership, they crossed the Balkans, and marched rapidly toward Con-antinople. The French meanwhile had sent an army into the Morea, nd had forced the Egyptian troops to leave the country and sail for gypt. The Sultan was obliged to yield and the Treaty of Adrianople as signed with Russia September 14, 1829.

The battle of Navarino

War between Russia and Turkey

As the outcome of this series of events Greece became a kingdom, ntirely independent of Turkey, its independence guaranteed by the hree powers, Russia, England, and France. The Danu-ian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were made ractically, though not nominally, independent. The Sul-an's power in Europe was therefore considerably reduced. n 1833 Otto, a lad of seventeen, second son of King Louis I of Bavaria, ecame the first King of Greece. A new Christian state had been created n southeastern Europe.

Creation of the Kingdom of Greece

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Russia emerged from the Turkish War with increased prestige and ower. It had been her campaign of 1829 that had brought the Sultan o terms. Greece had become independent, and was more grateful o her than to the other powers. Moldavia and Wallachia, still nomi-ally a part of Turkey, were practically free of Turkish ontrol, and Russian influence in them was henceforth aramount. Several years later Russia was emboldened to attempt to xtend her influence still further, and this attempt precipitated a reopen-ng of the Eastern Question, and the first great European war since the all of Napoleon I.

The Principalities

Russia demanded the right of protection over all Greek Christians ving in the Turkish Empire, of whom there were several illions. The demand was loosely expressed and might ossibly, if granted, grow into a constant right of intervention by Russia

Russian demands

in the internal affairs of Turkey, ultimately making that country a kind of vassal of the former. This, at any rate, was the assertion of Turkey. War therefore broke out between the two powers, Russia and Turkey, in 1853. Russia expected that the war would be limited to these two. In this she was shortly undeceived, for England and France and later Piedmont, came to the support of the Turks. Russia found herself opposed by four powers instead of by one. England went to war because she feared an aggressive and expanding Russia, feared for the route to India; France because Napoleon III wished to pay back old grudges against Russia, wished revenge for the Moscow campaign of Napoleon I, wished also to tear up the treaties of 1815, which sealed the humiliation of France. Piedmont went to war merely to win the interest of England and France for Cavour's plans for the making of Italy.

War between Russia and Turkey

Coalition against Russia

The war was chiefly fought in the Crimea, a peninsula in southern Russia, jutting out into the Black Sea and important because there Russia had constructed, at Sebastopol, a great naval arsenal, and because the Russian navy was there. To seize Sebastopol, to sink the fleet, would destroy Russia's naval power for many years, and thus remove the weapon with which she could seriously menace Turkey.

The allies invade the Crimea

The siege of Sebastopol was the chief feature of the Crimean War. That siege lasted eleven months. Sebastopol was defended in a masterly fashion by Todleben, the Russian engineer, and the only military hero of the first order that the war developed. Parts of this campaign, subsidiary to the siege, were the battles of the Alma, of Balaklava, rendered forever memorable by the splendid charges of the heavy and light brigades, and of Inkermann, full of stirring and heroic incident. The Allies suffered fearfully from the weather, the bitter cold, the breakdown of the commissary department, and the shocking inefficiency of the medical and hospital service. These deficiencies were remedied in time, but only after a terrible loss of life.

The siege of Sebastopol

Early in 1855 (March 2), Nicholas I died, bitterly disappointed at the failure of his plans. Throughout the summer of 1855 the state of Sebastopol grew steadily worse and it finally fell, on September 8, 1855, after a siege of 336 days, and an enormous expenditure in human lives.

The war dragged on for some weeks longer, but as most of the pow-

s were anxious for peace, they agreed to enter the Congress of Paris, nich met February 25, 1856, and which, after a month's -liberation, signed the Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856. **Treaty of Paris**

ne treaty provided that the Black Sea should henceforth be neutral-ed, that it should not be open to vessels of war, even of those coun-ies bordering on it, Russia and Turkey, and that no arsenals should e established or maintained on its shores. Its waters were to be open the merchant ships of every nation. The navigation of the Danube as declared free. The Russian protectorate over Moldavia and Walla-ia was abolished and they were declared independent under the suze-inty of the Porte. The most important clause was that by which e powers admitted Turkey to the European family of states, from hich she had been previously excluded as a barbarous nation, and which they also agreed no more to interfere with her internal af-irs. This action was taken, it was said, because the Sultan had, "in s constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman cording his generous intentions towards the Christian population of s Empire."

Thus Turkey was bolstered up by the Christian powers of western urope because they did not wish to see Russia installed in Constanti-ople. As a solution of the Eastern Question the war was a flat failure. he promise of the Sultan that the lot of his Christian subjects should e improved was never kept. Their condition became worse.

REVOLTS IN THE BALKANS

By the middle of the nineteenth century the only part of the Turkish mpire that had become independent was Greece; Servia and Mol-avia-Wallachia were semi-independent and aspired to become completely . The two latter provinces shortly declared themselves united under e single name of Roumania and, in 1866, they chose as **Rise of Roumania** eir prince, a member of the Roman Catholic branch of e Hohenzollern family, Charles I. This German prince, who was the ler of Roumania until his death in 1914, was at that time twenty-seven ars of age. He at once set to work to study the condi- **Charles I of Roumania** ns of his newly adopted country, ably seconded in this by s wife, a German princess, whose literary gift was to win her a great putation, and was to be used in the interest of Roumania. As "Car-en Sylva" she wrote poems and stories, published a collection of

Roumanian folklore, and encouraged the national idea by showing her preference for the native Roumanian dress and for old Roumanian customs.

Charles I was primarily a soldier, and the great work of the early years of his reign was to build up the army, as he believed it essential if Roumania was to be really independent in her attitude toward Russia and Turkey. He increased the size of the army, equipped it with Prussian guns, and had it drilled by Prussian officers. The wisdom of this was apparent when the Eastern Question was again reopened.

In 1875 the Eastern Question entered once more upon an acute phase. Movements began which were to have a profound effect upon the various sections of the peninsula. An insurrection broke out in the summer of that year in Herzegovina, a province west of Servia. For years the peasantry had suffered from gross misrule. The oppression of the Turks became so grinding and was accompanied by acts so barbarous and inhuman that the peasants finally rebelled. These peasants were Slavs, and as such were aided by Slavs from neighboring regions, Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. They were made all the more bitter because they saw Slavs in Servia comparatively contented, as these were largely self-governed. Why should not they themselves enjoy as good conditions as others? Religious and racial hatred of Christian and Slav against the infidel Turk flamed up throughout the peninsula. Christians could not rest easy witnessing the outrages committed upon their co-religionists. And just at this time those outrages attained a ferocity that shocked all Europe.

Reopening of the Eastern Question

The insurrection of Herzegovina

Early in 1876 the Christians in Bulgaria, a large province of European Turkey, rose against the Turkish officials, killing some of them. The revenge taken by the Turks was of incredible atrocity. Pouring regular troops and the ferocious irregulars called Bashi-Bazouks into the province, they butchered thousands with every refinement or coarseness of brutality. In the valley of the Maritza all but fifteen of eighty villages were destroyed. In Batak, a town of 7000 inhabitants, five thousand men, women, and children were savagely slaughtered with indescribable treachery and cruelty.

The Bulgarian atrocities

These Bulgarian atrocities thrilled all Europe with horror. Gladstone, emerging from retirement, denounced "the unspeakable Turk,

MAP ILLUSTRATING
The Rise of the Balkan States
0 50 100
English Miles
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
MOLDAVIA
Bessarabia
WALLACHIA
GREAT
Transylvanian Alps
SLAVONIA
BANAT
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Herzegovina
BULGARIA
Little Balkan
EAST-RUMELIA
MONTENEGRO
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
TURKEY
THRACE
Hodmezo Vasarhely
Szegedin
Arad
Zenta
Nagy-Kikinda
Temesvar
Lugos
Neusatz
Peterwardein
Vershetz
Reshitza
Belgrade
Semendria
Passarowitz
Shuhatz
Orsova
Turnu Severin
Kragujevatz
Kawanitza
Sarajevo
Mostar
Novibazar
Ipek
Ujitza
Leskovatz
Prishtina
Vranja
Kostendil
Sofia
Widin
Kraiova
Bucharest
Baragan
Ibraila
Galatz
Reni
Ismail
Kilia
Akkerman
Kronstadt
Hermannstadt
Fogaras
Alt (Aluta)
Danube
Save
Drina
Morava
Ibar
Maros
Theiss
Pruth
Sereth
Dniester
Danube Delta
Fortitza Mouth
Sulina
St. George
Tchatal
Babadagh
Dobrudscha
Tchernavoda
Constanza (Kustendji)
Mangatia
Silistria
Rustchuk
Giurgevo
Alexandria
Oltenitza
Basardshik
Delli Jirmen
Viesbolt
Shistova
Plevna
Shumla
Varna
C. Kali Agra
Tirnova
Slivno
Yambolt
Burgas
C. Emine
Philippopolis
Ternovo
Kirk Kilisse
Adrianople
C. Iniada
Karaagatch
Rodosto
Gallipoli
Seres
Monastir
Vevrokop
Xantlia
Ghasheli
Kalkandelen
Uskub
Prisrend
Diakova
Ipek
Scutari
Durazzo
C. Rhodoni
Dulcigno
Antivari
Scutari L.
Cattaro
Ragusa
Sabbioncello
Metkovich
Borche di Cattaro
Ossero
Lussin
Zara
Spalatro
Trau
Sebenico
Arbe
Fiume
Carlstadt
Agram
Essek
Peterwardein
Mitrovitza
Novibazar
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Sabbioncello
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Borche di Cattaro
Ossero
Lussin
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Spalatro
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Sebenico
Arbe
Fiume
Carlstadt
Agram
Essek
Peterwardein
Mitrovitza
Bakau
T. Okna
Targul Ocnei
Bolgrad
Trajans Wall
Sassa
Oktza
Kilia
Akkerman
Pruth
Sereth
Dniester
Danube Delta
Fortitza Mouth
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Ternovo
Ghasheli
Uskub
Monastir
Seres
Vevrokop
Xantlia
Rodosto
Gallipoli
Karaagatch

IONIAN SEA
Cephalonia
Zakynthos (Zante)
PELOPONNESUS
(MOREA)
ATHENS
Cyclades
Andros
Tinos
Paros
Naxos
Amorgos
Milos
Ios
Cythera (Cerigo)
SEA OF CANDIA
CRETE OR CANDIA (KIRID)
Rhodes
Karpathos
Scarpanto
Saphranta I.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Northern Sporades
Skyros
Chios
SMYRNA
MINOR
ASIA
Mytilene (Lesbos)
Lydia
Aidin
Samos
Ikaria
Mycone
Delos
Syros
Hermiopolis
Stopodia
Miletos
Mendelia
Lasos
Palmos
Leros
Kalymnos
Kos
Nisyros
Titos
Symi
Charki
Amathus
Syrnos
Makri
Astropalia
Amorgopula
Ophidusa
Therasia
Anaphi
Christiana
Santorini
Padisa
Phelegandros
Thirasia
Sikinos
Antimilos
Kimolos
Siphanto
Seriphos
Antiparos
Hydra
Spetzia
Aegina
Poros
Methana
Troezene
Epidaurus
Argos
Tripolis
Sparta
Arcadia
Navarino
Modon
Coron
Gulf of Koroni
Gulf of Kalamata
Gulf of Laconia
Gulf of Arcadia
Gulf of Corinth
Corinth
Patras
Missolonghi
Lepanto
Vostitza
Thebes
Livadia
Chalkis
Eleusis
Salamis
Megara
Kastri
Gastuni
Olympia
Mycena
Kumeni
Gerakania
Anti-Milos
Neapolis
C. Malta
C. Malapan
C. Matapan
Cythera
Canal of Cythera
Antikythera (Cerigotto)
Spada
C. Busso
Canea
Retimo
Candia
Megalokastron
C. Sidero
C. Krio
Messara Bay
Phanmadia
Gaudos
Gaudaronisi
Kuphonisi
Psara
Oinussa
Agrilia
Cyra
Pharsalos
Volo
Gulf of Volo
Trikkala
Thessaly
Barissa
Karditza
Larissa
Pelagonisi
Chiliodromia
Giura
Piperi
Hagiostrati
C. Bodo
Gulf of Adramyti
Balikesri
Bigaditch
Pergamo (Pergamon)
Karkagatch
Demirdschi
Assassari
Manissa
Gulf of Smyrna
Tire
Ephesus
Budjadan
Ayasolug
Arvisli
Mughla
Gulf of Xanthos
Gulf of Makri
Rhodes
Saria
C. Prasonisi
Chantilonisi
Armathus
Lasos
Tenedos
Dardanelles
Troy
Kenderes
Gulf of Saros
Gulf of Xeros
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Salonika
Salonika
Olympus
Ossa
Pelion
Volo
Prevesa
Actium
Gulf of Arta
Arta
Vonitza
Santa Maura
Ithaca
Dulichium
Samos
Crania
Yanina
Corfu (Kerkyra)
C. Asprokavo
Paxos
Antipaxos
C. S. Maria di Leuca
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Salona
Kopais
Lake Copais
Lake Topolias
Can. of Alphonti
Strivoli I.
Cervinon
Ithoni
Pando
Is
Ly
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n a flaming pamphlet. He demanded that England cease to support government which was an affront to the laws of God, nd urged that the Turks be expelled from Europe "bag nd baggage." The public opinion of Europe was aroused.

Gladstone's denunciation of the Turks

In July, 1876 Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, nd the insurrection of the Bulgarians became general. The Russian eople became intensely excited in their sympathy with neir co-religionists and their fellow-Slavs. Finally the Russian government declared war upon Turkey, April 24, 877. The war lasted until the close of January, 1878. The chief fea- ure of the campaign was the famous siege of Plevna which the Turks efended for five months but which finally surrendered. This broke the back of Turkish resistance and the Russians narched rapidly toward Constantinople. The Sultan sought peace, and n March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey. By this treaty the Porte recog- ized the complete independence of Servia, Montenegro, nd Roumania, and made certain cessions of territory to the two former tates. The main feature of the treaty concerned Bulgaria, which as made a self-governing state, tributary to the Sultan. Its frontiers ere very liberally drawn. Its territory was to include nearly all of European Turkey, between Roumania and Servia to the north, and Greece to the south. Only a broken strip across the peninsula, from Constantinople west to the Adriatic, was to be left to Turkey. The new tate therefore was to include not only Bulgaria proper, but Roumelia o the south and most of Macedonia. Gladstone's desire for the ex- ulsion of the Turks from Europe "bag and baggage" was nearly ealized.

Servia and Montenegro declare war

Russia declares war

Treaty of San Stefano

But this treaty was not destined to be carried out. The other powers bjected to having the Eastern Question solved without their consent. England particularly, fearing Russian expansion southward ward the Mediterranean, and believing that Bulgaria and he other states would be merely tools of Russia, declared hat the arrangements concerning the peninsula must be determined by he great European powers, that the Treaty of San Stefano must be ubmitted to a general congress on the ground that, according to the nternational law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled y one nation but only by the concert of powers, as it affected them all.

England demands its revision

Austria joined the protest, wishing a part of the spoils of Turkey fo herself. Russia naturally objected to allowing those who had not fough to determine the outcome of her victory. But as the powers were insis tent, particularly England, then under the Beaconsfield administration and as she was in no position for futher hostilities, she yielded. Th

The Congress of Berlin

Congress of Berlin was held under the presidency of Bis marck, Beaconsfield himself representing England. It drev up the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed July 13, 187 By this treaty Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were rendered com pletely independent of Turkey. But Bulgaria was divided into thre parts, one of which, called Macedonia, was handed back to Turkey, an another, called Eastern Roumelia, was to be still subject to the Sulta but to have a Christian governor appointed by him. The third part Bulgaria, was still to be nominally a part of Turkey but was to elec its own prince and was to be self-governing. The powers in making thes arrangements were thinking neither of Turkey, nor of the happiness o the people who had long been oppressed by Turkey. The Congress o Berlin, like the Congress of Vienna of 1815, was indifferent or hostil to the legitimate national aspirations of oppressed peoples, and there fore its work has had the same fate, it has been undone in one particula and another and the process is continuing at the present moment, no yet quite completed. As far as humanitarian considerations were con

Macedonia

cerned the disposition of Macedonia was a colossal blunder Its people would have been far happier had they formed part of Bulgaria. Owing to the rival ambitions of the great power Macedonia's Christians were destined long to suffer an odious oppressio from which more fortunate Balkan Christians were free.

The same powers found the occasion convenient for taking variou Turkish possessions for themselves. Austria was invited to "occupy" and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. England was to "occupy" Cyprus. All these territories were nominally still a part of the Turkish Empire. Their position was anomalous, unclear, and destined to creat trouble in the future.

On the other hand, the benefits assured by the Treaty of Berlin wer

Advantages of the Treaty of Berlin

considerable and they were due solely to Russia's interven tion, though Russia herself drew little direct profit from he war. Three Balkan states, long in process of formation Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania, were declared entirely independent

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

and a new state, Bulgaria, had been called into existence, though still slightly subject to the Porte. As a result of the treaty, European Turkey was greatly reduced, its population having shrunk from seventeen millions to six millions. In other words eleven million people or more had been emancipated from Turkish control.

BULGARIA AFTER 1878

The Treaty of Berlin, while it brought substantial advantages, did not bring peace to the Balkan peninsula. Though diminishing the possessions of the Sultan, it did not satisfy the ambitions of the various peoples, it did not expel the Turk from Europe and thus cut out the root of the evil. Abundant sources of trouble remained, as the next forty years were to show. The history of the various states since 1878, both in internal affairs and in their foreign relations, has been agitated, yet, despite disturbances, considerable progress has been made.

Unsatisfied ambitions

Bulgaria, of which Europe knew hardly anything in 1876, was, in 1878, made an autonomous state, but it did not attain complete independence, as it was nominally a part of the Turkish Empire, to which it was to pay tribute. The new principality owed its existence to Russia and for several years Russian influence predominated in it. It was started on its career by Russian officials. A constitution was drawn up establishing an assembly called the Sobranje. This assembly chose as Prince of Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, a young German of twenty-two, a relative of the Russian Imperial House, supposedly acceptable to the Czar (April, 1879).

Alexander of Battenberg

The Bulgarians were grateful to the Russians for their aid. They recognized those who remained after the war was over as having all the rights of Bulgarian citizens, among others the right to hold office. Russians held important positions in the Bulgarian ministry. They organized the military forces and became officers. Before long, however, friction developed, and gratitude gave way to indignation at the high-handed conduct of the Russians, who plainly regarded Bulgaria as a sort of province or outpost of Russia, to be administered according to Russian ideas and interests. The Russian ministers were arrogant, and made it evident that they regarded the Czar, not Prince Alexander, as their superior, whose wishes they were bound to execute. The Prince, the native army officers,

Friction between the Bulgarians and the Russians

nd the people found their position increasingly humiliating. Finally, 1883, the Russian ministers were virtually forced to resign, and the rince now relied upon Bulgarian leaders. This caused an open breach ith Russia which was further widened by the action of the people of astern Roumelia in 1885 in expressing their desire to be united with ulgaria. Prince Alexander agreed to this and assumed the title of Prince of the Two Bulgarias." The powers protested against this nification, and would not recognize the change, but they refrained from oing anything further.

Russia, however, incensed at the growing independence of the new tate, which she looked upon as a mere satellite, resolved to read her a esson in humility by organizing a conspiracy. The conspirators seized Prince Alexander in his bedroom in the ead of night, forced him to sign his abdication, and then arried him off to Russian soil. Alexander was detained in Russia a hort time, until it was supposed that the Russian party was thoroughly stablished in power in Bulgaria, when he was permitted to go to Austria. He was immediately recalled to Bulgaria, returned to receive an immense vation, and then, at the height of his popularity, in a moment of weakess, abdicated, apparently overwhelmed by the continued opposition f Russia (September 7, 1886). The situation was most critical. Two arties advocating opposite policies confronted each other; one pro-Russian, believing that Bulgaria should accept in place of Alexander any rince whom the Czar should choose for her; the other national and ndependent, rallying to the cry of "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians." The atter speedily secured control, fortunate in that it had a remarkable eader in the person of Stambuloff, a native, a son of an innkeeper, a man of extraordinary firmness, suppleness, and courage, vigorous and intelligent. Through him Russian efforts to regain control of the principality were foiled and a new ruler was secured, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, twenty-six years of age, who was elected unanimously by the Sobranje, July 7, 1887. Russia protested against this action, and none of the great powers recognized Ferdinand.

Abdication of Prince Alexander

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg

Stambuloff was the most forceful statesman developed in the history of the Balkan states. He succeeded in keeping Bulgaria self-dependent. During the earlier years of his rule Ferdinand relied upon him, and, indeed, owed to him his continuance on the

Dictatorship of Stambuloff

throne. He won the pretentious title of "the Bulgarian Bismarck." His methods resembled those of his Teutonic prototype in more than one respect. For seven years he was practically dictator of Bulgaria. Russian plots continued. He repressed them pitilessly. His one fundamental principle was Bulgaria for the Bulgarians. His rule was one of terror, of suppression of liberties, of unscrupulousness, directed to patriotic ends. His object was to rid Bulgaria of Russian, as of Turkish control. Bulgaria under him increased in wealth and population. The army received a modern equipment, universal military service was instituted, commerce was encouraged, railroads were built, popular education begun, and the capital, Sofia, a dirty, wretched Turkish village made over into one of the attractive capitals of Europe. But Stambuloff made a multitude of enemies, and as a result he fell from power in 1894. In the following year he was foully murdered in the streets of Sofia. But he had done his work thoroughly and it remains the basis of the life of Bulgaria to-day. The Turkish sovereignty was merely nominal, and even that was not destined to endure long. In March, 1896 the election of Ferdinand as prince was finally recognized by the great powers. The preceding years had been immensely significant. They had thoroughly consolidated the unity of Bulgaria, had permitted her institutions to strike root, had accustomed her to independence of action, to self-reliance. Those years, too, had been used for the enrichment of the national life with the agencies of the modern world, schools, railways, an army. Bulgaria had a population of about four million, a capital in Sofia, an area of about 38,000 square miles. She aspired to annex Macedonia, where, however, she was to encounter many rivals. She only awaited a favorable opportunity to renounce her nominal connection with Turkey. The opportunity came in 1908. On October 5th of that year Bulgaria declared her independence, and her Prince assumed the title of Czar. The later history of Bulgaria may best be described in connection with the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913.

Murder of Stambuloff

ROUMANIA AND SERVIA AFTER 1878

At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, Roumania declared herself entirely independent of Turkey. This independence was recognized by the Sultan and the powers at the Congress of Berlin on condition that all citizens should enjoy legal equality, whatever their

ligion, a condition designed to protect the Jews, who were numerous, at who had previously been without political rights.

In 1881 Roumania proclaimed herself a kingdom, and her prince nceforth styled himself King Charles I. The royal crown was made steel from a Turkish gun captured at Plevna, a perpet- l reminder of what was her war of independence. Rou- ania has created an army on Prussian models of about 00,000 men, has built railroads and highways, and has, by agrarian gislation, improved the condition of the peasantry. The population as steadily increased, and now numbers over seven millions. The rea of Roumania is about 53,000 square miles. While mainly an agri- ltural country, in recent years her industrial development has been otable, and her commerce is more important than that of any other alkan state. Her government is a constitutional monarchy, with leg- lative chambers. The most important political question in recent ears has been a demand for the reform of the electoral system, which esembles the Prussian three-class system, and which gives the direct ote to only a small fraction of the population. In 1907 the peasantry ose in insurrection, demanding agrarian reforms. As more nan four-fifths of the population live upon the land, and s the population has steadily increased, the holding of each peasant as correspondingly decreased. A military force of 140,000 men was eeded to quell the revolt. After having restored order, the ministry ntroduced and carried various measures intended to bring relief to the easants from their severest burdens.

Roumania proclaimed a kingdom

Agrarian disturbances

Servia, also, was recognized as independent by the Berlin Treaty in 878. She proclaimed herself a kingdom in 1882. She has had a turbu- nt history in recent years. In 1885 she declared war against Bulgaria, nly to be unexpectedly and badly defeated. The financial policy was leplorable. In seven years the debt increased from seven illion to three hundred and twelve million francs. The candals of the private life of King Milan utterly discredited the mon- rchy. He was forced to abdicate in 1889, and was succeeded by his welve-year-old son, Alexander I, who was brutally murdered in 1903 ith his wife, Queen Draga, in a midnight palace revolution. The new ing, Peter I, found his position for several years most unstable. A ew and important chapter in the history of Servia began with the Balkan War of 1912.

Servia

GREECE AFTER 1833

In January, 1833, Otto, second son of Louis I, the King of Bavar became King of Greece, a country of great poverty, with a populati of about 750,000, unaccustomed to the reign of law and order usual western Europe. The kingdom was small, with unsatisfactory bou daries, lacking Thessaly, which was peopled entirely by Greeks. T country had been devastated by a long and unusually sanguinary wa Internal conditions were anarchic. Brigandage was rife; the debt w large. The problem was, how to make out of such unpromising materia a prosperous and progressive state.

King Otto reigned from 1833 to 1862. He was aided in his gover ment by many Bavarians, who filled important positions in the arm and the civil service. This German influence was a pr mary cause of the unpopularity of the new régime. Th beginnings were made, however, in the construction of a healthy nation life. Athens was made the capital, and a university was establishe there. A police system was organized; a national bank created. I 1844 Otto was forced to consent to the conversion of his absolut monarchy into a constitutional one. A parliament with two chambers the Deputies being chosen by universal suffrage, was instituted. Th political education of the Greeks then began.

Reign of Otto I

From the reopening of the Eastern Question by the Crimean wa Greece hoped to profit by the enlargement of her boundaries. The grea powers, however, thought otherwise, and forced her to remain quiet Because the Government did not defy Europe and insist upon her rights which would have been an insane proceeding, it becam very unpopular. For this reason, as well as for despoti tendencies, Otto was driven from power in 1862 by an insurrection, and left Greece, never to return.

Overthrow of Otto

A new king was secured in the person of a Danish prince, a brothe of the then King of Denmark. The new king, George I, ruled from 1863 to 1913. That his popularity might be strengthened at the very outset, England in 1864 ceded to the kingdom the Ionian Islands, which she had held since 1815. This was the first enlarge- ment of the kingdom since its foundation. A new constitution was established (1864) which abolished the Senate and left all parliamentary power in the hands of a single assembly, the Boulé, elected by universal

The Ionian Islands

ffrage, and consisting of 192 members, with a four-year term. In 81, mainly through the exertions of England, the Sultan was induced cede Thessaly to Greece, and thus a second enlargement territory occurred. This was in accordance with the omise of the Congress of Berlin that the Greek frontier should be rectified."

Annexation of Thessaly

In 1897 Greece declared war against Turkey, aiming at the annexa-on of Crete, which had risen in insurrection against Turkey. Greece as easily defeated, and was forced to cede certain parts of Thessaly to urkey and give up the project of the annexation of Crete. After long egotiations among the powers, the latter island was made autonomous nder the suzerainty of the Sultan, and under the direct administration Prince George, a son of the King of Greece, who remained in power ntil 1906. A new problem, the Cretan, was thus pushed into the fore-ound of Greek politics.

The financial condition of Greece is not sound. Her debt has grown normously owing to armaments, the building of railroads, and the dig-ng of canals. She has, however, increased in population nd much has been accomplished in the direction of pop-ar education. Several millions of Greeks live outside the reek kingdom. Those inside are ambitious to have them included.

The Greeks outside of Greece

Servian, Bulgarian, and Greek rivalries met in the plains of Macedonia, which each country coveted and which was inhabited by presentatives of all these peoples, inextricably intermingled. The roblem of Macedonia was further complicated by the rivalry of the reat powers and by the revolution which broke out in Turkey itself 1908.

REVOLUTION IN TURKEY

The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in he summer of 1908. In July a swift, sweeping, and pacific revolution curred in Turkey. The Young Turks, a revolutionary, onstitutional party, dominated by the political principles western Europe, seized control of the government, to the complete rprise of the diplomatists and public of Europe. This party consisted those who had been driven from Turkey by the despotism of the Sul-n, Abdul Hamid II, and were resident abroad, chiefly in Paris, and of ose who, still living in Turkey, dissembled their opinions and were ble to escape expulsion. Its members desired the overthrow of the

The Young Turks

despotic, corrupt, and inefficient government, and the creation in i place of a modern liberal system, capable, by varied and thoroughgoi reforms, of ranging Turkey among progressive nations. Weaving th

Revolution of July, 1908

conspiracy in silence and with remarkable adroitness, they succeeded in drawing into it the Turkish army, hitherto the solid bulwark of the Sultan's power. Then, at the ripe moment, the army refused to obey the Sultan's orders, and the conspirators demanded peremptorily by telegraph that the Sultan restore the Constitution of 1876, a constitution which had been granted by the Sultan in that year merely to enable him to weather a crisis, and which, having quickly served the purpose, had been immediately suspended and had remained suspended ever since. The Sultan, seeing the ominous defection of the army, complied at once with the demands of the Young Turks,

Abdul Hamid II
From a photograph by W. and D. Downey

Restoration of the Constitution

"restored" on July 24 the Constitution of 1876, an ordered elections for a parliament, which should meet i November. Thus an odious tyranny was instantly swep away. It was a veritable coup d'état, this time effected, not by som would-be autocrat, but by the army, usually the chief support of de potism or of the authority of the monarch, now, apparently, the mai instrument for the achievement of freedom for the democracy. Th military revolution, completely successful and almost bloodless, wa

Apparent unanimity of this movement

received with incredible enthusiasm throughout the enti breadth of the Sultan's dominions. Insurgents and soldier Mohammedans and Christians, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarian Albanians, Armenians, Turks, all joined in jubilant celebra tions of the release from intolerable conditions. The most astonishin

ture was the complete subsidence of the racial and religious hatreds ich had hitherto torn and ravaged the Empire from end to end. The olution proved to be the most fraternal movement in modern history. turesque and memorable were the scenes of universal reconciliation. e ease and suddenness with which this astounding change was effected oved the universality of the detestation of the reign and methods of dul Hamid II throughout all his provinces and among all his peoples. Was this the beginning of a new era or was it the beginning of the d of the Turkish Empire? It will be more convenient to examine is question a little later.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

RUSSIA TO THE WAR WITH JAPAN

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER I

Russia at the fall of Napoleon was the largest state in Europe, a was a still larger Asiatic empire. It extended in unbroken stretch fr the German Confederation to the Pacific Ocean. Its population w about 45,000,000. Its European territory covered about 2,000,0 square miles. It was inhabited by a variety of races, but the princip one was the Slavic. Though there were many religions, the religion the court and of more than two-thirds of the population was the s called Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. Though various languag were spoken, Russian was the chief one. The Russians had conquer many peoples in various directions. A considerable part of the form Kingdom of Poland had been acquired in the three partitions at t close of the eighteenth century, and more in 1815. He the people spoke a different language, the Polish, and a hered to a different religion, the Roman Catholic. In the Baltic pro inces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, the upper class was of Germa origin and spoke the German language, while the mass of peasants we Finns and Lithuanians, speaking different tongues. All the inhabitan were Lutherans. Finland had recently been conquered from Swede The languages spoken there were Swedish and Finnish, and the religio was Lutheran. To the east and south were peoples of Asiatic origi many of them Mohammedans in religion. There were in certain se tions considerable bodies of Jews.

Russian conquests

All these dissimilar elements were bound together by their all giance to the sovereign, the Czar, a monarch of absolute, unlimited powe

There were two classes of society in Russia — the nobility and th peasantry. The large majority of the latter were serfs the Czar and the nobility. The nobility numbered abo 140,000 families. The nobles secured offices in the army and the civ

The nobility

rvice. They were exempt from many taxes, and enjoyed certain mo-polies. Their power over their serfs was extensive and despotic. They forced obedience to their orders by the knout and by banishment to beria. The middle class of well-to-do and educated people, increasgly important in the other countries of Europe, practically did not st in Russia. Russia was an agricultural country, whose agriculture, oreover, was very primitive and inefficient. It was a na- **The peasantry** n of serfs and of peasants little better off than the serfs. his class was wretched, uneducated, indolent, prone to drink excessively. the "mir," or village community, however, it possessed a rudimentary rm of communism and limited self-government.

Over this vast and ill-equipped nation ruled the Autocrat of All the ssias, or Czar, an absolute monarch, whose decisions, expressed in e form of ukases or decrees, were the law of the land. **Alexander I (1801–1825)** he ruler in 1815 was Alexander I, a man thirty-eight ars of age.

Alexander stood forth as the most enlightened sovereign on any of e great thrones of Europe. In the reorganization of Europe in 1814 d 1815 he was, on the whole, a liberal force. He favored generous rms to the conquered French, he insisted that Louis XVIII should ant a constitution to the French people, he encouraged the aspira-ons of the German people for a larger political life.

He showed his liberal tendencies even more unmistakably in his olish policy. He succeeded at the Congress of Vienna in securing most the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which he now transformed **Poland** to the Kingdom of Poland. This was a state of 3,000,000 habitants with an area less than one-sixth the size of the former Polish ngdom, but containing the Polish capital, Warsaw. This was hence-th to be an independent kingdom, not a part of Russia. The only nnection between the two was in the person of the ruler. The Czar Russia was to be King of Poland. Alexander granted a constitution this state, creating a parliament, and promising liberty of the press d of religion. The Polish language was to be the official language. land enjoyed freer institutions at this moment than did either Prussia Austria. The franchise was wider than that of England or France. parently, also, Alexander considered his Polish experiment as pre-inary to an introduction of similar reforms in Russia also.

But Alexander's character was unstable. He was impressionable,

changeable, easily discouraged. Metternich made it his especial busines

Alexander becomes reactionary

to frighten him out of his liberalism, which was the chie obstacle in Europe to his policy of resolute reaction. H ceaselessly played upon Alexander's essentially timid natur and it took him only three years to accomplish this conversion. Alex ander then became a vigorous supporter of Metternich's policy of inter vention which expressed itself in the various congresses and which mad the name of the Holy Alliance a by-word among men. He became dis appointed over his Polish experiment and began to infringe upon th liberties he himself had granted. He grew more and more reactionary and when he died, on December 1, 1825, he left an administration domi nated by a totally different spirit from that which had prevailed in th earlier years.

THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS I

He was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I, whose reign of thirty years, 1825–1855, was eventful. It was one of uncompromising abso

Nicholas I (1825–1855)

lutism, both at home and abroad. Nicholas was the grea bulwark of monarchical authority in Europe for thirty years. His system of government was one of remorseless, undeviating repression, through the agencies of a brutal police and an elaborat

Systematic repression

censorship. Punishments for Liberals of any kind were of great severity. The most harmless word might mean exile to Siberia, without any kind of preliminary trial. In twenty years perhaps 150,000 persons were thus exiled. Tens of thousands lan guished in the prisons of Russia. Religious persecution was added t political.

Nicholas's foreign policy was marked by the same characteristics and made him hated throughout Europe as the most brutal autocra

His foreign policy

on the Continent. He suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830–31, abolished the constitution granted by Alexande I, and incorporated Poland in Russia, thus ending the history of that kingdom, a history of only fifteen years. He waged two wars against Turkey, previously described, one in 1828–9, and one in 1853–5. He interfered decisively to suppress the Hungarian revolutionists in 1849 He died in the middle of the Crimean War, though not until it was apparent that the prestige of his country, so overwhelming since Napoleon's flight from Moscow in 1812, had been completely shattered. This war was not only a defeat but a disillusionment. The Govern-

nt was proved to be as incompetent and as impotent as it was ctionary. It was clear that the state was honeycombed with abuses ich must be reformed if it was to prosper.

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER II

That the time for changes had come was clearly seen by the next upant of the throne, Alexander II, who ruled from 1855 to 1881. Of open mind, and desirous of ameliorating the condi- ns of Russian life, he for some years followed a policy reform. He relaxed the censorship of the press and removed most the restrictions which had been imposed upon the universities and on travel. Particularly did he address himself to the question of fdom.

Alexander II (1855–1881)

Nearly all, practically nine-tenths, of the arable land of Russia, was ned by the imperial family and by the one hundred and forty thou- nd families of the nobility. The land was, therefore, nerally held in large estates. It was owned by a small nority; it was tilled by the millions of Russia who were fs. It was easy for the Emperor to free the crown serfs, about ,000,000, since no one could question the right of the state to do at it would with its own. Consequently the crown serfs were freed a series of measures covering several years, 1859 to 1866. But the dict of Emancipation, which was to constitute Alexander II's most gitimate title to fame, concerned the serfs of private ndowners, the nobles. There were about 23,000,000 of ese, also. These private landlords reserved a part of their land for emselves requiring the serfs to work it without pay, generally three ys a week. The rest of the land was turned over to the serfs who ltivated it on their own account, getting therefrom what sup- rt they could, hardly enough, as a matter of fact, for sustenance. he serfs were not slaves in the strict sense of the word. They could t be sold separately. But they were attached to the soil, could not ve it without the consent of the owner, and passed, if he sold his ate, to the new owner. The landlord otherwise had practically un- nited authority over his serfs. They possessed no rights which, in actice, he was bound to respect. Such a system, it is needless to say, fended the conscience of the age.

Prevailing system of land tenure

The problem of serfdom

On March 3, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was issued. It abol-

ished serfdom throughout the Empire, and it won for Alexander th popular title of "the Czar Liberator." This manifest did not merely declare the serfs free men; but it under took also to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership o the soil. The Czar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and t leave all the land in the possession of the nobles, would mean th creation of a great proletariat possessing no property, therefor likely to fall at once into a position of economic dependence upo the nobles, which would make the gift of freedom a mere mockery Moreover, the peasants were firmly convinced that they were the right ful owners of the lands which they and their ancestors fo centuries had lived upon and cultivated, and the fact tha the landlords were legally the owners did not alter their opinion. T give them freedom without land, leaving that with the nobles, who de sired to retain it, would be bitterly resented as making their conditio worse than ever. On the other hand, to give them the land with the freedom would mean the ruin of the nobility as a class, considered essen tial to the state. The consequence of this conflict of interests was compromise, satisfactory to neither party, but more favorable to th nobility than to the peasants.

The Edict of Emancipation

The land problem

The lands were divided into two parts. The landlords were to kee one; the other was to go to the peasants either individually or collec tively as members of the village community or *mir* t which they belonged. But this was not given them ou right; the peasant and the village must pay the landlord for the lan assigned them. As they were not in a position to do this the stat was to advance the money, getting it back from the peasant and th *mir* in easy installments. These installments were to run for forty-nin years, at the end of which time they would cease and the peasant an the *mir* would then own outright the lands they had acquired.

Division of the land

This arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasant Their newly acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light o this method of dividing the land. Indeed, they coul not see that they were profiting from the change. Pe sonal liberty would not mean much, when the condition of earning a livelihood became harder rather than lighter. The peas ants regarded the land as their own. But the state guaranteed fo ever a part to the landlords and announced that the peasants mus

Disappointment of the peasantry

y for the part assigned to themselves. To the peasants this seemed eer robbery. Moreover, as the division worked out, they found that ey had less land for their own use than in the preëmancipation days, d that they had to pay the landlords, through the state, ore than the lands which they did receive were worth. he Edict of Emancipation did not therefore bring either ace or prosperity to the peasants. The land question became steadily ore acute during the next fifty years owing to the vast increase of opulation and the consequent greater pressure upon the land. The ussian peasant lived necessarily upon the verge of starvation.

The land question not solved

The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been n unalloyed boon. Yet Russia gained morally in the esteem of other ations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Theoretically, at least, very man was free. Moreover, the peasants, though faring ill, yet ared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time f their liberation.

The abolition of serfdom was the greatest act of Alexander II's eign, but it was only one of several liberal measures enacted at this ime of general enthusiasm. A certain amount of local elf-government was granted, reforms in the judicial sys- em were carried through, based upon a study of the systems of Europe nd the United States, the censorship of the press was relaxed, educa- ional facilities were somewhat developed.

Domestic reforms

This hopeful era of reform was, however, soon over, and a period of reaction began, which characterized the latter half of Alexander's reign nd ended in his assassination in 1881. There were several causes for this change: the vacillating character of the monarch himself, taking fright at his own work; the dis- appointment felt by many who had expected a millennium, but who found it not; the intense dislike of the privileged and conservative classes for the measures just described.

End of the era of reform

Just at this time, when the attitude of the Emperor was changing, when public opinion was in this fluid, uncertain state, occurred an event which immensely strengthened the reactionary forces, a new insurrection of Poland. After the failure of their attempt to achieve independence in 1831 the Poles had remained quiet, the quiet of despair. As long as Nicholas I lived they were ruled with the greatest severity, and they could not but

The Polish insurrection of 1863

see the impracticability of any attempt to throw off their chains. Bu the accession of Alexander II aroused hopes of better conditions. Th spirit of nationalism revived, greatly encouraged by the success of th same spirit elsewhere. The Italians had just realized their aspiration the creation of an Italian nation — not solely by their own efforts bu by the aid of foreign nations. Might not the Poles hope for as much Alexander would not for a moment entertain the favorite idea of th Poles, that they should be independent. He emphatically told them that such a notion was an idle dream, that they "must abandon al thoughts of independence, now and forever impossible." This un- compromising attitude, coupled with repressive measures, irritated th Poles to the point of desperation. Finally in 1863 an insurrection broke out, aiming at independence. It was put down with vigor and without mercy. The only hope for the Poles lay in foreign intervention but in this they were bitterly disappointed. England, France, and Aus- tria intervened three times in their behalf, but only by diplomatic notes, making no attempt to give emphasis to their notes by a show of force. Russia, seeing this, and supported by Prussia, treated their intervention as an impertinence, and proceeded to wreak her vengeance. It was a fearful punishment she meted out.

A process of Russification was now vigorously pursued. The Russian language was prescribed for the correspondence of the officials and the lectures of the university professors, and the use of Polish was forbidden in churches, schools, theatres, newspapers, in business signs, in fact, everywhere.

A policy of Russification

It was not long before Alexander, always vacillating, gave up all dallying with reforms and relapsed into the traditional repressive ways of Russian monarchs. This reaction aroused intense discontent and engendered a movement which threatened the very existence of the monarchy itself, namely, Nihilism.

The Nihilists belonged to the intellectual class of Russia. Reading the works of the more radical philosophers and scientists of western Europe, and reflecting upon the foundations of their own national institutions and conditions, they became most destructive critics. They were extreme individualists who tested every human institution and custom by reason. As few Russian institutions could meet such a test, the Nihilists condemned them all. Theirs was an attitude, first of intellectual challenge, then of revolt against the whole

Rise of Nihilism

tablished order. Shortly, Socialism was grafted upon this hatred of all tablished institutions. In the place of the existing society, which must swept away, a new society was to be erected, based on socialistic prin-ples. Thus the movement entered upon a new phase. It ceased to merely critical and destructive. It became constructive as well, in ort, a political party with a positive programme, a party very small but solute and reckless, willing to resort to any means to achieve its aims.

This party now determined to institute an educational campaign in ussia, realizing that nothing could be done unless the millions of peas-nts were shaken out of their stolid acquiescence in the prevalent order which weighed so heavily upon them. **Nihilist propaganda** his extraordinary movement, called "going in among the people," ecame very active after 1870. Young men and women, all belonging o the educated class, and frequently to noble families, became day borers and peasants in order to mingle with the people, to arouse them o action, "to found," as one of their documents said, "on the ruins of ne present social organization the empire of the working classes." They nowed the self-sacrifice, the heroism of the missionary laboring under ne most discouraging conditions. It is estimated that, between 1872 nd 1878, between two and three thousand such missionaries were active n this propaganda. Their efforts, however, were not rewarded with uccess. The peasantry remained stolid, if not contented. Moreover, his campaign of education and persuasion was broken up wherever ossible by the ubiquitous and lawless police. Many were imprisoned r exiled to Siberia.

A pacific propaganda being impossible, one of violence seemed to he more energetic spirits the only alternative. As the Government eld the people in a subjection unworthy of human beings, **A policy of terrorism** s it employed all its engines of power against every one who demanded reform of any kind, as, in short, it ruled by terror, these reformers resolved to fight it with terror as the only method possible. The "Terrorists" were not bloodthirsty or cruel by nature. They simply believed that no progress whatever could be made in raising Russia rom her misery except by getting rid of the more unscrupulous officials. They perfected their organization and entered upon a period of violence. Numerous attempts, often successful, were made to assassinate the high fficials, chiefs of police and others who had rendered themselves particu-arly odious. In turn many of the revolutionists were executed.

Finally the terrorists determined to kill the Czar as the only way of overthrowing the whole hated arbitrary and oppressive system. Several attempts were made. In April, 1879, a schoolmaster,

Attempts upon the Emperor's life

Solovief, fired five shots at the Emperor, none of which took effect. In December of the same year a train on which he was supposed to be returning from the Crimea was wrecked, just as it reached Moscow, by a mine placed between the rails. Alexander escaped only because he had reached the capital secretly on an earlier train. The next attempt (February, 1880) was to kill him while at dinner in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Dynamite was exploded, ten soldiers were killed and fifty-three wounded in the guardroom directly overhead, and the floor of the dining room was torn up. The Czar narrowly escaped because he did not go to dinner at the usual hour.

ALEXANDER II

St. Petersburg was by this time thoroughly terrorized. Alexander now appointed Loris Melikoff practically dictator. Melikoff sought to inaugurate a milder régime. He released hundreds of prisoners, and in many cases commuted the death sentence. He urged the Czar to grant the people some share in the government, believing that this would kill the Nihilist movement, which was a violent expression of the discontent of the nation with the abuses of an arbitrary and lawless system of government. He urged that this could be done without weakening the principle of autocracy, and that thus Alexander would win back the popularity he had enjoyed during his early reforming years. After much hesitation and mental perturba-

Alexander II and Loris Melikoff

n the Czar ordered, March 13, 1881, Melikoff's scheme to be pub-
hed in the official journal. But on that same afternoon, as
was returning from a drive, escorted by Cossacks, a bomb
as thrown at his carriage. The carriage was wrecked,
d many of his escorts were injured. Alexander escaped as by a mi-
cle, but a second bomb exploded near him as he was going to aid the
jured. He was horribly mangled, and died within an hour. Thus
erished the Czar Liberator. At the same time the hopes of the Liberals
erished also. This act of supreme violence did not intimidate the suc-
ssor to the throne, Alexander III, whose entire reign was one of stern
pression.

Assassination of Alexander II

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER III

The man who now ascended the throne of Russia was in the full
ush of magnificent manhood. Alexander III, son of
lexander II, was thirty-six years of age, and of powerful
hysique. His education had been chiefly military. He
as a man of firm and resolute rather than large or active mind.

Alexander III (1881–1894)

It shortly became clear that he possessed a strong, inflexible character,
hat he was a thorough believer in absolutism, and was determined to
naintain it undiminished. He assumed an attitude of de-
ant hostility to innovators and liberals. His reign, which
sted from 1881 to 1894, was one of reversion to the older
deals of government and of unqualified absolutism.

Rigorous policy of reaction

The terrorists were hunted down, and their attempts practically
eased. The press was thoroughly gagged, university professors and
tudents were watched, suspended, exiled, as the case
might be. The reforms of Alexander II were in part un-
done, and the secret police, the terrible Third Section, was
greatly augmented. Liberals gave up all hope of any im-
provement during this reign, and waited for better days. Under Alexan-
der III began the inhuman persecutions of the Jews which have been so
dark a feature of recent Russian history. The great Jewish emigration
to the United States dates from this time.

The terrorists hunted down

In one sphere only was there any progress in this bleak, stern reign.
That sphere was the economic. An industrial revolution began then
which has been carried much further under his successor. Russia had
been for centuries an agricultural country whose agriculture, moreover,
was of the primitive type. Whatever industries existed were mainly of

the household kind. Russia was one of the poorest countries in the world her immense resources being undeveloped. Under the system of protection adopted by Alexander II, and continued and increased by Alexander III, industries of a modern kind began to grow up. A tremendous impetus was given to this development by the appointment in 1892 as Minister of Finance and Commerce of Sergius de Witte. Witte believed that Russia, the largest and most populous country in Europe, a world in itself, ought to be self-sufficient, that as long as it remained chiefly agricultural it would be tributary to the industrial nations for manufactured articles, that it had abundant resources, in raw material and in labor, to enable it to supply its own needs if they were but developed. He believed that this development could be brought about by the adoption of a policy of protection. Was not the astonishing industrial growth of Germany and of the United States convincing proof of the value of such a policy? By adopting it for Russia, by encouraging foreigners to invest heavily in the new protected industries, by showing them that their rewards would inevitably be large, he began and carried far the economic transformation of his country. Immense amounts of foreign capital poured in and Russia advanced industrially in the closing decade of the nineteenth century with great swiftness.

Sergius de Witte, Minister of Finance

Witte's industrial policy

One thing more was necessary. Russia's greatest lack was good means of communication. She now undertook to supply this want by extensive railway building. For some years before Witte assumed office, Russia was building less than 400 miles of railway a year; from that time on for the rest of the decade, she built nearly 1,400 miles a year. The most stupendous of these undertakings was that of a trunk line connecting Europe with the Pacific Ocean, the great Trans-Siberian railroad. For this Russia borrowed vast sums of money in western Europe, principally in France. Begun in 1891, the road was formally opened in 1902. It has reduced the time and cost of transportation to the East about one-half. In 1909 Russia possessed over 41,000 miles of railway, over 28,000 of which were owned and operated by the Government.

Extensive railway construction

This tremendous change in the economic life of the Empire was destined to have momentous consequences, some of which were quickly apparent. Cities grew rapidly, a large laboring class developed, and labor problems of the kind familiar to Western

Rise of labor problems

untries, socialistic theories, spread among the working people; also new middle class of capitalists and manufacturers was created which ght some day demand a share in the government. These new forces uld, in time, threaten the old, illiberal, unprogressive régime which d so long kept Russia stagnant and profoundly unhappy. That the old system was being undermined was not, however, apparent, and might not have been for many years had not Russia, ten years after Alexander's death, become involved in a disastrous and humiliating war with Japan.

NICHOLAS II

THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS II

Alexander III died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, then twenty-six years of age. The hope was general that a milder régime might now be introduced. This, however, was not to be. For ten years the oung Czar pursued the policy of his father with scarcely a variation ave in the direction of greater severity. A suggestion that representa- ve institutions might be granted was declared "a senseless dream." he government was not one of law but of arbitrary power. Its instru- ents were a numerous and corrupt body of state officials and a ruth- ss, active police. No one was secure against arrest, imprisonment, xile. The most elementary personal rights were lacking.

Accession of Nicholas II

The professional and educated man was in an intolerable position. f a professor in a university, he was watched by the police, and was likely to be removed at any moment as was Professor Milyoukov, an historian of distinguished attainments, for no other reason than "generally noxious tendencies." If an editor, his position was even more precarious, unless he was utterly ervile to the authorities. It was a suffocating atmosphere for any man of the slightest intellectual independence, living in the ideas of the pres- nt age. The censorship grew more and more rigorous, and included

Persecution of the "intellectuals"

such books as Green's *History of England*, and Bryce's *American Co*
monwealth. Arbitrary arrests of all kinds increased from year to ye
as the difficulty of thoroughly bottling up Russia increased. Studen
were the objects of special police care, as it was the young and arde
and educated who were most indignant at this senseless despotis
Many of them disappeared, in one year as many as a fifth of those
the University of Moscow, probably sent to Siberia or to prisons
Europe.

A government of this kind was not likely to err from excess of syn
pathy with the subject nationalities, such as the Poles and the Finn

Attack upon the Finns

In Finland, indeed, its arbitrary course attained its clima
Finland had been acquired by Russia in 1809, but on lil
eral terms. It was not incorporated in Russia, but continued a Gran
Duchy, with the Emperor of Russia as simply Grand Duke. It had i
own Parliament, its Fundamental Laws or constitution, to which th
Grand Duke swore fidelity. These Fundamental Laws could not b
altered or interpreted or repealed except with the consent of the Diet an
the Grand Duke. Finland was a constitutional state, governing itsel
connected with Russia in the person of its sovereign. It had its ow
army, its own currency and postal system. Under this liberal régime
prospered greatly, its population increasing from less than a million t
nearly three millions by the close of the century, and was, according t
an historian of Russia, at least thirty years in advance of that countr
in all the appliances of material civilization. The sight of this countr
enjoying a constitution of its own and a separate organization was a
offense to the men controlling Russia. They wished to sweep away a
distinctions between the various parts of the Emperor's dominions, t
unify, to Russify. The attack upon the liberties of the Finns bega

Abrogation of the Finnish constitution

under Alexander III. It was carried much further b
Nicholas II, who, on February 15, 1899, issued an imperi
manifesto which really abrogated the constitution of tha
country. The Finns began a stubborn but apparentl
hopeless struggle for their historic rights with the autocrat of or
hundred and forty million men.

Under such a system as that just described men could be terrorize
into silence; they could not be made contented. Disaffection of a
classes, driven into subterranean channels, only increased, awaitin
the time for explosion. That time came with the disastrous defeat

ussia in the war with Japan in 1904–5, a landmark in contemporary story.

To understand recent events in Russia it is necessary to trace the urse of that war whose consequences have been profound, and to ow the significance of that conflict we must interrupt this rrative of Russian history in order to give an account of e recent evolution of Asia, the rise of the so-called Far stern Question, and the interaction of Occident and Orient upon each her.

Rise of the Far Eastern Question

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE FAR EAST

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA IN ASIA

Europe has not only taken possession of Africa, but she has taken possession of large parts of Asia, and presses with increasing force upon the remainder. England and France dominate southern Asia by their control, the former of India and Burma, the latter of a large part of Indo-China. Russia, on the other hand, dominates the north, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. As far as geographical extent is concerned, she is far more an Asiatic power than a European, which, indeed, is also true of England and of France, and she has been an Asiatic power much longer than they, for she began her expansion into Asia before the Pilgrims came to America. For nearly three centuries Russia has been a great Asiatic state, while England has been a power in India for only half that time.

England, France, and Russia in Asia

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that Russia began to devote serious attention to Asia as a field for colonial and commercial expansion. Siberia was regarded merely as a convenient prison to which to send her disaffected or criminal citizens. Events in Europe have caused her to concentrate her attention more and more upon her Asiatic development. She has sought there what she had long been seeking in Europe, but without avail, because of the opposition she encountered, namely, contact with the ocean, free outlet to the world. Russia's coast line, either in Europe or Asia, had no harbors free from ice the year round. Blocked decisively and repeatedly from obtaining such in Europe at the expense of Turkey, she has sought them in Eastern Asia. This ambition explains her Asiatic policies. In 1858 she acquired from China the whole northern bank of the Amur and two years later more territory farther south, the Maritime Province, at the southern point of which she founded as a naval base Vladivostok, which means the Dominator

Russian expansion

Russia seeks access to the sea

the East. But Vladivostok was not ice-free in winter. Russia still cked her longed-for outlet.

CHINA

Between Russian Asia on the north, and British and French Asia n the south, lies the oldest empire of the world, China, and one more tensive than Europe and probably more populous, with more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. It is a land of great vigable rivers, of vast agricultural areas, and of mines rich in coal nd metals, as yet largely undeveloped. The Chinese were a highly vilized people long before the Europeans were. They preceded the tter by centuries in the use of the compass, powder, porcelain, paper. s early as the sixth century of our era they knew the art of printing om movable wooden blocks. They have long been famous for their ork in bronze, in wood, in lacquer, for the marvels of their silk manu- cture. As a people laborious and intelligent, they have always been evoted to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and have despised the arts war.

The civilization of China

China had always lived a life of isolation, despising the outside world. ne had no diplomatic representatives in any foreign country, nor were ny foreign ambassadors resident in Peking. Foreigners ere permitted to trade in only one Chinese port, Canton, nd even there only under vexatious and humiliating conditions.

The isolation of China

It was not likely that a policy of such isolation could be permanently aintained in the modern age, and as the nineteenth century progressed was gradually shattered. The Chinese desired nothing better than be left alone. But this was not to be. By a long series of aggressions tending to our own day various European powers have forced China to nter into relations with them, to make concessions of territory, of trad- g privileges, of diplomatic intercourse. In this story of European ggression the Opium War waged by Great Britain against hina from 1840 to 1842 was decisive, as showing how easy was to conquer China. The Chinese had forbidden the importa- on of opium, as injurious to their people. But the British did not ish to give up a trade in which the profits were enormous. The ar, the first between China and a European power, lasted two years nd ended in the victory of Great Britain. The consequences, in forc- g the doors of China open to European influence, were important.

The Opium War

By the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, she was forced to pay a large indemnity, to open to British trade four ports in addition to Canton, and to cede the island of Hong Kong, near Canton, to England outright. Hong Kong has since become one of the most important naval and commercial stations of the British Empire.

The treaty ports

Other powers now proceeded to take advantage of the British success. The United States sent Caleb Cushing to make a commercial treaty with China in 1844, and before long France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia and Portugal established trade centers at the five treaty ports. The number of such ports has since been increased to over forty. China was obliged to abandon her policy of isolation and to send and receive ambassadors.

A period of critical importance in China's relations with Europe began in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of a war with Japan in 1894–5. To appreciate this war it is necessary to give some account of the previous evolution of Japan.

JAPAN

The rise of Japan as the most forceful state in the Orient is a chapter of very recent history, of absorbing interest, and of great significance to the present age. Accomplished in the last third of the nineteenth century, it has already profoundly altered the conditions of international politics, and seems likely to be a factor of increasing moment in the future evolution of the world.

Japan

Japan is an archipelago consisting of several large islands and about four thousand smaller ones. It covered, in 1894, an area of 147,000 square miles, an area smaller than that of California. The main islands form a crescent, the northern point being opposite Siberia, the southern turning in toward Korea. Between it and Asia is the Sea of Japan. The country is very mountainous, its most famous peak, Fujiyama, rising to a height of 12,000 feet. Of volcanic origin, numerous craters are still active. Earthquakes are not uncommon, and have determined the character of domestic architecture. The coast line is much indented, and there are many good harbors. The Japanese call their country Nippon, or the Land of the Rising Sun. Only about one-sixth of the land is under cultivation, owing to its mountainous character, and owing to the prevalent mode of farming. Yet into this small area is crowded a population of about fifty millions

Description of Japan

nich is larger than that of Great Britain or France. It is no occasion r surprise that the Japanese have desired territorial expansion.

The people of Japan derived the beginnings of their civilization from nina, but in many respects they differed greatly from the Chinese. ne virtues of the soldier were held in high esteem. Patri- ism was a passion, and with it went the spirit of unques- oning self-sacrifice. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country," as a command of the Shinto religion, and was universally obeyed. An rt-loving and pleasure-loving people, they possessed active minds and surprising power of assimilation which they were to show on a national nd momentous scale.

Japanese civilization

The Japanese had followed the same policy of seclusion as had the hinese. Japan had for centuries been almost hermetically aled against the outside world. On the peninsula of eshima there was a single trading station which carried n a slight commerce with the Dutch. This was Japan's sole point contact with the outside world for over two centuries.

Japanese policy of isolation

This unnatural seclusion was rudely disturbed by the arrival in apanese waters of an American fleet under Commodore Perry in 1853, nt out by the government of the United States. American ilors, engaged in the whale fisheries in the Pacific, were ow and then wrecked on the coasts of Japan, where they generally re- ived cruel treatment. Perry was instructed to demand of the ruler of apan protection for American sailors and property thus wrecked, and ermission for American ships to put into one or more Japanese ports, order to obtain necessary supplies and to dispose of their cargoes. He esented these demands to the government. He announced further at if his requests were refused, he would open hostilities. The govern- ent granted certain immediate demands, but insisted that the general uestion of opening relations with a foreign state required careful con- deration. Perry consented to allow this discussion and sailed away, ating that he would return the following year for the final answer. he discussion of the general question on the part of the govern- g classes was very earnest. Some believed in maintaining the old licy of complete exclusion of foreigners. Others, how- er, believed this impossible, owing to the manifest mili- ry superiority of the foreigners. They thought it well to ter into relations with them in order to learn the secret of that

Commodore Perry

Policy of isolation breaks down

superiority, and then to appropriate it for Japan. They believed this the only way to insure, in the long run, the independence and power of their country. This opinion finally prevailed, and when Perry reappeared a treaty was made with him (1854) by which two ports were opened to American ships. This was a mere beginning, but the important fact was that Japan had, after two centuries of seclusion, entered into relations with a foreign state. Later other and more liberal treaties were concluded with the United States and with other countries.

The reaction of these events upon the internal evolution of Japan was remarkable. They produced a very critical situation, and precipitated a civil war, the outcome of which discussion and conflict was the triumph of the party that believed in change. After 1868 Japan revolutionized her political and social institutions in a few years, adopted with ardor the material and scientific civilization of the West, made herself in these respects a European state, and entered as a result upon an international career, which has already profoundly modified the world, and is likely to be a constant and an increasing factor in the future development of the East. So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilization, a civilization against which every precaution of exclusion had for centuries been taken, is a change unique in the history of the world, and notable for the audacity and the intelligence displayed. The entrance upon this course was a direct result of Perry's expedition. The Japanese revolution will always remain an astounding story. Once begun it proceeded with great rapidity. In place of the former military class arose an army based on European models. Military service was declared universal and obligatory in 1872. The German system, which has revolutionized Europe, began to revolutionize Asia.

Rapid transformation of Japan

Adoption of European institutions

The first railroad was begun in 1870 between Tokio and Yokohama. Thirty years later there were over 3,600 miles in operation. To-day there are 6,000. The educational methods of the West were also introduced. A university was established at Tokio, and later another at Kioto. Professors from abroad were induced to accept important positions in them. Students showed great enthusiasm in pursuing the new learning. Public schools were created rapidly, and by 1883 about 3,300,000 pupils were receiving education. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted. The codes of law were thoroughly

Reform in education

modeled after an exhaustive study of European systems. Finally a nstitution was granted in 1889, after eight years of careful aboration and study of foreign models. It established a rliament of two chambers, a House of Peers (the so-lled "Elder Statesmen") and a House of Representatives. ne vote was given to men of twenty-five years or older who paid a rtain property tax. The constitution reserves very large powers for e monarch. Parliament met for the first time in 1890. The test of

Japan becomes a constitutional state

Formed Japan came in the last decade of the nineteenth ntury and the first of the twentieth, and proved the solid- of this amazing achievement. During those years she ught and defeated two powers apparently much stronger than herself, nina and Russia, and took her place as an equal in the family of nations.

Wars with China and Russia

CHINO-JAPANESE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

A war in which the efficiency of the transformed Japan was clearly tablished broke out with China in 1894. The immediate cause was the lations of the two powers to Korea. Korea was a king-om, but both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over Japan had an interest in extending her claims, as she esired larger markets for her products. Friction was frequent between ie two countries concerning their rights in Korea, as a consequence which Japan began a war in which, with her modern army, she was sily victorious over her giant neighbor, whose armies fought in the old siatic style with a traditional Asiatic equipment. The Japanese drove ie Chinese out of Korea, invaded Manchuria, where they seized the rtress of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, occupied ie Liao-tung peninsula on which that fortress is located, nd prepared to advance toward Peking. The Chinese, armed for their capital, agreed to make peace, and signed the Treaty Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), by which they ceded Port Arthur, the iao-tung peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands Japan, also agreeing to pay a large war indemnity of two hundred illion taels (about $175,000,000). China recognized the complete dependence of Korea.

Cause of the war with China

Treaty of Shimonoseki

But in the hour of her triumph Japan was thwarted by a European ntervention, and deprived of the fruits of her victory. Russia now ntered in decisive fashion upon a scene where she was to play a promi-

nent part for the next ten years. She soon showed that she entertained plans directly opposed to those of the Japanese. She induced France and Germany to join her in forcing them to give up the most important rewards of their victory, ordering them to surrender the Liao-tung peninsula on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking and would be a perpetual menace "to the peace of the Far East." This was a bitter blow to the Japanese. Recognizing, however, that it would be folly to oppose the three great military powers of Europe, they yielded, restored Port Arthur and the peninsula to China, and withdrew from the mainland indignant at the action of the powers, and resolved to increase their army and navy and develop their resources, believing that their enemy in Asia was Russia, with whom a day of reckoning must come sooner or later, and confirmed in this belief by events that crowded thick and fast in the next few years.

Intervention of Russia, France, and Germany

Japan relinquishes Port Arthur

The insincerity of the powers in talking about the integrity of China and the peace of the East was not long in manifesting itself.

In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German Emperor immediately sent a fleet to demand redress. As a result Germany secured (March 5, 1898) from China a ninety-nine year lease of the fine harbor of Kiauchau, with a considerable area round about, and extensive commercial and financial privileges in the whole province of Shantung. Indeed, that province became a German "sphere of influence."

German aggression

This action encouraged Russia to make further demands. She acquired from China (March 27, 1898) a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, which, as she had stated to Japan in 1895, enabled the possessor to threaten Peking and to disturb the peace of the Orient. France and England also each acquired a port on similar terms of lease. The powers also forced China to open a dozen new ports to the trade of the world and to grant extensive rights to establish factories and build railways and develop mines.

Russia secures Port Arthur

It seemed, in the summer of 1898, that China was about to undergo the fate of Africa, that it was to be carved up among the various powers. This tendency was checked by the rise of a bitter anti-foreign party, occasioned by these acts of aggression, and culm

rting in the Boxer insurrections of 1900. These grew rapidly, and read over northern China. Their aim was to drive the oreign devils into the sea." Scores of missionaries and eir families were killed, and hundreds of Chinese converts rdered in cold blood. Finally, the Legations of the various powers in king were besieged, and for weeks Europe and America feared that all e foreigners there would be massacred. In the presence of this common nger the powers were obliged to drop their jealousies and rivalries, d send a relief expedition, consisting of troops from Japan, Russia, Gerany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The Legations re rescued, just as their resources were exhausted by the ge of two months (June 13–August 14, 1900). The inrnational army suppressed the Boxer movement after a ort campaign, forced the Chinese to pay a large indemnity, and to nish the ringleaders. In forming this international army, the powers d agreed not to acquire territory, and at the close of the war they aranteed the integrity of China. Whether this would mean anything mained to be seen.

The "Boxer" movement

Rescue of the Legations

The integrity of China had been invoked in 1895 and ignored in the ars following. Russia, France, and Germany had appealed to it as a ason for demanding the evacuation of Port Arthur by he Japanese in 1895. Soon afterward Germany had virually annexed a port and a province of China, and France ad also acquired a port in the south. Then came the most ecisive act, the securing of Port Arthur by Russia. This caused a wave f indignation to sweep over Japan, and the people of that country were ith difficulty kept in check by the prudence of their statesmen. The cquisition of Port Arthur by Russia meant that now she had a harbor e-free the year round. That Russia did not look upon her possession s merely a short lease, but as a permanent one, was nmistakably shown by her conduct. She constructed a ailroad south from Harbin, connecting with the Trans-Siberian. She threw thousands of troops into Manchuria; she set about mmensely strengthening Port Arthur as a fortress, and a considerable eet was stationed there. To the Japanese all this seemed to prove that he purposed ultimately to annex the immense province of Manchuria, nd later probably Korea, which would give her a larger number of icee harbors and place her in a dominant position on the Pacific, men-

Japan indignant and apprehensive

Russian activity in Manchuria

acing, the Japanese felt, the very existence of Japan. Moreover, thi would absolutely cut off all chance of possible Japanese expansion i these directions, and of the acquisition of their markets for Japanes industries. The ambitions of the two powers to dominate the Eas clashed, and, in addition, to Japan the matter seemed to involve he permanent safety, even in her island empire.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Japan's prestige at this time was greatly increased by a treaty con cluded with England in 1902 establishing a defensive alliance, each powe promising the other aid in certain contingencies. In cas either should become involved in war the other would re main neutral but would abandon its neutrality and com to the assistance of its ally if another power should joi the enemy. This meant that if France or Germany should aid Russi in a war with Japan, then England would aid Japan. In a war betwee Russia and Japan alone England would be neutral. The treaty wa therefore of great practical importance to Japan, and it also increase her prestige. For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entere into an alliance with a European power on a plane of entire equality Japan had entered the family of nations and it was remarkable evidenc of her importance that Great Britain saw advantage in an alliance wit her. Meanwhile Russia had a large army in Manchuria and a lease hold of the strong fortress and naval base of Port Arthur. She had def initely promised to withdraw from Manchuria when order should b restored, but she declined to make the statement mor explicit. Her military preparations increasing all the while the Japanese demanded of her the date at which she in tended to withdraw her troops from Manchuria, order having apparentl been restored. Negotiations between the two powers dragged on fron August, 1903 to February, 1904. Japan, believing that Russia was merel trying to gain time to tighten her grip on Manchuria by elaborate an intentional delay and evasion, and to prolong the discussion until sh had sufficient troops in the province to be able to throw aside the mask suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and commenced hostilities. O the night of the 8th–9th of February, 1904, the Japanese torpedoed part of the Russian fleet before Port Arthur and threw their armies int Korea.

Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902

Japan makes war upon Russia

The Russo-Japanese War, thus begun, lasted from February, 1904 to eptember, 1905. It was fought on both land and sea. Russia had two eets in Asiatic waters, one at Port Arthur and one at Vladi- ostok. Her land connection with eastern Asia was by the ng single track of the Trans-Siberian railway. Japan suc- eeded in bottling the Port Arthur fleet at the very outset of the war. ontrolling the Asiatic waters she was able to transport armies and unitions to the scene of the land warfare with only slight losses at the nds of the Vladivostok fleet. One army drove the Russians out of orea, back from the Yalu. Another under General Oku landed on the iaotung peninsula and cut off the connections of Port Arthur with ussia. It attempted to take Port Arthur by assault, but was unable o carry it, and finally began a siege. This siege was con- ucted by General Nogi, General Oku being engaged in riving the Russians back upon Mukden. The Russian General Kuro- atkin marched south from Mukden to relieve Port Arthur. South of Mukden great battles occurred, that of Liao-yang, engaging probably alf a million men and lasting several days, resulting in a victory of the apanese, who entered Liao-yang September 4, 1904. Their objective ow was Mukden. Meanwhile, in August, the Japanese had defeated isastrously both the Port Arthur and Vladivostok fleets, eliminating hem from the war. The terrific bombardment of Port Arthur con- inued until that fortress surrendered after a siege of ten months, costing he Japanese 60,000 in killed and wounded (January 1, 1905). The rmy which had conducted this siege was now able to march northward o coöperate with General Oku around Mukden. There several battles were fought, the greatest since the Franco-German war of 1870, lasting in each case several days. The last, at Muk- den (March 6–10, 1905), cost both armies 120,000 men killed and wounded in four days' fighting. The Russians were defeated and evacuated Mukden, leaving 40,000 prisoners in the hands of the Japanese.

Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905

Siege of Port Arthur

Mukden captured by the Japanese

Another incident of the war was the sending out from Russia of a new fleet under Admiral Rodjestvensky, which, after a long voy- age around the Cape of Good Hope, was attacked by Ad- miral Togo as it entered the Sea of Japan and annihilated in the great naval battle of the Straits of Tsushima, May 27, 1905.

Destruction of the Russian fleet, May 27, 1905

The two powers finally consented, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, to send delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to see if the war could be brought to a close. The result was the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905. The war between Japan and Russia had been fought in lands belonging to neither power, in Korea, and principally in Manchuria, a province of China, yet Korea and China took no part in the war, were passive spectators, powerless to preserve the neutrality of their soil or their independent sovereignty. The war had cost each nation about a billion dollars and about 200,000 in killed and wounded.

The Treaty of Portsmouth

By the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia recognized Japan's paramount interests in Korea, which country, however, was to remain independent. Both the Russians and the Japanese were to evacuate Manchuria. Russia transferred to Japan her lease of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula, and ceded the southern half of the island of Saghalin.

Japan thus stood forth the dominant power of the Orient. She had expanded in ten years by the annexation of Formosa and Saghalin. She has not regarded Korea as independent, but since the close of the war has annexed her (1910). She possesses Port Arthur, and her position in Manchuria is one which has given rise to much diplomatic discussion. She has an army of 600,000 men, equipped with all the most modern appliances of destruction, a navy about the size of that of France, flourishing industries, and flourishing commerce. The drain upon her resources during the period just passed had been tremendous, and appreciating the need of many years of quiet recuperation and upbuilding, she was willing to make the Peace of Portsmouth. Her financial difficulties are great, imposing an abnormally heavy taxation. No people has accomplished so vast a transformation in so short a time.

Reaction of these events upon China

The lesson of these tremendous events was not lost upon the Chinese. The victories of Japan, an Oriental state, over a great Occidental power, as well as over China, convinced many influential Chinese of the advantage to be derived from an adoption of European methods, an appropriation of European knowledge. Moreover, they saw that the only way to repel the aggressions of outside powers was to be equipped with the weapons used by the aggressor.

The leaven of reform began to work fruitfully in the Middle Kingdom. A military spirit arose in this state, which formerly despised the

ATLANT. OC.
BRITISH ISLES
NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
EUROPE
PORTUG.
SPAIN
FRANCE
GERMANY
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ITALY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ALGERIA
TRIPOLI
AFRICA
EGYPT
TURKISH EMPIRE
Asia Minor
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
PERSIA
ARABIA
Red Sea
Hejaz
Yemen
Hadramaut
Arabian Sea
Gulf of Oman
Persian Gulf
AFGHANIS-TAN
BALUCHIS-TAN
Hindu-Kush Mts.
Kabul
Kandahar
Karachi
Muskat
Ormuz Str.
Bender Abbas
Ispahan
Shiraz
Teheran
Tabriz
Erzerum
Trebizond
Constantinople
Smyrna
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Mecca
Medina
Sanaa
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Bab el Mandeb Str.
Socotra
Massaua
Suakim
Khartum
Kordofan
Abyssinia
Nile R.
Blue Nile
White Nile
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika L.
Nyassa L.
Zambesi R.
Mozambique
Madagascar
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Lake Rudolf
Lake Chad
Niger R.
Senegal R.
Timbuctoo
Morocco
Algiers
Tripoli
Tunis
Sahara
Atlas Mts.
Gibraltar
Lisbon
Madrid
Paris
London
Berlin
Vienna
Budapest
Belgrade
Bucharest
Odessa
Sebastopol
Moscow
St. Petersburg
Archangel
Nova Zembla
Kara Sea
White Sea
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Volga R.
Caucasus
Ekaterinburg
Perm
Vologda
Nijni Novgorod
Kazan
Astrakhan
Obdorsk
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Irtish R.
Ob R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
Kirghiz Steppe
Aralsea
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Yakutsk
Verneyt
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bokhara
Khiva
Merv
Herat
Kashgar
Yarkand
Karakoram Mts.
Himalaya Mts.
Kashmir
Peshawar
Lahore
Delhi
Indian Des.
Hindustan
BRITISH INDIA
Bombay
Hyderabad
Goa
Deccan
Madras
Pondicherry
Calicut
C. Comorin
Ceylon
Colombo
Pt de Galle
Maldive Is.
Laccadive Is.
Carcandel Coast
Malabar Coast
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Malacca Str.
Singapore
Java
Sumatra
Borneo
Celebes
Australia
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
Russian-Japanese War 1904-05
RR in Operation
RR in construction
Chemulpo
Fusan
Korea Str.
Tsushima
Sea of Japan
Yellow Sea
Korea Bay
Port Arthur
Dalny
Kinchau
Kaiping
Liaotung
Mukden
Changchun
Kirin
Vladivostok
Khabarovsk
Blagovestchensk
Amur R.
Manchuria
China
Chihli
Gulf of Chihli
Peiho R.
Tientsin
Peking
Shanhaikwan
Chinwangtao
Newchwang
Yingkow
Liaoyang
Haicheng
Antung
Wiju
Pyengyang
Chinnampo
Gensan
Seoul
Fusan
Weihaiwei
Cheefoo
Shantung
Mongolia

ASIA
IN 1914
625
1250
Miles
Railroads
Russian
English
French
Portuguese
Dutch
Spanish
German
United States
Japan
Bering Str.
East
I. St. Lawrence
Anadir Gulf
Navarin
BERING SEA
Aleutian Is
Kamchatka
Okhotsk Sea
Province of Primorskaya
Stanovoi Mts.
Yakutsk
Nikolaievsk
Sea of Japan
Yesso
Kurile Is
Hakodate
Hakodate
Yokohama
Honda Sea
Kiushu
Nagasaki
Shimonoseki
Yellow Sea
Peking
Tien-tsin
Chefu
Weihaiwei
Port Arthur
Dalny
Harbin
Kirin
Mukden
Vladivostok
MANCHURIA
Nerchinsk
Chita
Khabarovsk
Blagovestchensk
Urga
Gobi Desert
Nanking
Shanghai
Hangchow
Ningpo
Wenchow
Foochow
Amoy
Changchow
Swatow
Formosa (Jap.)
East China Sea
Liu Kiu Is
Volcano Is (Jap.)
Bonin Is (Jap.)
Tropic of Cancer
Ladrone or Marianna Is (G.)
Guam (U.S.)
Singan
Hankow
Ching Yu
Chungking
Yunnan
Canton
Pakhoi
Hongkong (Br.)
Macao (Port.)
Kwangchowwan (Fr.)
Kiung Chow
Hai-nan
Tonkin
Luzon
Philippine Is
Manila
Iloilo
Samar
Leyte
Mindoro
Mindanao
Sulu Is
Palau Is
Yap
Wolea
Lamotrek
Caroline Is (Ger.)
Kusaie I.
Admiralty Is
Bismarck Archipelago
Kaiser Wilh. Ld
NEW GUINEA
Torres Str.
Cape York
Somerset
Penna Gulf
Frederick H. I.
Timorlaut
Aru I.
Amboina
Banda S.
Arafura S.
Celebes
Celebes S.
Molucca Passage
Gilolo
Halmahera
St David I.
Cerum
Menado
Borneo
Labuan
Brunei
Natuna I.
Sarawak
Pontianak
Singapore
Malacca
Gulf of Siam
Malay Peninsula
Cambodia
Bangkok
Siam
Cochin China
Indo China
South China Sea
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Is
Nicobar Is
Sumatra
Banca
Billiton
Batavia
Sunda S.
Java
Madura I.
Flores
Timor
Kupang
Cambridge G.
Palmerston
Carpentaria Gulf
York Peninsula
AUSTRALIA
100°
110°
120°
130°
140°
80°
70°
30°
20°
10°
0°
150°
170°

artial virtues. Under the direction of Japanese instructors a beginning was made in the construction of a Chinese army after European models and equipped in European fashion. The acquisition of western knowledge was encouraged. Students went in large numbers to the schools and universities of Europe and America. Twenty thousand of them went to Japan. The state encouraged the process by throwing open the civil service, that is, official careers, to those who obtained honors in examinations in western subjects. Schools were opened throughout the country. Even public schools for girls were established in some places, a remarkable fact for any Oriental country. In 1906 an edict was issued aiming at the prohibition of the use of opium within ten years. This edict has since been put into execution and the opium trade has finally been suppressed.

Reform in China

Political reorganization was also undertaken. An imperial commission was sent to Europe in 1905 to study the representative systems of various countries, and on its return a committee, consisting of many high dignitaries, was appointed to study its report. In August, 1908 an official edict was issued promising, in the name of the Emperor, a constitution in 1917.

A constitution promised

But the process of transformation was destined to proceed more rapidly than was contemplated. Radical and revolutionary parties appeared upon the scene, demanding a constitution immediately. As the Imperial Government could not resist, it granted one in 1911, establishing a parliament with extensive powers. To cap all, in central and southern China a republican movement arose and spread rapidly. Finally a republic was proclaimed at Nanking and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who had been educated in part in the United States, was elected president. A clash between this republican movement and the Imperial party in the north resulted in the forced abdication of the boy Emperor (February, 1912). This was the end of the Manchu dynasty. Thereupon Yuan Shih K'ai was chosen President of the Republic of China. The situation confronting the new Republic was extremely grave. Would it prove possible to establish the new régime upon solid and enduring bases, or would the Republic fall a prey to the internal dissensions of the Chinese, or to foreign aggression at the hands of European powers, or, more likely, at the hands of an ambitious and militaristic neighbor, Japan? These were the secrets of the future.

The Manchu dynasty overthrown

China proclaimed a Republic

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CHAPTER XXXVI

RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR WITH JAPAN

We are now in a position to follow with some understanding the very recent history of Russia, a history at once crowded, intricate, and turbulent. That history is the record of the reaction of the Japanese War upon Russia herself.

That war was from the beginning unpopular with the Russians. Consisting of a series of defeats, its unpopularity only increased, and the indignation and wrath of the people were shown during its course in many ways. The Government was justly held responsible, and was discredited by its failure. As it added greatly to the already existing discontent, the plight in which the Government found itself rendered it powerless to repress the popular expression of that discontent in the usual summary fashion. There was for many months extraordinary freedom of discussion, of the press, of speech, cut short now and then by the officials, only to break out later. The war with Japan had for the Government most unexpected and unwelcome consequences. The very winds were let loose.

Unpopularity in Russia of the war with Japan

Open expression of the popular discontent

The Minister of the Interior, in whose hands lay the maintenance of public order, was at this time Plehve, one of the most bitterly hated men in recent Russian history. Plehve had been in power since 1902, and had revealed a character of unusual harshness. He had incessantly and pitilessly prosecuted liberals everywhere, had filled the prisons with his victims, had been the center of the movement against the Finns, previously described, and seems to have secretly favored the horrible massacres of Jews which occurred at this time. He was detested as few men have been. He attempted to suppress in the usual manner the rising volume of criticism occasioned by the war by applying the same ruthless methods of breaking up meetings, and exiling to Siberia students, professional men, laborers. He was killed July, 1904 by a bomb thrown under his carriage by a former student. Russia breathed more easily.

Plehve's iron régime

Assassination of Plehve

The various liberal and advanced elements of the population uttere their desires with a freedom such as they had never known before. The demanded that the reign of law be established in Russi that the era of bureaucratic and police control, recognizir no limits of inquisition and of cruelty, should cease. The demanded the individual rights usual in western Europe, freedom conscience, of speech, of publication, of public meetings and association of justice administered by independent judges. They also demanded constitution, to be framed by the people, and a national parliament.

A Russian defense of assassination

The Czar showing no inclination to accede to these demands, di order continued and became more widespread, particularly when th shameful facts became known that officials were enrich ing themselves at the expense of the national honor, se ing for private gain supplies intended for the army, even seizing th funds of the Red Cross Society. The war continued to be a series humiliating and sanguinary defeats, and on January 1, 1905, came th surrender of Port Arthur after a fearful siege. The horror of the civ lized world was aroused by an event which occurred a fe weeks later, the slaughter of "Bloody Sunday" (January 2 1905). Workmen in immense numbers, under the leadership of a rad cal priest, Father Gapon, tried to approach the Imperial Palace in S Petersburg, hoping to be able to lay their grievances directly before t Emperor, as they had no faith in any of the officials. Instead of th they were attacked by the Cossacks and the regular troops and t result was a fearful loss of life, how large cannot be accurately stated

Popular dissatisfaction

"Bloody Sunday"

All through the year 1905 tumults and disturbances occurred. Pea ants burned the houses of the nobles. Mutinies in the army and na were frequent. The uncle of the Czar, the Grand Duke Sergius, one the most pronounced reactionaries in the Empire, who had said "t people want the stick," was assassinated. Russia was in a state borde ing on anarchy. Finally the Czar sought to reduce t ever-mounting spirit of opposition by issuing a manifes concerning the representative assembly which was so v hemently demanded (August 19, 1905). The manifesto proved a bitt disappointment, as it spoke of the necessity of preserving autocra government and promised a representative assembly which should or have the power to give advice, not to see that its advice was followe The agitation therefore continued unabated, or rather increased,

The Manifesto of August 19, 1905

ming new and alarming aspects, which exerted in the end a terrific ssure upon the Government. Finally the Czar on October 30, 1905, ued a new manifesto which promised freedom of conscience, speech, eting, and association, also a representative assembly Duma, to be elected on a wide franchise, establishing s an immutable rule that no law can come into force hout the approval of the Duma," and giving to the ma also effective control over the acts of public officials.

The Emperor promises a representative assembly or Duma

The Czar thus promised the Duma, which was to be a law-making dy and was to have a supervision over state officials. But ore it met he proceeded to clip its wings. He issued a ree constituting the Council of the Empire, that is, a dy consisting largely of official appointees from the bu- ucracy, or of persons associated with the old order of things, as a nd of Upper Chamber of the legislature, of which the Duma should the Lower. Laws must have the consent of both Council and ma before being submitted to the Czar for approval.

The Council of the Empire

The elections to the Duma were held in March and April, 1906, and sulted in a large majority for the Constitutional Democrats, popularly led the "Cadets." In the name of the Czar certain rganic laws" were now issued, laws that could not be ched by the Duma. Thus the powers of that body were again stricted, before it had even met.

The "organic laws"

The Duma was opened by Nicholas II in person with elaborate remony, May 10, 1906. It was destined to have a short and stormy e. It showed from the beginning that it desired a com- ehensive reform of Russia along the well-known lines of estern liberalism. It was combated by the court and reaucratic parties, which had not been able to prevent its meeting, r which were bent upon rendering it powerless, and were only iting for a favorable time to secure its abolition. It demanded t the Council of the Empire, the second chamber, uld be reformed, as it was under the complete con- l of the Emperor, and was thus able to nullify the rk of the people's chamber. It demanded that the ministers be ie responsible to the Duma as the only way of giving the people trol over the officials. It demanded the abolition of martial law roughout the Empire, under cover of which all kinds of crimes were

Opening of the Duma, May 10, 1906

Demands of the Duma

being perpetrated by the governing classes. It passed a bill abolishir capital punishment. As the needs of the peasants were most pressin it demanded that the lands belonging to the state, the crown, ar the monasteries be given to them on long lease.

The Duma lasted a little over two months. Its debates were mark by a high degree of intelligence and by frequent displays of eloquenc in which several peasants distinguished themselves.

The impotence of the Duma

criticised the abuses of the Government freely and scat ingly. Its sessions were often stormy, the attitude of t ministers frequently contemptuous. It was foiled in all its attempts reform by the Council of the Empire, and by the Czar.

The crucial contest was over the responsibility of ministers. T Duma demanded this as the only way of giving the people an effecti participation in the government. The Czar steadily refused. A dea lock ensued. The Czar cut the whole matter short by dissolving t Duma, on July 22, 1906, expressing himself as "cruelly disappointe by its actions, and ordering elections for a new Duma.

The second Duma was opened by the Czar March 5, 1907. It d not work to the satisfaction of the Government. Friction between and the ministry developed early and steadily increase

The second Duma

Finally the Government arrested sixteen of the membe and indicted many others for carrying on an alleged revolutiona propaganda. This was, of course, a vital assault upon the integrity the assembly, a gross infringement upon even the most moderate cons tutional liberties. Preparing to contest this high-handed action, t Duma was desolved on June 16, 1907, and a new one ordered to elected in September, and to meet in November. An imperial manife was issued at the same time altering the electoral law in most swe ing fashion, and practically bestowing the right of choosi

The Czar alters the electoral system

the large majority of the members upon about 130,0 landowners. This also was a grave infringement upon t constitutional liberties hitherto granted, which had, amo other things, promised that the electoral law should not be chang without the consent of the Duma.

The Government declared by word and by act that the autocracy the ruler was undiminished. Illegalities of the old,

The third Duma

miliar kind were committed freely by officials. React ruled unchecked. The third Duma, elected on a very limited and p

ratic suffrage, was opened on November 14, 1907. It was composed large measure of reactionaries, of large landowners. It proved a ile assembly.

The Government has not yet dared to abolish the Duma outright, as ed by the reactionaries. The Duma still exists, but is rather a con- tative than a legislative body. With the mere passage of time it es on more and more the character of a permanent institution, rting a feeble influence on the national life. However, **The triumph of reaction** government of Russia is practically what it was before war with Japan, what it was all through the nineteenth century. e tremendous struggle for liberty has thus far failed. The former verning classes have recovered control of the state, after the stormy rs from 1904 to 1907, and have applied the former principles. Among se have been renewed attacks upon the Finns, increasingly severe asures against the Poles, and savage treatment of the Jews. Russia still wedded to her idols, or at least her idols have not been over- own. Her mediaeval past is still the strongest force in the state, to ich it still gives a thoroughly mediaeval tone. Whether the war of 14 will result in accomplishing what the war with Japan began but l not achieve, a sweeping reformation of the institutions and policies, bitions and mental outlook of the nation, will be known later. At sent it is certainly unknown.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912 AND 1913

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The contemporary world, to a degree altogether unprecedented history, has been dominated by the thought of war, by extraordina preparations for war, and by zealous and concerted efforts to preve war. Finally a conflict, which staggers the imagination and beggars d scription and whose issues are incalculable, has come and is clampi the entire world in its iron grip. It is a ghastly outcome of a century development rich beyond compare in many lines. It is, however, n inexplicable and it is important for us to see how so melancholy, sinister a turn has been given to the destinies of the race.

The rise and development of the militaristic spirit have been shov in the preceding pages. The Prussian military system, marked by scie tific thoroughness and efficiency, has been adopted by mo of the countries of the Continent. Europe became in t last quarter of the nineteenth century what she had never been befo literally an armed continent. The rivalry of the nations to have the mo perfect instruments of destruction, the strongest army, and the strongo navy, became one of the most conspicuous features of the modern worl Ships of war were made so strong that they could resist attack. N projectiles of terrific force were consequently required and the torpe was invented. A new agency would be useful to discharge this miss and thus the torpedo boat was developed. To neutralize it was therefo the immediate necessity and the torpedo-boat destroyer was the resu Boats that could navigate beneath the waters would have an obvio advantage over those that could be seen, and the submarine w provided for this need. And now we are taking possession of the with dirigible balloons and aeroplanes, as aerial auxiliaries of war. Th man's immemorial occupation, war, gains from the advance of scien and contributes to that advance. The wars of the past were fought

Spread of militarism

surface of the globe. Those of the present are fought in the heavens ve, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth.

But all this is tremendously expensive. It costs more than a hun- thousand dollars to construct the largest coast defense gun, which ries over twenty miles, and its single discharge costs a usand dollars. Fifteen millions are necessary to build a adnought, and now we have super-dreadnoughts, more ly still and more destructive. The debts of European ntries were nearly doubled during the last thirty years, largely ause of military expenditures. The military budgets of European es in a time of "armed peace" amounted to not far from a billion a half dollars a year, half as much again as the indemnity exacted Germany from France in 1871. The burden became so heavy, the lry so keen that it gave rise to a movement which aimed to end it. e very aggravation of the evil prompted a desire for its cure.

Cost of modern instruments of war

In the summer of 1898 the civil and military authorities of Russia e considering how they might escape the necessity of replacing an iquated kind of artillery with a more modern but very expensive . Out of this discussion emerged the idea that it would be desirable, ossible, to check the increase of armaments. This could not be ieved by one nation alone but must be done by all, if e at all. The outcome of these discussions was the ance by the Czar, Nicholas II, on August 24, 1898, of mmunication to the powers, suggesting that an inter- ional conference be held to consider the general problem.

Nicholas II and the limitation of armaments

The conference, thus suggested by the Czar, was held at the Hague 1899. Twenty-six of the fifty-nine sovereign governments of the ld were represented by one hundred members. Twenty hese states were European, four were Asiatic — China, an, Persia, and Siam, — and two were American — the ted States and Mexico. The Conference was opened May 18 and closed on July 29.

The First Peace Conference at the Hague

The official utterances of most of the delegates emphasized the fright- urden and waste of this vast expenditure upon the equipment for , when all nations, big and little, needed all their re- ces for the works of peace, for education, for social rovement in many directions. Most of the delegates emphasized the loss entailed by compulsory military service, removing millions

Criticism of militarism

and millions of young men from their careers, from productive activit for several precious years. A German delegate, on the other hanc denied all this, denied that the necessary weight of charges and taxe portended approaching ruin and exhaustion, declared that the gener welfare was increasing all the while, and that compulsory military servic was not regarded in his country as a heavy burden but as a sacred an patriotic duty to which his country owed its existence, its prosperity, an its future.

With such differences of opinion the Conference was unable to reac any agreement upon the fundamental question which had given rise t its convocation. It could only adopt a resolution expressing the beli that "a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the wor is greatly to be desired in the interests of the material and moral wel being of mankind" and the desire that the governments "shall take u the study of the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation armed forces on land and sea, and of military budgets."

With regard to arbitration the Conference was more successful. established a Permanent Court of Arbitration for the purpose of faci

Establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration

tating arbitration in the case of international disputes whic it is found impossible to settle by the ordinary mean of diplomacy. The Court does not consist of a grou of judges holding sessions at stated times to try such cas as may be brought before it. But it is provided that each pow "shall select not more than four persons of recognized competence questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputatio and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," and that the appointment shall run for six years and may be renewed. Out this long list the powers at variance may choose, in a manner inc cated, the judges who shall decide any given case.

Recourse to this Court is optional, but the Court is always ready be invoked. Arbitration is entirely voluntary with the parties to quarrel, but if they wish to arbitrate, the machinery is at hand, a fa which is, perhaps, an encouragement to its use.

The work of the First Peace Conference was very limited and mo est, yet encouraging. But that the new century was to bring not pea but a sword, that force still ruled the world, was shortly apparent. Tho who were optimistic about the rapid spread of arbitration as a princip destined to regulate the international relations of the future were sad

ppointed by the meager results of the Conference, and were still re depressed by subsequent events. For almost on the y heels of this Conference, which it was hoped would ther the interests of peace, came the devastating war in th Africa, followed quickly by the war between Russia l Japan. Also the expenditures of European states upon armies l navies continued to increase, and at an even faster rate than ever. ring the eight years, from 1898 to 1906, they augmented nearly ,000,000, the sum total mounting from £250,000,000 to £320,000,000. Such was the disappointing sequel of the Hague Conference. But pite discouragements the friends of peace were active, and finally ught about the Second Conference at the Hague in 7. This also was called by Nicholas II, though sident Roosevelt had first taken the initiative. The ond Conference was in session from June 15 to ober 18. It was attended by representatives from forty-four the world's fifty-seven states claiming sovereignty in 1907. The mber of countries represented in this Conference, therefore, was rly double that represented in the first, and the number of members more than double, mounting from one hundred to two hundred and y-six. The chief additions came from the republics of Central and th America. The number of American governments represented e, indeed, from two to nineteen. Twenty-one European, nineteen erican, and four Asiatic states sent delegates to this Second Confer- e. Its membership illustrated excellently certain features of our , among others the indubitable fact that we live in an age of world itics, that isolation no longer exists, either of nation or of hemi- eres. The Conference was not European but international, — the jority of the states were non-European.

The twentieth century opens with wars

The Second Peace Conference at the Hague

The Second Conference accomplished much useful work in the adop- n of conventions regulating the actual conduct of war in more hu- ne fashion, and in defining certain aspects of interna- al law with greater precision than heretofore. But, erning compulsory arbitration, and concerning disarmament or the tation of armaments, nothing was achieved. It passed this resolu- : "The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Con- nce of 1899 in regard to the restriction of military expenditures; , since military expenditures have increased considerably in nearly

Work of the Conference

every country since the said year, the Conference declares that it highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of t question."

This platonic resolution was adopted unanimously. A grim comme tary on its importance in the eyes of the governments was contained the history of the succeeding years with their ever-increasing milita and naval appropriations, their tenser rivalry, their deepening det mination to be ready for whatever the future might have in store.

That future had in store for 1912 and 1913 two desperate wars the Balkan peninsula and for 1914 an appalling cataclysm.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

We have seen with what enthusiasm the bloodless revolution July 24, 1908, was hailed by all the races of Turkey. It seemed the bi liant dawn of a new era. It has however proved to be t beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe not in Asia as well. From that day to the outbreak of t European war six years later the Balkan peninsula was the storm cen of the world. Event succeeded event, swift, startling, and sensation throwing a lengthening and deepening shadow before. No adequa description of these crowded years can be attempted here. Only outline can be given indicating the successive stages of a portentous a absorbing drama.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908

The ease with which the Young Turks overthrew in those July da of 1908 the loathsome régime of Abdul Hamid, and the principles freedom and fair play which they proclaimed, aroused t happiest anticipations, and enlisted the liveliest sympat among multitudes within and without the Empire. T very atmosphere was charged with the hope and the exp tation that the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity was about begin for this sorely visited land where unreason in all its varied for had hitherto held sway. Would not Turkey, rejuvenated, moderniz and liberalized, strong in the loyalty and well-being of its citizens, fr from the blighting inheritance of its gloomy past, take an honora place at last in the family of humane and progressive nations? Mi not the old racial and religious feuds disappear under a new régi where each locality would have a certain autonomy, large enough to sure essential freedom in religion and in language? Might not a str

Apparent unanimity of the movement

tional patriotism be developed out of the polyglot conditions by free-
m, a thing which despotism had never been able to evoke? Might
Turkey become a stronger nation by adopting the principles of true
eration toward all her various races and religions? Had not the
ne come for the elimination of these primitive but hardy prejudices
d animosities? Might not races and creeds be subordinated to a
ge and essential unity? Might not this be the final, though unex-
cted, solution of the famous Eastern Question?

Even in those golden days some doubted, not seeing any authentic
ns of an impending millenium for that distracted corner of the world.
least the problem of so vast a transformation would be very difficult.
e unanimity shown in the joyous destruction of the old system might
be shown in the construction of the new, as many precedents in
ropean history suggested. If Turkey were left alone to concentrate
entire energy upon the impending work of reform, she
ght perhaps succeed. But she was not to be left alone
w any more than she had been for centuries. The
stern Question has long perplexed the powers of Europe, and has
the same time lured them on to seek their own advantage in its
yrinthine mazes. It is conspicuously an international problem.
t the internal reform of Turkey might profoundly alter her inter-
tional position by increasing the power of the Empire.

Attitude of foreign powers

Thus it came about that the July Revolution of 1908 instantly
eted the attention of European powers and precipitated a series of
rtling events. Might not a reformed Turkey, animated with a new
tional spirit, with her army and finances reorganized and placed
n a solid basis, attempt to recover complete control of some of
possessions which, as we have seen, had been really, though not
minally and technically, torn from her — Bosnia, Herzegovina,
lgaria, Crete, possibly Cyprus, possibly Egypt? There was very
le evidence to show that the Young Turks had any such intention
dreamed of entering upon so hazardous an adventure. Indeed, it
quite apparent that they asked nothing better than to be left
ne, fully recognizing the intricacy of their immediate problem, the
d of quiet for its solution. But the extremity of one is the oppor-
ity of another.

On October 3, 1908 Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary
nounced, through autograph letters to various rulers, his decision to

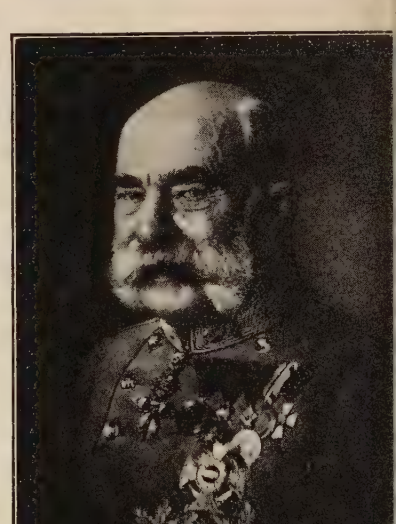
incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina definitively within his empir

Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina

These were Turkish provinces, handed over by the Congre of Berlin in 1878 to Austria-Hungary for "occupatio and administration, though they still remained official under the suzerainty of the Porte. On October 5 Prin Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed, amid great ceremony, the complete

Bulgaria declares her independence

independence of Bulgaria from Turkish suzerainty, and assumed the title of Czar. Two days later the Greek population of the island of Crete repudiated all connection with Turkey and declared for union with Greece. On the same day, October 7, Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina announcing the annexation of those provinces. Against this action Servia protested vigorously to the powers, her parliament was immediately convoked, and the war spirit flamed up and threatened to get beyond control. Ferdinand was prepared to defend the independence of Bulgaria by going to war with Turkey, if necessa



FRANCIS JOSEPH
From a photograph taken in 1915.

These startling events immediately aroused intense exciteme throughout Europe. They constituted violent breaches of the Treaty Berlin. The crisis precipitated by the actions of Austria-Hungary a Bulgaria brought all the great powers, signatories of that treaty, up the scene. It became quickly apparent that they did not agree. G

The powers do not prevent these breaches of the Treaty of Berlin

many made it clear that she would support Austria, a Italy seemed likely to do the same. The Triple Allian therefore, remained firm. In another group were Gre Britain, France, and Russia, their precise position not cle but plainly irritated at the defiance of the Treaty of Berli A tremendous interchange of diplomatic notes ensued. The Briti

reign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, announced that Great Britain could admit "the right of any power to alter an international treaty thout the consent of the other parties to it," and demanded that, the public law of the Balkans rested upon the Treaty of Berlin of 8, and that as that treaty was made by all the great powers, it ld only be revised by the great powers, meeting again in Congress. t neither Austria nor Germany would listen to this suggestion. They w that Russia could not intervene, lamed, as she was, by the disrous war with Japan, with her army disorganized and her finances in l condition. And they had no fear of Great Britain and France. us the Treaty of Berlin was flouted, although later the signatories that treaty formally recognized the accomplished fact.

Of all the states the most aggrieved by these occurrences was Servia, l the most helpless. For years the Servians had entertained the bition of uniting Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Mon- negro, peopled by members of the same Servian race, us restoring the Servian empire of the Middle Ages, and gaining ac- s to the sea. This plan was blocked, apparently forever. Servia uld not expand to the west, as Austria barred the way with Bosnia d Herzegovina. She could not reach the sea. Thus she could get her ducts to market only with the consent of other nations. She alone all the states in Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, was in 's predicament. Feeling that she must thus become a vassal state, obably to her enemy, Austria-Hungary, seeing all possibility of exnsion ended, all hopes of combining the Serbs of the Balkans under r banner frustrated, the feeling was strong that war, even against sperate odds, was preferable to strangulation. However she did not to arms. But the feeling of anger and alarm remained, an element the general situation that could not be ignored, auguring ill for e future.

Servia

But trouble for the Young Turks came not only from the outside. It came from inside and, as was shortly seen, it lay in large measure in r own unwisdom. Difficulties manifold encompassed them about. The new Turkish Parliament met in December, 1908 amid general husiasm. It consisted of two chambers, a Senate, apnted by the Sultan, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected the people. Four months later events occurred which eatened the abrupt termination of this experiment in constitutional

Opening of the Turkish Parliament

and parliamentary government. On April 13, 1909, without warning thousands of troops in Constantinople broke into mutiny, killed some of their officers, denounced the Young Turks, and demanded the abolition of the constitution. The city was terrorized. At the same time sickening massacres occurred in Asia Minor, particularly at Adana, showing that the religious and racial animosities of former times had lost none of their force. It seemed that the new régime was about to founder utterly. The counter-revolution was to undo the work of July. But this counter-revolution was energetically suppressed by troops sent up from Salonica and Adrianople and the Young Turks were soon in power again. Holding that the mutiny had been inspired and organized by the Sultan, who had corrupted the troops so that he might restore the old régime, they resolved to terminate his rule. On April 27, 1909, Abdul Hamid II was deposed, and was immediately taken as a prisoner of state to Salonica. He was succeeded by his brother, whom he had kept imprisoned many years. The new Sultan, Mohammed V, was in his sixty-fourth year. He at once expressed his entire sympathy with the armies of the Young Turks, his intention to be a constitutional monarch. The Young Turks were in power once more.

The counter-revolution of April, 1909

The Young Turks regain control

Deposition of Abdul Hamid II

From the very beginning they failed. They did not rise to the height of their opportunity, they did not meet the expectations that had been aroused, they did not loyally live up to the principles they professed. They made no attempt to introduce the spirit of justice, of fair play toward the various elements of their highly composite empire. Instead of seeking to apply the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they resorted to autocratic government, to domination by a single race, to the ruthless suppression of the rights of the people. They did just what the Germans have done in Alsace-Lorraine and Posen, what the Russians have done in Finland and in Poland, what the Austrians and Hungarians have done with the Slavic peoples within their borders. The policy of oppression of subject races, the attempt at amalgamation by force and craft have strewn Europe with combustible material and the combustion has finally come. The government of the Young Turks was just as despotic as that of Abdul Hamid and its outcome was the same, a further and decisive disruption of the Empire.

The Young Turks become reactionary and despotic

Oppression of subject races

From the very first they showed their purpose. They, the Turks, ..t is the Mohammedan ruling race, determined to keep power abso..ely in their own hands by hook or crook. In the very first elections ..Parliament they arranged affairs so that they would have a majority ..r all other races combined. They did not intend to divide power ..h the Christian Greeks and Armenians or the Mohammedan Arabs. ..eir policy was one of Turkification, just as the Russian ..icy was one of Russification, the German of Germani..ion. They made no attempt to punish the perpetrators of the Adana ..ssacres in which over thirty thousand Armenian Christians were ..ughtered. The Armenian population was thus alienated from them. ..ey tried to suppress the liberties which under all previous régimes the ..thodox Greek Church had enjoyed. As they intended to subject all ..e races of the Empire to their own race, so they intended to suppress ..force all religious privileges. They thus offended and infuriated the ..eeks, whom they also alarmed and embittered by a commercial boy..tt because the Greeks would not agree to their repressive policy in ..gard to the Cretans. Their treatment of Macedonia was the acme ..folly. They sought to reinforce the Moslem elements of ..e population by bringing in Moslems from other regions. ..his aroused the Christian elements, Greek, Bulgarian, ..d Servian. Large numbers of these Christians fled from Mace..nia to Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia, carrying with them their griev..ces, urging the governments of those countries to hostility against ..e Turks.

A policy of Turkification

Gross misrule of Macedonia

The Turks went a step farther. In the west were the Albanians, a ..oslem people who had hitherto combined local independence with ..al and appreciated services to the Turkish authorities, ..both the army and the government. The Turks decided ..suppress this independence and to make the Albanians ..mit in all matters to the authorities at Constantinople. But the ..anians had been for centuries remarkable fighters. They now flew ..arms. Year after year the Albanian rebellion broke out, only tempo..ily subdued or smothered by the Turks, who thus exhausted their ..ength and squandered their resources in fruitless but costly efforts ..pacify" these hardy war-loving mountaineers.

Their treatment of Albania

Thus only a few years of Young Turk rule were necessary to create ..highly critical situation, so numerous were the disaffected elements.

There had been no serious attempt to regenerate Turkey, to bring together the various races on the basis of liberty for all. Turkey lost hundreds of thousands of its Christian subjects who fled to surrounding countries rather than endure the odious oppression. These exiles did what they could to hit back at their oppressors.

Widespread disaffection

The Young Turks from the very beginning failed as reformers because they were untrue to their promises. Their failure led to war in the Balkans and the war in the Balkans led to the European War. They spent their time in endeavoring to assert themselves as a race of masters. They sowed the wind and they quickly reaped the whirlwind.

The Young Turks false to their promises

THE TURKO–ITALIAN WAR OF 1911

While the Turkish Empire was in this highly perturbed condition and while the Balkan states were aglow with indignation at the treatment being meted out to the members of their races resident in Macedonia and were trembling with the desire to act, trouble flared up for the Young Turks in another quarter. Italy had for years been casting longing eyes on the territories which fringe the southern shores of the Mediterranean. She had once hoped to acquire Tunis but had unexpectedly found herself forestalled by France, which seized that country in 1881. At the same time England began her occupation of Egypt. All that remained therefore was Tripoli, like Egypt a part of the Turkish Empire. For many years the thought that this territory ought to belong to Italy had been accepted as axiomatic in influential quarters in the Italian government and diplomatic circles. Schemes had been worked out and partly put into force for a "pacific penetration" of an economic character of this land. Now however the time seemed to have arrived to seize it outright. Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria had declared her independence in 1908, and there had been no successful opposition on the part of Turkey or of any of the Great Powers. Was not this the ripe moment for Italy's project?

Italian colonial aspirations

She evidently thought so, for, in September, 1911, she sent her war ships to Tripoli and began the conquest of that country. It proved a more difficult undertaking than had been imagined. While she seized the coast towns, her hold on them was pre-

Italy invades Tripoli (1911)

ious and her progress into the interior was slow and costly, owing the fact that the Turks aroused and directed the natives against invaders. Italy had given her ally Austria-Hungary to understand at she would not attack Turkey directly in Europe, as European rkey was a veritable tinder-box which, if it once caught fire, might ze up into a devastating and incalculable conflagration. But as nth after month went by and Italy was producing only uncertain effect in Tripoli, she resolved on more decisive ion nearer Constantinople, hoping to bring the Turks terms. She attacked and seized Rhodes and eleven ner Turkish islands in the Ægean, the Dodecanese. This, and the fact at an Albanian revolution against the Turks was at the same time at-ning alarming proportions, made the latter ready to conclude peace th Italy so that they might be free to put down the Albanians. On tober 15, 1912, was signed at Ouchy, or Lausanne, a eaty whereby Turkey relinquished Tripoli. It was also ovided that Italy should withdraw her troops from the Dodecanese soon as the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Tripoli, a phrase out which it was easy to quibble later.

Seizes Turkish islands in the Ægean

Treaty of Lausanne

The great significance of this war did not lie in the fact that Italy quired a new colony. It lay in the fact that it began again the process, rested since 1878, of the violent dismemberment of the rkish Empire; that it revealed the military weakness of at empire, powerless to preserve its integrity; and, what most important, that it contributed directly and greatly a far more serious attack upon Turkey by the Balkan states, which, turn, led to the European War. The tinder-box was lighted and a neral European conflagration resulted. The Italian attack upon Trip- was momentous in its consequences.

Momentous character of the Italo-Turkish War

THE BALKAN WARS

During the war the Balkan states were negotiating with each other th a view to united action against Turkey. This union was not easy bring about as Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece disliked h other intensely, for historical, racial, sentimental rea- ns, too numerous and too complex to be described here. owever, they disliked the Turks more and they were ffering constantly from the Turks. Terrible persecutions, even mas-

The Balkan states unite against the Turks

sacres, of the Christians in Macedonia in which large numbers of Greeks Bulgarians, and Servians lost their lives, inflamed the people of thos states with the desire to liberate their brothers in Macedonia. By doin this they would also increase their own territories and diminish or en an odious tyranny. These nations found it possible to unite for the pur pose of overwhelming the Turks; they might not find it possible to agre as to the partition among themselves of any territories they might ac quire, since here their old, established ambitions and antipathies migh conflict. It was because of the strength of these rivalries and hatred that neither the Turks nor the outside powers considered an alliance o the Balkan states as at all among the possibilities. But the statesmen o the Balkans had learned something from the troubled history of th peninsula, and saw the folly of continuing their dissensions. They als realized that now was their chance, that they might never again fin their common enemy so weak and demoralized, the general Europea situation so favorable.

Thus it came about that in October, 1912 the four Balkan states Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece made war on Turkey. Th

The Balkan War of 1912

war was brief and an overwhelming success for the allies Fighting began on October 15, the very day of the signin of the Treaty of Lausanne between Italy and Turkey, although techni cally the declarations of war were not issued until October 18. Th Greeks pushed northward into Macedonia, gained several victories ove

The Greeks enter Salonica

the enemy, and on November 8, only three weeks after th beginning of the campaign, they entered the importan city and port of Salonica, with Crown Prince Constantine the present king, who had revealed conspicuous military ability, at thei head. Farther west the Servians and Montenegrins were also success

The Servians victorious

ful. The Servians won a great victory at Kumanovo wher they avenged the defeat of their ancestors at Kossov which they had not forgotten for five hundred years. They then cap tured Monastir.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians, who had the larger armies, had gon

The brilliant campaign of the Bulgarians

from victory to victory, defeating the Turks brilliantly i the battles of Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas. The latte was one of the great battles of modern times, three hun dred and fifty thousand troops being involved in fierce tenacious struggle for three days. The result was the destruction o

military power of the Turks. By the middle of November the garians had reached the Chataldja line of fortifications which ex- d from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. Only twenty-five es beyond them lay Constantinople.

The collapse of the Turkish power in Europe was nearly complete. y the very important fortresses of Adrianople in the east, and Jan- and Scutari in the west, had not fallen. In a six weeks' mpaign Turkish possessions in Europe had shrunk to nstantinople and the twenty-five mile stretch west to Chataldja fortifications. This overthrow and collapse came as a ggering surprise to the Turks, the Balkan Allies themselves, and the eat Powers. The Ottoman Empire in Europe had ceased to exist, h the exception of Constantinople, Adrianople, Janina, and Scutari. e military prestige of Turkey was gone.

Collapse of the Turkish power

In December delegates from the various states met in London to ke peace. They were unsuccessful because Bulgaria demanded the render of Adrianople, which the Turks flatly refused. March, 1913, therefore, the war was resumed. One after other the fortresses fell, Janina on March 6, Adrianople March 26, Scutari on April 23. Turkey was now compelled to accept ms of peace. On May 30, the Treaty of London was signed. It pro- ed that a line should be drawn from Enos on the Ægean Sea to dia on the Black Sea and that all Turkey west of that line should ceded to the Allies, except a region of undefined dimensions on the riatic, Albania, whose boundaries and status should be determined the Great Powers. Crete was ceded to the Great Powers and the cision as to the islands in the Ægean which Greece had zed was also left to them. In December, 1913, Crete s incorporated in the kingdom of Greece. The Sultan's minions in Europe had shrunk nearly to the vanishing nt. After five centuries of proud possession he found himself almost elled from Europe, retaining still Constantinople and only enough ritory round about to protect it. This great achievement was the rk of the four Balkan states, united for once in the common work of eration. The Great Powers had done nothing. Europe felt relieved, wever, that so great a change as this in the map of the Balkan ninsula had been effected without involving the Great Powers in war.

The London Peace Conference

The Treaty of London (May 30, 1913)

The Treaty of London, however, had not long to live. No sooner

had the Balkan states conquered Turkey than they fell to fighting amor

A short-lived peace

themselves over the division of the spoils. The respons bility for this calamity does not rest solely with then It rests in part with the Great Powers, particularly with Austria an Italy. It was the intervention of these powers and their insistence u on the creation of a new independent state, Albania, out of a part the territory now relinquished by the Turks, that precipitated a cris whose very probable issue would be war. For the creation of th artificial state on the Adriatic coast absolutely prevented Serv

Servia still land-locked

from realizing one of her most passionate and legitima ambitions, an outlet to the sea, an escape from h land-locked condition which placed her at the mercy of her neighbors.

Before beginning the war with the Turks, Servia and Bulgaria ha defined their future spheres of influence in upper Macedonia, should th war result in their favor. The larger part of Macedonia should go t Bulgaria, and Servia's gains should be chiefly in the west, including th longed-for Adriatic sea coast. But now Albania was planted there an

Austrian opposition to Servia

Servia was as land-locked as ever. Austria was resolve that Servia should under no conditions become an Adriati state. She has always been opposed to the aggrandizemer of Servia, because she has millions of Serbs under her own rule who migh be attracted to an independent Servia, enlarged and with prestig heightened. Moreover she believed that Servia would be the pawn Russia, and she would not tolerate Russia's influence on her souther borders and along the Adriatic, if she could help it. She did not propos to be less important in those waters than she had been in the pas Therefore Servia must be excluded from the Adriatic. It was the block ing of Servia's outlet to the sea that caused the second Balkan war be tween the allies. Intense was the indignation of the Servians, but the could do nothing. They therefore sought as partial compensatio larger territories in Macedonia than their treaty with Bulgaria had a signed them, arguing, correctly enough, that the conditions had greatl

Claims of Servia and Bulgaria

changed from those contemplated when that agreement wa made and that the new conditions justified and necessitate a new arrangement. But here they encountered the stub born opposition of Bulgaria which refused any concessions along thi line and insisted upon the strict observance of the treaty. Instantly th old, bitter hatred of these two countries for each other flamed up agai

18
20
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46
44
42
BUDA PEST
Grosswardein
H U N G A R Y
Klausenburg
Maria Theresiopel
Hodmezo Vasarhely
Szegedin
Arad
Temesvar
Lugos
Karansebes
Orsova
Mehadia
Esseg
SLAVONIA
Drave R.
Danube R.
BANAT
Transylvanian Alps
GREAT WALACHIA
Belgrade
Semendria
Passarowitz
Shubatz
Bosnia R.
Drina R.
Save R.
Kraguievatz
Jagodina
Widin
Kralova
Turnu Severin
Alexandria
Giurgevo
BUCHAREST
Baragan
Ordhova
Silistria
Rustchuk
Basardshik
Delli Grivan
Dobrudscha
Hotoshany
Pashkani
Piatra
Jassy
Roman
Hushi
Vaslui
Kishinef
ODESSA
RUSSIA
MOLDAVIA
Berlado
Bessarabia
Jalma
T. Okna
Reni
Ismail
Galatz
Braila
Danube Delta
Portitza Mouth
Constanza (Kustendji)
Mangalia
C. Kali Agra
Varna
Shumla
Turnova
Little Balkan
Sofia
Slivno
C. Emine
Burgos
Yamboli
EAST-RUMELIA
Philippopolis
Kustendil
Vranja
Prisrend
Leskovatz
Novibazar
Mitrovitza
Alexinatz
Nish
Pirot
Shipka P.
Plevna
Nicopoli
Shustova
Tirnova
BULGARIA
Herzegovina
Mostar
MONTENEGRO
Cettinje
Scutari
Antivari
Dulcigno
Ragusa
Trebigne
Sabbioncello
Meleda
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Borche di Cattaro
Lissus
Durazzo
Elbassan
Ochrida
Monastir
Kastoria
Vodena
Salonica
Gallipoli
Rodosto
Constantinople
Adrianople
Tchorlu
Kirk Kilisse
Midia
Enos
Dedeagatch
Porto Lagos
Cavalla
Seres
Drama
Kavalla
Thasos
Samothraki
Imbros
Tenedos
Lemnos
Mitylene
Scio
Smyrna
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Sea of Marmora
Black Sea
Aegean Sea

THE
BALKAN STATES
ACCORDING TO THE
TREATY OF BUCHAREST
Acquisitions of New Territory
shown by darker shades
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SEA OF CANDIA
ASIA MINOR
PELOPONNESUS (MOREA)
ATHENS
CRETE OR CANDIA (KIRID)
Cephalonia
Zakynthos (Zante)
Corfu (Kerkyra)
Cythera (Cerigo)
Rhodes
Chios
Mytilene (Lesbos)
Lemnos
Samothrace
Imbros
Skyros
Northern Sporades
Euboea
Andros
Tinos
Mykonos
Syros
Paros
Naxos
Amorgos
Milos
Santorin
Cyclades
Crete
Lydia
Caria
Phrygia
Mysia
Troas
Aidin
Smyrna
Brusa
Karpathos
Scarpanto I.
Kasos
Kythera
Cerigotto
Gulf of Saloniki
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Arcadia
Gulf of Kolokythia
Gulf of Nauplia
Gulf of Kalamata
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Koron
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Adramyti
Gulf of Xeros
Gulf of Xanos
Gulf of Makri
Gulf of Monemvasia
Gulf of Kissamo
Gulf of Candia
Longitude East 24 from Greenwich.
22
26
28
36
38
40

Servians insisted that the expulsion of the Turks had been the work ll the allies and that there should be a fair division of the territories uired in the name of all. On the other hand the Bulgarians argued it had been they who had done the heavy fighting in the war, which true, that they had furnished by far the larger number of troops, t it was their victories at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas that had ihilated the power of the Turks in Europe, that they were entitled to ex territories in Macedonia which they declared were peopled by garians. Other considerations also entered into the situation. Suffice it to say that Bulgaria intended to have her way. Her army s elated by the recent astounding successes, was rather contemptuous the Servians and Greeks, emphatically minimized the vices rendered by these to the common cause, thought t it could easily conquer both if necessary, and could e what territories it chose. It was Bulgaria, whose war party had all sense of proportion, all sense of the rights of her mer allies, that began the new struggle. She treacher- ly attacked Greece and Servia at the end of June, 1913. rce fighting ensued for several days, marked by savage ocities on both sides.

Bulgaria uncompromising

Bulgaria attacks Greece and Servia (June, 1913)

Bulgaria's action in plunging into this avoidable conflict was all the re foolhardy as her relations with her northern neighbor, Roumania, re also unsettled and precarious. Roumania had demanded that lgaria cede her a strip of territory in the northeast of lgaria, in order that the balance of power among the lkan states might remain practically what it had been. lgaria had refused this so-called compensation. The sult was that Roumania also went to war with Bulgaria. e Turks, too, seeing a chance to recover some of the land they d recently lost, joined the war.

Roumania enters the war against Bulgaria; the Turks also

Thus Bulgaria was confronted on all sides by enemies. She was at r with five states, not three, for Montenegro was also involved. the middle of July she saw that the case was hope- s and consented to make peace, by the Treaty of charest, signed August 10, 1913, by which Servia and Greece se- red larger possessions than they had ever anticipated, d by which Roumania was given the territory she desired. urkey also recovered a large area which she had lost the year before,

Bulgaria defeated

Treaty of Bucharest

including the important city and fortress of Adrianople. All this was the expense of Bulgaria, who paid for her arrogance and unconciliato temper by losing much territory which she would otherwise have secure by seeing her former and hated allies victorious over her in the fie and in annexations of territory which she regarded as rightfully he Bulgaria was deeply embittered by all this and has since only be waiting to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest which she has refused consider as morally binding, as in any sense a permanent settleme of the Balkans. The year 1913 will remain of bitter memory in t minds of all Bulgarians.

The two Balkan wars cost heavily in human life and in treasur Turkey and Bulgaria each lost over 150,000 in killed and wounde

Cost of the Balkan wars

Servia over 70,000, Greece nearly as many, little Mont negro over 10,000. The losses among non-combatan were heavy in those who died from starvation, or disease, or massacr for the second war was one of indisputable atrocity. On the oth

Changes in the map

hand Montenegro, Greece, and Servia had nearly double in size. Bulgaria and Roumania had grown. The Turkis Empire in Europe was limited to a comparatively small area.

We must now examine the reaction of all these profound and asto ishing changes in the Balkans upon Europe in general. In other wor

Reaction of the Balkan wars upon Europe

we must study the causes of the war of 1914. For the Ba kan wars of 1912 and 1913 were a prelude to the Europea War of 1914. The sequence of events from the Turkis Revolution of July, 1908 to the Austrian declaration of w upon Servia in July, 1914, is direct, unmistakable, disastrous. Eac year added a link to the lengthening chain of iron. The map of Euro was thrown into the flames. What the new map will be is the secret the future.

It may be said in passing that the new Albanian state proved a fiasc from the start and that it disappeared completely when the war bega

The Albanian fiasco

in August, 1914, the powers that had created it withdrawin their support and its German prince, William of Wie leaving for Germany where he joined the army that was fightin France. He had meanwhile announced his abdication in a high-flow manifesto.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EUROPEAN WAR

In August, 1913 the long-drawn-out crisis in the Balkans seemed safel over with the Treaty of Bucharest, to the apparent satisfaction of th people of Europe. It had not resulted in what had bee greatly feared, a European war. That had been avoide and the world breathed more freely. But that this feelin was not shared by the governments of Austria and Ge many has since been revealed. Though this was not pub licly known until more than a year afterward, it is now established tha on August 9, 1913, the day before the Treaty of Bucharest was fo mally signed, Austria informed her ally, Italy, that she pr posed to take action against Servia. She represented thi proposed action as defensive and as therefore justifyin her in expecting the aid of Italy under the terms of the treaty of th Triple Alliance. Italy through her prime minister, Giolitti, refused t accede to this view, stating that such a war would n be one of defense on the part of Austria as no one wa thinking of attacking her. The treaty of Triple Allianc required its members to aid each other only in the case of a defensiv war forced upon a colleague. Austria, then, planned war upon Servi in August, 1913. Whether she was restrained by the knowledge tha Italy would not support her or by other considerations is a matter fo conjecture.

Dissatisfaction of Austria-Hungary and Germany over the Balkan settlement

Austria resolves to attack Servia

Italy declines to coöperate

Prince von Bülow, who for nine years had been Chancellor of Ge many, has declared that the collapse of Turkey was a blow to Germany It was on this ground that in 1913 new army and taxa tion bills, extraordinarily increasing Germany's prepared ness for war, were carried through. This inevitably led t similar, though not to as sweeping, legislation in France.

Germany increases her army

Austria and Germany, therefore, were far from pleased at the out come of events in the Balkans, and the former, a great European stat

Lincoln Sea
Hazen Ld.
Markham I.
Heilprin Ld.
Grant Ld.
Hall Ld.
Grinnell Ld.
Washington Ld.
Ellesmere Ld.
Inglefield Ld.
Prudhoe Ld.
Pr. Patrick I.
Parry Is.
Lincoln Ld.
Melville I.
Bathurst I.
North Devon
GREENLAND
BAFFIN BAY
Melville Sd.
Banks Ld.
Pr. Albert Land
C. Barrow
Baffin Ld.
Davis Str.
Arctic Circle
Yeme
Dawson
Klondike
Bear L.
Fort Norman
ALASKA
Lawrence I.
Hudson Bay
St. Paul
Sitka
Queen Charlotte I.
Vancouver I.
British Columbia
Labrador
Winnipeg
Aleutian Is.
Victoria
Portland
Minneapolis
Quebec
Montreal
Toronto
Halifax
St. John
Newfoundland
Chicago
New York
Boston
Washington
Philadelphia
Denver
San Francisco
St. Louis
UNITED STATES
Charleston
Bermudas I.
New Orleans
Necker I.
Tropic of Cancer
Honolulu
Hawaii
Johnston
Revilla Gigedo Is.
Mazatlan
Mexico
Acapulco
Progreso
Tampico
Havana
Nassau
Bahama Is.
Caicos I.
Turks I.
Jamaica
Haiti
Santo Domingo
Porto Rico
St. Vincent
Trinidad
Palmyra
Fanning I.
Howland I.
Christmas I.
Clipperton I.
Equator
Cocos I.
Panama
Colombia
Caracas
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
Marajo
Galapagos Is.
Quito
Ecuador
Peru
Lima
Amazon
Para
Pernambuco
Bahia
Noronha
Fernando
Phoenix Is.
Malden
Starbuck Is.
Tokelau Is.
Manihiki Is.
Marquesa Is.
Wallis I.
Savaii
Upolu
Samoa
Pago Pago
Society Is.
Vavau
Cook I.
Tahiti
Niue
Tongatabu
Hull I.
Tabuai
Tropic of Capricorn
Antofagasta
Salta
Cuyaba
Goyaz
Rio de Janeiro
Asuncion
PARAGUAY
Tonga Is.
Rarotonga
Rapa I.
Pitcairn I.
Sister I.
Salay Gomez
S. Ambrosio
Warekauri Is.
Valparaiso
Mas a Tuera
Juan Fernandez
Santiago
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
URUGUAY
CHILE
ARGENTINA
Magellan Str.
Arenas
Falkland Is.
Tierra del Fuego
Staten I.
C. Horn
S. Georgia I.
Sandwich
Elephant I.
S. Orkney
S. Shetland Is.
Smith I.
Graham Land
Alexander I. Land
Florida
Bahama
Havana
Cuba
Jamaica
Cayman
Kingston
Santo Domingo
Haiti
Porto Rico
Virgin Is.
Barbuda
Montserrat Br.
Guadeloupe
Dominica Br.
Martinique
St. Lucia Bt.
Barbados
St. Vincent
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Aruba
Curacao
Margarita
Venezuela
Colombia
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
CARIBBEAN SEA
WEST INDIES
British
French
United States
Danish
Dutch
W. Long from Greenwich
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
COLO
EUR

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45
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75
90
105
120
135
150
165
Franz Josef Ld
C. Cheliuskin
New Siberia Is
Alexandrovsk
Arctic Circle
Archangel
Obdorsk
Yakutsk
Tobolsk
Yeniseisk
Krasnoyarsk
Irkutsk
Nikolaievsk
Petersburg
Moscow
Kazan
Ekaterinburg
Tomsk
Omsk
Orenburg
Semipalatinsk
Urga
Harbin
Mongolia
Vladivostok
Yezo
Port Arthur
Peking
Suchow
Khotan
Samarkand
Tashkent
Karshar
Kuldja
Khiva
Meshed
Teheran
Kabul
Bhamo
Yarkand
Hakodate
Nagasaki
Bonin Is.
Vulcan Is.
Tropic of Cancer
Marcus Is
Marianna Is.
Formosa
Luzon
Philippine Is
Seipan
Guam
Yap
Providence Is
Brown Is
Rolk
Ruck
Ponapi
Yaluit
Marshall Arch
Ratak
Palaos Is
Cardines
Kusaie
Equator
Nauri
Gilbert
Bismarck Arch.
Ocean I.
Ellice Is.
Sta Cruz Is
Rotumah
Louisiade
Solomon Is
New Guinea
Timor
Java
Batavia
Christmas I.
Keeling
Cocos Is.
Broome
Cooktown
Chester field I.
Loyalty Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Queens Ld.
Brisbane
Norfolk I.
West Aust.
South Australia
New S. Wales
Lord Howe I
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Kangaroo I.
Victoria
Wellington
Tasmania
Hobart
Christchurch
Stewart I.
Bounty I.
Auckland Is
Antipodes I.
Campbell I.
Macquarie
Crozet I
Kerguelen
Mc Donald Is.
N. Amsterdam
St Paul
Enderby I
Emp. William II
Kemp I.
Knox Ld.
Sabrina Ld.
Clarie Ld.
Adelie Ld.
Balleny Is.
Antarctic Circle
North C.
C. Adare
Coulman I.
Wood B.
Victoria Ld
Ross Sea
Franklin I.
Beaufort I.
Mt Erebus
Mt Terror
The Bluff
East Longitude from Greenwich
ESSIONS
OWERS

fty millions, was planning action by arms against Servia, a nation ow perhaps four millions, a nation both exhausted and ed by two years of war. Of course Austria knew that such action would bring Russia upon the scene, and that the reason for her desiring the eventual support of her allies. While for reasons that are somewhat obscure Austria finally not consider the moment opportune for making war on Servia in ust, 1913, she did consider it opportune in July, 1914, and from her on at that time came swiftly and dramatically the present conflict.

Dissatisfaction of Austria and Germany

The relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia have already been ded to, the former's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, her part in the creation of the artificial state of Albania the same purpose, to prevent Servia's getting any out- to the sea. Yet, though successful in this, she had not n able to prevent the growth of Servia. Servia had, vever, submitted in 1908 and 1909 and in 1913, to demands which anated from Austria-Hungary and which were deeply humiliating. both sides there was, as there had long been, plenty of bad blood.

Relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia

Suddenly a horrible crime occurred which set in motion a mighty and entable train of events. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis dinand, nephew of the Emperor of Austria, and heir to throne, was, with his wife, assassinated in the streets Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The men who had done infamous deed were Austrian subjects, natives of Bos- . But they were Servians by race. An outburst of intense indig- ion followed against the Servians, "a nation of assassins," it was lared. Servia was, by Austrian opinion, held responsible, although crime occurred on Austrian soil and was committed by Austrian jects, and although Austrian methods of rule in Bosnia were of such haracter as sufficiently to account for the dastardly crime. At any e the desire for war was expressed in many Austrian newspapers, ich held the Servian government responsible.

Assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand

But four weeks went by and the Austrian government took no ac- n. No information could be obtained by the diplomats Vienna as to what she proposed to do. They saw no son for any particular worry, as the government was dently so self-contained, and they therefore took their usual vaca- ns. It was intimated that Austria would make some demands upon

Attitude of the Austrian government

Servia but that they would be of a moderate character. There w widespread sympathy with her and a general feeling that she would justified in demanding certain things of Servia. The representati of the various European governments were kept in ignorance. A d patch, which was destined to shake the very foundations of the wor was being fashioned, in utter silence and mystery.

On July 23, Austria delivered this despatch to Servia. It beg by accusing the Servian government of not having fulfilled the ob gations it had assumed in 1909 toward Austria. It c manded that the Servian government should publish official statement, the terms of which were dictated the despatch, expressing its disapproval of the propaganda in S via against Austria-Hungary and its regret that Servian officials h taken part in this propaganda. In the despatch the murder of the Arc duke was ascribed to that propaganda. Then followed ten demands up the Servian government concerning the suppression of the Pan-Servi propaganda carried on by the newspapers and the sec societies of Servia. The despatch demanded that the S vian government should suppress any publication whi fostered hatred of and contempt for the Austro-Hungarian monarch should take the most comprehensive measures for the suppression a extinction of the secret societies, should eliminate from the schools teachers and from text-books anything that served or might serve foster the propaganda against Austria-Hungary, should remove from t army and from government positions all officials involved in the sa propaganda, whose names the Austrian government reserved the rig to communicate, and that Servia should accept the coöperation of A trian officials in the work of investigating the conspiracy of June 2 Other clauses in this fateful despatch concerned the arrest of the a complices in the assassination and the prevention of the trade in ar and explosives across the frontier. Annexed to the despatch was memorandum asserting that the murder of the Archduke and the Arc duchess had been plotted in Servia and had been executed through t complicity of Servian officials.

The Austrian despatch of July 23

Demands made upon Servia

This despatch, harsh in its language, dictatorial in its demands, w an ultimatum, for it required the acceptance of it in its e tirety within forty-eight hours, and it allowed no time f investigation or discussion of the charges made and the problems c

This despatch an ultimatum

oy the peremptory demand. No nation would issue such a note to ual without intending and without desiring war. Issued to a vastly inferior it could mean only unprecedented humiliation or nal extinction, if followed up at the expiration of forty-eight hours. nis Austrian ultimatum created a grave crisis. The ultimatum ot a passionate and unreflecting outburst of the Austrian govern- swept away by natural anger at the foul murders. s a cold-blooded and deliberate document, composed four weeks of secret preparation. The Russian am- dor had not been told that it was coming and had Vienna for his vacation. The Italian government had not been med, although it was an ally and was particularly concerned with hing that affected the Balkan peninsula in any way or

The despatch creates a dangerous crisis

Peculiar circumstances connected with the despatch

In this fact Italy was to find her justification for ining neutral when the war finally broke out, as she re- ed that war as an aggressive one begun by Austria. ultimatum gave Servia the alternative of accepting egregiously iliating conditions, practically reducing her to the state of a vassal ustria, or of accepting war.

England, France, and Russia tried to induce Austria to extend her e limit as the only way in which diplomacy might seek to act he matter, as, moreover, required if the relations of ons were to be governed by a reasonable consideration each other's rights or wishes. Their efforts were in n. They then turned to Servia urging her, in the in- sts of Europe in general, to make her answer as conciliatory as pos- e. The result was that Servia in her reply yielded to the greater t of what Austria demanded and that she offered, in e Austria was not satisfied with her answer, to refer question to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of Great Powers.

Austria urged to extend the time limit

Servia's reply to the ultimatum

No state ever made a more complete submission under particularly miliating circumstances. Austria, however, immediately declared the vian answer unsatisfactory and prepared for war. She l knew that such action would necessarily draw Russia o the controversy. She had every reason a state can e for knowing that, after the defiance of the annexation of Bosnia d Herzegovina in 1908, another attack upon a small Slavic people

Austria rejects Servia's reply

would deeply offend the leading Slavic power. Austria could not a

Austrian ultimatum a deliberate challenge to Russia

did not expect to be able to wreak her vengeance up Servia without having to take Russia into account. He therefore, is the responsibility for a deliberate and high dangerous provocation of a great state. Russia, a Sla power, could not be ignored by Teutonic powers in determining the futu of Slavic peoples. If there was a single well-known fact in the wh domain of European politics it was that Russia was greatly interest in the fate of the Slav states of the Balkans. If there was any other we established commonplace of European politics, it was this, that eve Balkan question has always been considered as of general concern, distinctly international. As a matter of fact, Servia's obligations 1909, already referred to, were undertaken to the Powers, not Austria alone.

Austria's position was that her action concerned herself and Ser alone; that no other nation or nations were involved or had any rights

Austria supported by Germany

the matter. In this she was supported from start to fin by Germany. Both Austria and Germany were aware th warlike steps against Servia would bring Russia into t question and that, owing to the obligations of the Triple and Du alliances, a general European war might result, yet both steadily refus to consider that Russia had any right to intervene; it was all a mat solely between the two, Austria and Servia.

Naturally Russia did not take this view. Her warnings having prov unavailing, when Austria began to prepare for the attack upon Serv

Conduct of Russia

Russia began to mobilize. The policy of Germany throu that last week of July was to support Austria in her conte tion that this was her affair. She asserted that the quarrel was sol one between those two and that no outside power had the right to int vene, that, if the trouble could be kept confined to those two, there wou be no general disturbance of the peace, that if the Czar however int fered there would be "on account of the various alliances, inconceival consequences." If this was all that Germany did for peace, which s

Germany demands the "localization of the conflict"

asserts she made every effort to maintain, then she c simply nothing, for this policy of "localization of the co flict" begged the whole question. It assumed that neith Russia nor any other power was in any way concern This was an absolutely untenable position in the light of history,

EUROPE
in 1912
0 250 500
English Miles.
Greenland
Iceland
Jan Mayen
Arctic Circle
Faroe Is. (Den.)
Shetland Is.
Rockall
Hebrides
Orkney Is.
Scotland
Edinburgh
Bergen
Christiania
Stavanger
Trondhjem
Skagerrack
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
Ireland
Dublin
Belfast
Cork
St George Ch.
England
Manchester
Birmingham
London
Southampton
Dover
Calais
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
Helgoland
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Dresden
GERMANY
English Channel
Channel Is.
Brest
Brussels
BELGIUM
Lille
Luxemburg
Metz
Paris
Nantes
Loire
Strasbourg
Danube
Munich
Lausanne
SWITZERLD.
Geneva
Berne
Lucerne
AUST
Graetz
Vienna
Trieste
Milan
Turin
Venice
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
Toulouse
S. Etienne
Lyons
Genoa
Genoa
Pyrenees
ANDORRA
G. of Lion
Montpellier
Marseilles
Adriatic S.
S. MARINO
Florence
Apennines
Corsica
ROME
Tiber
Barcelona
Bilbao
Oporto
Burgos
Duero
Madrid
Saragossa
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Toledo
Valencia
Balearic Is.
Palma
Sardinia
Naples
Tarant
Mt Vesuvius
Tyrrhenian Sea
C. St Vincent
Algeciras
Seville
Granada
Murcia
Str. of Gibraltar
Tangier
Gibraltar (Brit.)
MEDITERR
Algiers
Bone
Constantine
Tunis
Palermo
Messina
Etna
Sicily
C. Spartivento
Passaro
Malta (Br.)
Cadiz
Gabes
Tripoli
Tripolitania
Mogador
Agadir
Morocco
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
Fez
Melilla (Sp.)
Oran
Wargla
Ighli
ATLANTIC OCEAN
West Longitude
Greenwich
East Longitude
60
50
40
30
10
0
10
20
30
40

40
50
60
70
80
Nova Zemlya
Kara Sea
Yugor Str.
Obdorsk
Obi R.
Samarova
Tobolsk
Petchora R.
Archangel
Mesen R.
Kem
Onega
Dwina
Onega L.
Petrosavodsk
Ladoga L.
St Petersburg
Viatka
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Irtish R.
Uralsk
Yaroslaw
Nijni Novgorod
Volga
Kazan
Orsk
Orenburg
Tver
Moscow
Simbirsk
Samara
Saratov
Tula
Tambo
Smolensk
Minsk
Oret
Kursk
Kharkov
Don R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Berdichev
Astrakhan
Alexandrovsk
Taganrog
Nikolaiev
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Stavropol
Mosdok
Odessa
Crimea
Sevastopol
Kutais
Kura
Batum
Erivan
Erzerum
Tiflis
Tabriz
Van
Kurdistan
Mesopotamia
Mosul
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
Teheran
Ispahan
Angora
Smyrna
Adana
Aleppo
Antakieh
Cyprus
Beirut
Damascus
Jerusalem
Palestine
Port Said
Alexandria
Cairo
Rhodes
Crete
Constantinople
Bosporus
Adrianople
Brussa
Varna
Rustchuk
Jassy
Kishinev
Galatz
Sulina
Tchernowitz
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Danube R.
Danaburg
Libau
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Kirghiz Steppes
Ural R.
Emba R.
Gurief
Chekishlar
Astrabad
Mt. Demavend
Persian G.
Bushire
Arabia
Aegypt
Ural Mts
Siberia

on, of interest. The question was a part of the Eastern Question h over and over has been considered and known to be emphatically rnational. No aspect of that question is to be left to the determina- of a state of fifty millions in conflict with one of four or five.

A proposal was made by England that the question at issue should ubmitted to a conference to be held in London by the Great Powers directly concerned, namely Germany, France, England, Italy. Perhaps these four might bring about the ad- ment of the difficulties between Servia and Austria and sia. Russia signified her willingness but the proposal declined by Germany. Other suggestions of a somewhat similar ire looking toward delay and diplomatic discussion or mediation like- e fell before the opposition or indifference of Germany. en when England asked Germany herself to suggest ne method of mediation for the preservation of peace, had nothing to suggest. She simply reaffirmed her position that the ole matter concerned merely Austria and Servia. She was willing appeal and did appeal to Russia to keep out, to refrain m mobilizing, but her appeal was always based on this sis that the quarrel did not concern Russia but did concern simply stria and Servia, a point of view which, naturally, Russia did not and ld not share. Germany was ready to coöperate with other powers bringing pressure to bear upon Russia but not upon her ally Austria, o had begun the whole trouble and to whom she gave a free hand in r procedure toward Servia.

England proposes an international conference

The proposal declined by Germany

Germany's course

The attitudes of Germany and Russia were irreconcilable. Germany d that Russia should allow Austria entire liberty of action. Russia lieved that Austria's uncompromising and violent procedure de- anded a Russian mobilization "directed solely against stria-Hungary" as the only method that might cause at country to moderate her procedure and induce her to ognize the rights of others. If Russia remained inac- ve, then Austria would do what she liked with Servia. Russia em- atically claimed the right to be consulted in the settle- nt of Balkan matters. Austria had mobilized and on ly 28 had begun a war upon Servia. Russia accordingly bilized against Austria. Germany considered this ac- on a menace to herself, and on July 31 sent an ultimatum to Rus-

Russia mobilizes against Austria-Hungary

Germany sends an ultimatum to Russia

sia demanding that Russia begin to demobilize her army within twel hours: otherwise Germany would mobilize. As Russia did not re

Germany declares war on Russia

to this peremptory demand Germany, on August 1, clared that a state of war existed between Russia a Germany. The German declaration of war against Rus necessarily meant war with France as well, because of the Du Alliance.

We have seen that this Dual Alliance was the inevitable outcome the existence and power of the Triple Alliance, concluded between G

The Dual and Triple Alliances involved

many, Austria, and Italy in 1882. The Dual Alliance gr out of the need which both Russia and France felt, of o side support in the presence of so powerful a combinatio If there was to be anything like a balance of power Europe, Russia and France must combine. Both alliances were defe sive. The action of Austria against Servia brought Russia upon t scene. Russia's action brought Germany forward. Germany's acti necessitated action on the part of France.

One state was free to act as it saw fit, its conduct not controlled b any entangling alliance, England. The Triple and Dual Alliances rest on definite treaties, neither of which has been made public, and impos obligations upon the contracting parties. There had in recent years al

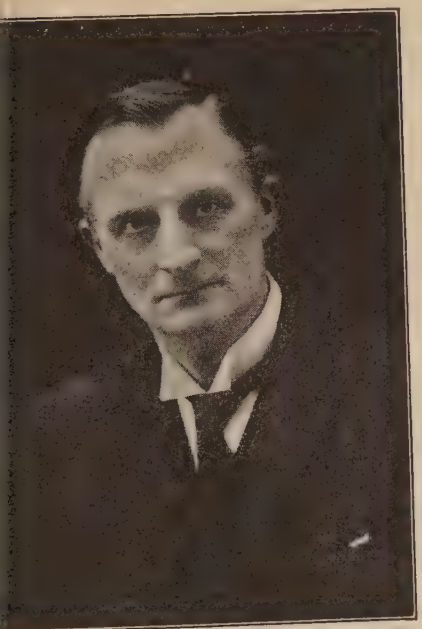
The Triple Entente

grown up what was called the Triple Entente. The co mercial rivalry of Germany and England, during the pa fifteen or twenty years, expressing itself in a struggle for markets, colonial competitions, in a striking development of naval power, has be an outstanding fact in recent European history. Great Britain, seei that her policy of isolation was possibly becoming dangerous with active and successful a rival in the field, sought, in the first decade the twentieth century, to settle long continued misunderstandings wi France and Russia. This she did by a treaty with France in 1904 ar with Russia in 1907. These agreements settled certain problems ar provided certain measures in common, the former in Africa, the latt in Asia. During succeeding diplomatic crises the three powers work

The Triple Entente not an alliance

in substantial harmony. But the Triple Entente was n an alliance: it was simply a diplomatic group that migl be found working together when the interests of its mem bers happened to coincide. There was no actual alliance betwee Great Britain and France and there was no understanding of any kin

een Great Britain and Russia, with regard to any European policy ntingency. When the crisis of 1914 arose Great Britain was free t as she chose, in the light of what she considered her interests. diplomatic correspondence shows that this was understood in Berlin and Vienna as it was understood in Paris and St. Petersburg.



Sir Edward Grey

But while Great Britain had no alliances that necessarily involved her in the present war, yet as a European power, and as a great, imperial, colonial state, she had many and important interests for which she must care. It was for her interest that there should be no European war and it was also for the interest of Europe and the world. The negotiations of that week in July, from the issuance of the ultimatum to Servia to the declarations of war, abundantly demonstrate that she made

The interests of Great Britain

nest, repeated, and varied efforts to bring about a peaceful solution the problems that had been so suddenly thrust forward. e was wedded to no particular scheme or formula and ited Germany to make suggestions that might effect the justment, if dissatisfied with hers. But despite her efts a war had come involving four large states at least, Austria, Rus-, Germany, and France, and one small state, Servia. Would the nflagration spread? What would England do?

England strives to maintain peace

It was certainly not for her interest that France should be conquered Germany, as that would reduce France to the position of a satellite d would immensely augment the power and prestige of Germany. loreover, England was bound in honor to prevent any attack upon

the Atlantic sea coast of France, as, since 1912, she had had a nav

England's relation with France

agreement with France whereby the French fleet was co centrated in the Mediterranean in order that Engla might keep larger naval forces in the home waters. seems probable that England would have been drawn into the w necessarily if France was attacked, which was of course the purpo of Germany. But her participation was rendered inevitable by Ge many's attack upon Belgium.

Three of the small states of Europe, Belgium, Luxemburg, ar Switzerland, have been by international agreements declared neutr

Belgium a neutralized state

territory forever. By these agreements the countries co cerned should never make war, nor should they ever b attacked. The powers that signed the treaties bound then selves to respect and preserve that neutrality. The treaty guaranteein the neutralization of Belgium was signed by England, France, Prussi Austria, and Russia. For over eighty years that obligation had bee

Germany's ultimatum to Belgium

scrupulously observed. Now, on August 2, Germany ser an ultimatum to Belgium, demanding that she allow th German armies to cross her territory, promising to evacu ate it after peace was concluded, and stating that, if she refused, he fate would be determined by the fortunes of war. Belgium replied tha she had always been faithful to her international obligations, that th

Belgium's reply

attack upon her independence would constitute a flagran violation of international law, that she would not sacri fice her honor and the same time be recreant to her duty towar Europe, but that her army would resist the invader to the utmos of its ability.

As Austria's ultimatum of July 23 meant the annihilation of the inde pendence of one small state, Servia, Germany's ultimatum of August meant the annihilation of the independence of another small state Belgium. Germany's action was the baser and the more dishonorable as she had promised to respect the neutrality of the country whicl she was now about to destroy.

The reason for this action was that the easiest way for Germar armies to get into France was over Belgian soil. Germany intended t crush France as rapidly as possible, then to turn upon Russia and crush her. The invasion of France direct from Germany would necessarily be slower, if possible at all, as that frontier was strongly fortified

official statement of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, made in Reichstag on August 4, declared that Germany was act- in self-defense: "Necessity knows no law. Our troops e occupied Luxemburg and have perhaps already entered Belgian soil. Gentlemen, this is a breach of interna- al law. The French government has, it is true, notified Brussels it would respect the neutrality of Belgium as long the enemy respected it. But we know that France d ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could

The statement of the German Chancellor

"Necessity knows no law"

A French attack upon our flank in the lower Rhine might have n disastrous. Thus we have been obliged to ignore the just protests he governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice, I speak nkly, the injustice that we are committing we will endeavor to make d as soon as our military aims have been attained. Anybody who is eatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest posses- ns can think only of one thing, how he is to attain his end, cost at it may." Thus the official, authoritative spokesman of Germany nounced her own act unjust, thereby proclaiming the faithfulness Belgium to all her obligations, admitted that Germany was doing lgium a wrong, and that the action was in defiance of the law of tions. It was justified by necessity, he said.

A nation of sixty-five millions attacked a nation of seven millions, ose neutrality it had sworn to maintain, because, as the German Sec- tary of State, Jagow, said on that same August 4, th frankness, "they had to advance into France by the uickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their erations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as pos- ble. It was a matter of life and death for them."

Statement of von Jagow

England could correctly assert that she had worked for peace "up the last moment, and beyond the last moment." Now she entered e war because she had vital interests in the independ- ce of Belgium, and because of her explicit treaty obli- ations. For hundreds of years her policy had been to prevent the ntrol of those coasts from being a menace to her own coast across the arrow channel as they would be in the hands of a strong military power. ver this question England had fought or acted repeatedly for centuries gainst the Spaniards, against the French; now it was to be against the Germans. That in protecting her vital interests she would also be

England enters the war

keeping her solemn promises and defending a small and peaceful st against the wanton aggression of a ruthless and mighty military pow engaged, according to its own admission, in a flagrant violation of t law of nations, was to her vast moral advantage in securing the spo taneous sympathy and support of her own people and widespre approval beyond her borders.

On the 23d of July, 1914 there was a dull midsummer peacé in Euro By August 4 seven nations were at war. The responsibility for th tragic, monstrous, unnecessary crime against civilization, against huma ity, was lightly assumed. The situation was created by the authoriz heads of various states. Any power that in that crisis showed a willin ness to delay, to negotiate, to confer, was working in the interest of peac Any power that declined to do this, that adopted a peremptory attitud that issued ultimatums with incredibly short time limits, hastened th appalling entanglement and was ready for war, whether it desired intended it or not.

The opinion of the outside world as to where that responsibility li has been overwhelmingly expressed. That opinion is shared by a sta

Opinion of neutral nations

that had for thirty-two years been the ally of Austria an Germany and was an ally in August, 1914. When asked o August 1, by the German ambassador, what were Italy intentions, the Italian Government replied through its Minister Foreign Affairs that "as the war undertaken by Austria was aggressiv and did not fall within the purely defensive character of the Triple All ance, particularly in view of the consequences which might result fro it according to the declaration of the German Ambassador, Italy woul not be able to take part in the war."

The overwhelming verdict of neutral nations, like the verdict o Italy, has thrown the guilt of the war upon Austria and Germany.

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INDEX

-el-Kader proclaims a Holy War, -4–405.
ul Hamid II (Turkey), 555–557, 594; -posed, 598.
Tkir, Nelson destroys French fleet at, -71; Napoleon destroys Turkish army -, 172.
-ssinia, Italy and, 412.
ident Insurance Laws, Germany (*1884* and *1885*), 371–372.
e, 172.
on, Lord, opinion of Frederick the Great, 13; on the Partition of Poland, 84.
ana, massacres in, 598–599.
owa, battle of, 412.
rianople, Treaty of, 543; troops sent rom, 598; falls, 603; Turkey recovers, 06.
tean Islands, Italy acquires, 414, 601, 03.
ghanistan, England and, 490.
rica, England and, 252, 441, 464, 474–475, 499–505, 507–509; German colonies in, 373–374; Partition of, 374, 393, 471, 507–514; French possessions in, 404–408; War in South, 474, 476, 493, 497–504, 593; Spanish possessions in, 519; Portuguese possessions in, 521.
adir, Germany sends gunboat to, 408.
guillon, Duke d', 78.
abama award, Gladstone and, 461.
bania, Young Turks and, 599, 601; Treaty of London (*1913*) and, 603–604, 609; Servia desires, 604; disappears as a state, 606.
bert, of Saxe-Coburg, marries Queen Victoria, 444.
bert I (Belgium), 525.
berta, 493.
lexander of Battenberg, Prince of Bulgaria, 550–551.
lexander I (Russia), concludes Peace of Tilsit, 211–212; meets Napoleon at Erfurt, 221–222; desires to break the Franco-Russian alliance, 233–234; enters Paris, 240; at the Congress of Vienna, 250; and the Holy Alliance, 254–255; and Poland, 284–286, 558–560; reign of, 558–561.
Alexander II (Russia), and Bismarck, 375; reign of, 561–567; and the Edict of Emancipation, 562–563; adopts system of protection, 568.
Alexander III (Russia), reign of, 567–569.
Alexander I (Servia), 553.
Alexandria, 170–171, 462.
Alfieri, on Italian nationality, 8.
Alfonso XII, King of Spain, 517–518.
Alfonso XIII, 518–519.
Algeciras, Conference of (*1906*), 408.
Algeria, France and, 404–407, 507; Turkey and, 507.
Algiers, 404.
Alliance. *See* Holy, Quadruple, Dual, Triple.
Alma, battle of the, 544.
Alsace, feudal dues in, 105, 111; Germans invade, 357; ceded to Germany, 360, 369, 374, 384. *See also* Alsace-Lorraine.
Alsace-Lorraine, Imperial Territory, 363. *See also* Alsace *and* Lorraine.
Amadeo (of Savoy), King of Spain, abdicates, 517.
America, Seven Years' War in, 3–4, 14; revolt of the English Colonies in, 6–7; as model for France, 86–88, 147; Spanish colonies in, revolt, 263, 268; Napoleon III and, 352; Irish emigrate to, 457; British North, 491–497, 505.
Amiens, Peace of, 183, 192, 199.
Anglican Church, 432–433, 435; in Ireland, 455–457; schools under, 460, 475; the Universities and, 460; the Conservatives and, 477; in Wales disestablished, 485.
Anglo-Japanese Treaty (*1902*), 580.
Annam, France and, 405–406.
Anti-Corn Law League, 447.
Arabi Pasha, 512.

Arbitration, in the *Alabama* affair, 461; in labor disputes, New Zealand, 498; Permanent Court of, established at the Hague, 592.
Archives, National (France), 150.
Arcola, battle of, 160.
Argentina, Italian emigration to, 413.
Arrondissements, 92.
Artisans, in pre-revolutionary France, 47.
Artois, Count of, and the Revolution, 81, 97, 103; plots against Bonaparte, 191; becomes Charles X, 272. *See* Charles X.
Ashley, Lord, and child labor, 442.
Asia, Seven Years' War in, 3, 14; Russia and, 18, 235, 572–573; European aspirations for, 393; French acquisitions in, 405–406, 572, 574; England and, 464, 505, 572–573; Portuguese possessions in, 521; Dutch colonies in, 523; and the Far Eastern Question, 571; Turkey in, 594.
Asia Minor, massacres in, 598.
Asquith, Herbert, 476–477; and the House of Lords, 479–482; and Home Rule, 483–485.
Assembly. *See* National, Constituent, *and* Legislative.
Assignats, 94.
Associations of Worship (France), 402–403.
Athens, captured, 542; capital of Greece, 554.
Auckland, 497.
Auerstädt, battle of, 210.
Augereau, 157, 185.
August 4, *1789*, 78–80; Louis XVI and the decrees of, 81.
August 10, *1792*, 114–116, 137, 147, 156.
Aulard, on the Convention, 120; on Robespierre, 141.
Ausgleich, 419, 426.
Austerlitz, battle of, 202, 206, 207, 211, 224, 246; results of, 203–208, 218, 223; anniversary of, 319.
Australasia, 497, 505.
Australia, commerce with, 462; English colonies in, 487, 493–497; Canada and, 493; Commonwealth of, Constitution Act, 495–497, 505.
Australian ballot, introduced into England, 461.
Austria, in *1789*, 1, 9–10; in the Seven Years' War, 4, 14–15; and Prussia, 10–11, 13, 14–15, 29, 124; and Poland, 17, 29, 164, 234, 250, 283; and Russia, 25; and the émigrés, 103; France at

Austria, *continued*
war with, 110–114, 124, 149, 152–16
182–183; Prussia aids, against Franc
113–114; and the Treaty of Camp
Formio, 165, 183; joins coalitio
(second) against France, 173, 18
war against, in Italy and German
182–183; and the treaty of Lun
ville, 183; joins England and Russ
in coalition (third) against Napoleo
201–202, 215; signs Treaty of Pres
burg, 202–203; not included in th
Confederation of the Rhine, 21
228; and the Continental Blockad
217; begins war against Franc
(*1809*), 223–226, 229; makes Pea
of Vienna, 224; becomes ally of Na
poleon, 228, 234; development of na
tionality in, 230; and the Gran
Duchy of Warsaw, 234; joins Russi
Prussia, and England against Na
poleon, 238; and the Congress
Vienna, 242, 249–257; and the Wate
loo Campaign, 244; acquisitions o
by Congress of Vienna, 252–253, 264
265; and the Holy Alliance, 255; an
the Quadruple Alliance, 255; Met
ternich and, 255–257; after *181*
257–259, 261, 262; and Naples, 264
265; and the "right of intervention,
266–269; Charles X goes to, 27
and the revolutions in Italy, 28
recognizes independence of Belgium
282; and the revolution in Poland
282–287; and the revolution in Italy
287; and the revolution in Germany
287; and the revolutions of *184*
298–311; and the problem of Germa
unity, 307–311; must be driven out o
Italy, 327, 332; Victor Emmanuel I
and, 329; Cavour and, 330, 332; an
the war of *1859*, 333–335, 336–337; an
reaction in Germany, 341; Bismarck
and, 344–349; Prussia and, make wa
on Denmark, 346; friction betwee
Prussia and, 346–349; and the yea
1866, 351, 418; and the policy of pro
tection, 372; and Russia rivals in th
Balkans, 374; and the Congress o
Berlin, 375, 548–550; makes treat
with Germany, *1879*, 375–376; and th
Triple Alliance, 395, 412, 414; Italy
covets possessions of, 414; Italy de
nounces treaty of alliance with, 414; t
the compromise of *1867*, 416–420
oppresses her subjects, 416; fails i
the Italian war, 416; becomes a con

ria, *continued*
tutional state, 417; Hungary refuses coöperate with, 417–418; and the ompromise of *1867*, 419–420; the mpire of, since *1867*, 420–423; and e Ottoman Empire, 540; and the reaty of San Stefano, 548; and the ongress of Berlin, 548–550; "occupies" Bosnia and Herzegovina, 548; d the insurrection of Poland (*1863*), 4; and Servia, 604, 608–612; and e European War, 608–618.
ria-Hungary, Italy declares war gainst, 415; since *1848*, 416–427; and e Compromise of *1867*, 419; occupies Bosnia and Herzegovina, 426; nnexes Bosnia and Herzegovina, 595–96, 600; Servia and, 597, 604, 608–12; Italy and, 601; and the European War, 608–618.
strian Netherlands, France in possession of, 149, 152; Holland annexes, 50, 252, 253, 282. *See also* Belgium.
strian Succession, War of the, 14, 28.
stro-German Treaty (*1879*), 375–376.
stro-Prussian War (*1866*), 347–349, 53, 361.
ores, Portugal and, 521.

den, 9, 202, 310, 347; joins Prussia gainst France, 357.
illy, 73, 136.
ker, Sir Samuel, 508.
laklava, battle of, 544.
lfour, Arthur James, leader of the House of Commons, 473; and Queen Victoria, 474.
lkan, peninsula, events in (*1876–1878*), 374; rise of the, states, 540–557; revolts in the, 545–552; Wars of *1912* and *1913*, 590–606; and the European War, 608–618.
llot, secret, demanded in Germany, 369.
ltic provinces, 20, 558.
luchistan, 490.
nk of France, founded, 190.
rbary States, 404–405.
rnave, 136.
rras, 148.
sel, Treaty of, 208.
shi-Bazouks, 546.
stille, 50; fall of, 76–78, 86, 96, 103, 392.
tak, atrocities in, 546.
atavian Republic. *See* Holland.
audin, 354.
Bautzen, battle of, 238.
Bavaria, electorate of, 9; Austria sends army into, 201; gains of, in South Germany, 202; becomes a kingdom, 203; and the Confederation of the Rhine, 206; Napoleon fights Austrians in, 223; and the Congress of Vienna, 249; supports Austria in *1866*, 347; joins Prussia against France, 357; representation of, in Bundesrath, 363.
Baylen, 220, 221.
Bayonne, 218.
Bazaine, shut up in Metz, 358.
Beaconsfield, Lord. *See* Disraeli.
Beauharnais, Eugène, 234.
Beauharnais, Josephine. *See* Josephine, Empress.
Beaulieu, 159.
Bebel, and Socialism, 369.
Belgium, émigrés in, 96; war in, 112, 152; Austrian possessions in, ceded to France, 165; French conquest of, 183; Code Napoléon put into force in, 190; England's jealousy of French conquest of, 199–200; Napoleon attacks the allies in, 244–247; annexed to Holland, 249–250, 252, 282; revolution of *1830* in, 269, 280, 287; declares its independence, 281–283, 522; and Congo Free State, 510; since *1830*, 523–525; neutrality of, broken by Germany, 525, 616–617; and China, 574. *See also* Austrian Netherlands.
Belgrade, 541.
Bengal, 487, 489.
Beresford, Lord, and Portugal, 519.
Berg, 204.
Berlin, war party in, 209; Napoleon issues decrees from, 210; University of, 230; Poles come to, 286; revolt in, 301; becomes the center of interest, 308, 349, 351; becomes the capital of the German Empire, 361; Congress of, 374, 426, 548–550, 555; Treaty of, 375, 548–550; representation of, in the Reichstag, 379, 381; German colonies ruled from, 505; Conference, 510; breaches of the Treaty of, 596–597.
Berlin Decrees, 210, 215–216.
Bern, 527, 529.
Bernadotte, sent to Norway, 535.
Berry, Duke of, murdered, 272, 276.
Berthier, 169, 172.
Bessarabia, Russia retains, 252.
Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor, 377, 617.
Birmingham, unrepresented, 432.

Bismarck, and the Prussian electoral system, 312; and the unification of Germany, 343–350; regards war with France as inevitable, 356; and the Hohenzollern candidacy, 356–357; and the Treaty of Frankfort, 360–361; as Chancellor, 365–366; and the Kulturkampf, 367–368; and Socialism, 368–372; and the policy of protection, 372–373; and the German colonies, 373–374; and the Triple Alliance, 374–376; presides over Congress of Berlin, 374–375, 548; William II and, 377–378; death of, 377; and democracy, 382.
Black Sea, neutralized, 545.
Blanc, Louis, 294–297, 313–316.
"Bloody Sunday," Russia, 586.
"Bloody Week," Paris, 386.
Blücher, 244–246.
Boer War, 474, 476, 497–504.
Boers and English in South Africa, 499–505, 508.
Bohemia, 257; revolution in, 301–302, 416; conquered, 302, 304; invasion of, by Prussia, 348; and Austria, 420–422.
Bombay, 488.
Bonaparte, Caroline, 204.
Bonaparte, Charles, 153.
Bonaparte, Elise, 204.
Bonaparte, Jerome, 153, 204–205; becomes King of Westphalia, 213, 228; flees from Westphalia, 239.
Bonaparte, Joseph, becomes King of Naples, 203, 218; abdicates and becomes King of Spain, 218, 228, 262, 519; flees, 221.
Bonaparte, Louis, becomes King of Holland, 204; refuses to enforce the Continental Blockade, 217; forced to abdicate, 217, 228; his son, 318.
Bonaparte, Lucien, 174, 176–177, 204.
Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, 317–320, 446. *See also* Napoleon III.
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon.
Bonaparte, Pauline, 204.
Bonapartists, 290, 387–388.
Bordeaux, Duke of, 276, 278, 290; seat of government at, 359, 384.
Borneo, 523.
Borodino, battle of, 235, 236.
Boroughs, representation of, in Great Britain, 431–432, 436–441, 452, 465.
Bosnia, Austria occupies, 375, 426, 548; Austria-Hungary annexes, 595–596, 600, 609; Servia covets, 597; Archduke assassinated in, 609.
Botany Bay, 494.
Botha, Louis, 504.
Boulanger, General, 394–396.
Boulé (Greece), 554–555.
Boulogne, 200, 201, 318.
Bourbon (Island), now Réunion, 404.
Bourbons, banner of the, 78, 242, 388; House of, in France, 81, 112; overthrow of, in France, 110, 218; monarchical party desires restoration of, 146, 188; centralization of government under, 129, 182; England and the, 168; Napoleon and the, 184–185, 187, 189; House of, ceases to rule in Naples, 203, 218; House of, in Spain, 218–219, 516; restored in France, 241–242, 270–271; and the law against sacrilege, 273; final overthrow of, in France, 278, 280.
Bourgeoisie, in France, under Old Régime, 46–47; Louis Philippe and, 278, 289–294.
Bourrienne, 169, 176.
"Boxer" insurrections, 579.
Braga, Dr. Theophile, President of Portugal, 521.
Braganza, House of. *See* Portugal.
Brandenburg. *See* Prussia.
Brazil, 217, 519–520.
Bremen, 217, 228, 365; merchants from, establish trading stations in Africa, 373.
Brézé, de, 74.
Brienne, 153.
Bright, John, and the Anti-Corn Law League, 447; and the Reform Bill of *1867*, 451.
British Columbia, 492.
British Constitution, the theory of the, 436–437.
British Empire, 487–506. *See also* England.
British Isles. *See* England.
British North America, 491–493; Act, 492.
Broglie, Duke of, ministry of, 391.
Brougham, Lord, and the first Reform Bill, 436, 439.
Brumaire, 137; the 18th and 19th of, 174–177, 204, 319.
Brunswick, Duke of, issues manifesto, 113–114, 116, 240; Duke of, leads forces against France, 117; revolution in, 287.
Brussels, riot in, 281; and the International African Association, 509–510.
Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, censored in Russia, 570.

narest, Treaty of, 605–606, 608.
apest, 303, 419, 421.
get, in England, 26; of *1909*, rected by the House of Lords, 478–80; passed by the Lords, 480.
garia, the Turks and, 546; and the reaty of San Stefano, 547; and the reaty of Berlin, 548–550; after *1878*, 50–552; and Macedonia, 547–548, 52, 604–605; declares her independnce, 595–596, 600; Christians from Macedonia flee to, 599; and the Balkan Var of *1912*, 602–605; and Servia, 04–606; attacks Greece and Servia, 05–606; Roumania and Turkey join war against, 605–606; and the Treaty f Bucharest, 605–606.
low, Prince von, Chancellor, 377, 79–380, 382, 608.
ndesrath, 349, 363–364; Chancellor ot responsible to, 365.
rke, Edmund, and the Partition of Poland, 283; and the French Revolution, 428; and the House of Commons, 437.
rma, 490, 572.
te, voters in, 430.
zot, 110.
ron, Lord, and Greece, 542.

binet Government, development of, in England, 3–7.
Cadets," Russia, 587.
doudal, Georges, 191.
ien, 127.
thiers, 69–70, 89.
iro, French march to, 170, 172.
lendar, Julian, introduced into Russia, 22; republican, in France, 137–138; European, adopted in Japan, 576.
lonne, 67–68.
mbacérès, 180.
mbodia, Kingdom of, 405.
mbridge, University of, 432–433, 460; voters in, 443.
mpbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, premier, 476.
mpo Formio, Peace of, 165, 168, 183, 199, 202, 205.
nada, acquired by England, 2, 4, 488, 491–492; Dominion of, 492–493, 505; and the South African War, 493; and the European War, 493, 506.
nadian Pacific Railway, 493.
nnes, 242, 244.
nning, and the Holy Alliance, 435; and the House of Commons, 437.
Canton, trading port, 573; opened to British trade, 574.
Cantons, in Switzerland, 527.
Cape Colony, 252, 499.
Cape of Good Hope, 462, 488.
Cape Town, 504.
Caprera, Garibaldi and, 336, 338.
Caprivi (Chancellor) *1890–94*, 377.
Carbonari, 265; in Paris, 276; Mazzini joins the, 325; in Italy, 326, 333.
Carinthia, 224.
Carlos I (Portugal), 521.
Carlotta, Empress of Mexico, 353.
Carlsbad Decrees, 262, 287.
Carlstad, Treaty of, 538.
Carlyle, and Queen Victoria, 443–444; and the Reform Bill of *1867*, 452.
"Carmen Sylva," 545–546.
Carniola, 224, 422.
Carnot, 132.
Carnot, Sadi, chosen president, 394; assassinated, 395.
Caroline Islands, 374.
Carrier, 134, 137.
Casimir-Périer, 395.
Cassel, invaded, 347.
Castelar, 518.
Castelfidardo, 338.
Castel Gondolfo, 410.
Catherine II (Russia), 24–25, 27, 29, 283.
Catholic Church (Greek), 18, 558, 599.
Catholic Church (Roman), position of the clergy of, under the Old Régime, 38–39, 41–43; under Louis XVI, 50, 70; Voltaire and, 50, 55; clergy of, in the States General, 72–73; attitude of clergy of, toward the National Assembly, 74; clergy of, renounce privileges, 78; Constituent Assembly and, 93–94; Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 95–96; and state separated, 149; the Bourbons and, 187; Bonaparte and, 187–189, 224, 232; position of, in Germany altered by Bonaparte, 206–208; clergy of, in Spain against Napoleon, 220; and the Bourbon restoration, 242, 271; and Belgium, 281; in Poland, 285; and the Kulturkampf, 366–368; and the Third French Republic, 391, 400–403; and the Kingdom of Italy, 409–410; position of, in Great Britain, 432, 435; in Ireland, 455–456; schools of, in England, 460; in Lower Canada, 491; Spain and, 519; separation of, and State in Portugal, 521; in Belgium, 525.
Catholic Emancipation Act (*1829*), 435, 456.

Cavaignac, Republican leader, 279; and the June Days, 316; candidate for the presidency, 318.
Cavite, battle of, 519.
Cavour, Count, 329–334; Garibaldi and, 335, 338; and Rome, 339; death of, 339; Lord Palmerston and, 339; and liberty, 340, 341; and Bismarck, 343; favors "free Church in a free State," 410.
Cawnpore, 490.
Celebes, 523.
Center, party in Germany, 367–368.
Central America, 515, 519, 593.
Ceylon, 183, 252, 488.
Chamber of Deputies (France), 270, 272; conflict between Charles X and, 274; calls Louis Philippe to the throne, 278, 290; Paris returns Republicans to, 385; under the Third French Republic, 390–391; under the Kingdom of Italy, 409.
Chamber of Deputies (Prussia), 380.
Chamber of Peers (France), 270.
Chamberlain, Joseph, Colonial Secretary, 473; urges tariff reform, 475; and South Africa, 502.
Chambord, Count of, 387–389.
Chancellor (German), powers of, 363, 365.
Charles, Archduke of Austria, 160–162, 223–224.
Charles I (Austria), 426.
Charles I (Roumania), 545–546, 553.
Charles IV (Spain), 218.
Charles X (France), reign of, 273–276; flees to England, 276; goes to Austria, 278; the Legitimists defend the rights of, 290. *See also* Artois, Count of.
Charles Albert (Piedmont) defeated at Custozza, 302, 305; abdicates, 306; Constitutional Statute granted by, 311, 329.
Charles Felix (Piedmont), 267.
Charter of *1814* (French), 241–242.
Charter (*1826*), Portugal, 520–521.
Chartist agitation, 445–446.
Chataldja, 603.
Châteaux, war upon the, 78, 96.
Chatham, Earl of. *See* Pitt.
Chaumette, 137.
Child labor, German Socialists demand prohibition of, 369; England and, 441–442, 448–449, 471.
China, France takes Tonkin from, 406; commerce with, 462; Russia and, 572; Europe and, 573–574; and Japan, 577–580, 582–583; and Germany, 578–579;
China, *continued*
reform in, 583; proclaimed a Republi 583; and the First Peace Conferen at the Hague, 591.
Chino-Japanese War and its cons quences, 577–580.
Christian (King of Norway), 535.
Christiania, 535, 538.
Christina, Spanish Regent, 515–516.
Church. *See* Catholic Church (Greel *and* Catholic Church (Roman).
Church of England. *See* Anglica Church.
Cintra, 221.
Cisalpine Republic, 165; becomes Kin dom of Italy (*1805*), 196. *See* Ital
Civil Code, 189–190.
Civil Constitution of the Clergy. *S* Constitution.
Civil Service (England), 460.
Clement XIV (Pope) and the Jesuit 16.
Clergy. *See* Catholic Church (Roman
Clericalism, Gambetta and, 391, 40 Combes and, 401.
Clericals (France), 392; and Boulange 395; and Dreyfus, 399.
Cobbett, William, 434.
Cobden, Richard, and the Anti-Cor Law League, 447.
Coburg, Leopold of, 282.
Cochin-China, France and, 405.
Code Napoléon, 189–190.
Coercion, policy of (Ireland), 459, 467 468, 470.
"Colonial preference," Chamberlai urges, 475.
Colonial Society (German), 373.
Colonies, German, 373–374, 378, 505 French, 393, 403–408, 505; Italian 412; English, 461–462, 473, 487–506 574; Spanish, 519; Portuguese, 521 Dutch, 523; Danish, 534; Japanese 577.
Combes, and Clericalism, 401.
Committee of General Security, created 124, 129; work of, 130, 145.
Committee of Public Safety, created 124, 129; work of, 129–134, 137, 139 140, 145.
Commons, House of (*1815*), 429–432 Tory loss in, 436; reform of, 436–441 demand for further reform of, 444 446, 451–452; Liberals gain majority in, 453; Gladstone enters, 454; Irish representation in, 456, 467; Home Rulers hold the balance of power in

mons, *continued*
7, 472, 480; Lord Salisbury gains mense majority in, 473; budget of, 09, passed, 479–480; and the Parliament Bill, 481–482; Irish, 483; Dominion, 492.
mune (Paris). *See* Paris.
promise of *1867*, 419–420, 421, 423; rancis Kossuth opposes, 425.
nclusion" of March, *1803*, 206.
ordat, *1802*, 187–189, 242; abrogated, 402.
dé, Prince of. *See* Enghien, Duke d'.
dorcet, 136.
federation of the Rhine (*1806*), formation of, 206–207, 213, 228; members , desert Napoleon, 239; disappears, 59.
go Free State, 509–510, 525.
ngress, of Vienna, 241–242, 244, 249–57, 264, 266, 280–281, 284, 335, 522, 59; of Troppau, 267; of Laibach, 67; of Verona, 267–268; of Paris (*1856*), 322, 332, 545; of Berlin, 374, 26, 548–550, 555.
ngresses, The, 249–269.
nservatives (England), 451, 453, 477–80; Gladstone and, 454; control under Lord Salisbury, 466, 470; defeat of, 475–476. *See also* Tories.
nservatory of Arts and Crafts, 150.
nstantine, Crown Prince, later King of Greece, enters Salonica, 602.
nstantinople, seat of Orthodox Greek Church, 18; Russia covets, 25, 234, 545; Napoleon's ambitions for, 172; Russians march toward, 543, 547; revolution in, 598; Turkey retains (*1913*), 603.
onstituent Assembly, composition and character, 74, 86, 101; comes to Paris, 84; and the making of the Constitution, 86–98, 129, 231; and the German princes, 105; and the codification of the laws, 189; of *1848*, 317–318. *See* National Assembly.
nstitution, demand for, in France, 69, 70; making of the, 86–98; of *1791*, 89–93, 116, 127, 147, 263; Civil, of the Clergy, 95–96, 102; of *1793*, 127–128, 146; of *1795* (Year III), 146–147, 152; of the Year VIII (*1799*), 180–181; of *1812* (Spain), 263, 266, 267; in Prussia, 301–302, 311; granted in Sardinia, 311; of the Second Republic (France), 313, 315–317; Louis Napoleon and the, 319–320; of the new German Empire, 363–366, 379–380; of the Third Republic (France, *1875*), 388–391; Boulanger demands revision of, 395; of Italy, 409; Spanish (*1876*), 518; of *1848* (Holland), 523; of *1848*, Switzerland, 529; granted to Denmark, 533; of Eidsvold, 534–537; of *1876* (Turkey), 556; granted to Poland, 559; Nicholas II abrogates the Finnish, 570; granted to Japan, 577; promised in China, 583.
Constitution, *continued*
Constitutional Charter, France, 241–242, 270–272; Charles X disregards, 276; modified, 278, 291.
Constitutional Democrats (Russia), 587.
Constitutional Statute (Piedmont), 311.
Consulate, 179–192; the Empire and, 321.
Consuls, 177, 179–180. *See also* Consulate.
Continental System, 212, 215–217, 228–229, 232–234, 519.
Convention, called in France, 116; work of, 120–150, 152, 186, 189, 215, 231, 289; becomes prisoner of the Commune, 126; Bonaparte defends the, 148–149, 156; Convention, Philadelphia (Federal). *See* Philadelphia Convention.
Cook, Captain, voyages of, 494.
Corday, Charlotte, 136.
Cordelier Club, 105–107.
Corn Law of *1815*, 433.
Corn Laws, abolished, 446–448, 457.
Cornwall, representation of, in Parliament, 430.
Corsica, Bonaparte and, 153, 154–155, 156, 173, 241.
Cortes (Spain), 268, 516, 518.
Corvée, 66.
Council of Elders, 147–148, 174–177.
Council of State (France), 181, 190.
Council of States (Switzerland), 529.
Council of the Empire (Russia), 587–588.
Council of the Five Hundred, 147–148, 174–177.
Counter-revolutionaries, 81, 96, 109.
Coup d'état, of *1799*, 174–175, 177, 180; of *1851*, 319–320, 322, 354.
Courland, 20, 558.
Court of Cassation, and the Dreyfus case, 399.
Couthon, 145.
Cracow, 252.
Crete, Greece and, 555, 595–596, 603.
Crimea, 25; war in the, 322, 332, 543–545.

Crispi, Francesco, 412.
Croatia, 303, 420, 423.
Croatians, in Hungary, 303, 423–425.
Croker, and the second Reform Bill, 438.
Cromarty, voters in, 430.
Cromer, Lord, 512.
Cromwell, and Ireland, 455.
Cuba, Spain and, 515, 518–519.
Curaçao, 523.
Curia Romana, 410.
Cushing, Caleb, and China, 574.
Customary laws, 37.
Custozza, 302, 305, 329, 348.
Cyprus, England and, 548; Turkey and, 595.
Czechs, in Bohemia, 301–302, 420–422.

Dahomey, 205.
Dalmatia, handed over to Austria, 165; ceded to Napoleon, 202.
Danton, as a monarchist, 98; as a leader, 107; becomes head of the provisional executive council, 116; on the importance of Paris, 121; and the Girondists, 121–122; as peacemaker, 126; dropped from Committee of Public Safety, 129; and the Revolutionary Tribunal, 130; and Robespierre, 139–141, 145; advocates moderation, 140; fall of, 141; on education, 150.
Dantonists, 139.
Danubian principalities, 233.
David, 142.
Davout, 210.
Deák, Francis, 298–299, 417–418, 425.
December 2, *1851*, 319–320, 354.
Dego, 158.
Delarey, 504.
Delbrück, Professor, on the German Parliament, 382.
Delcassé, Théophile, 406–407.
Delegations (Austria-Hungary), 419.
Delhi, seized, 490.
Denmark, and the Continental System, 217; and the Congress of Vienna, 249, 253; war between Prussia and Austria and, 345–346, 353; and Africa, 507; since *1814*, 533–534; cedes Norway to Sweden, 533.
Departments of France, 92; Girondists and the, 121, 127; civil war in, 127, 149; representatives on mission sent to, 130; government of, under the Consulate, 181; martial law proclaimed in, 320.
Depretis, 412.
Derby, Lord, ministry of, 451–452.
Desaix, 169, 182.
Deshima, 575.
Desmoulins, Camille, 139.
Devil's Island, Dreyfus deported to, 39[illegible] 398.
Dey of Algeria, 404.
Diderot, 24, 52.
Diet, German (Imperial), 9, 105; of th German Confederation, 259–260, 311 Hungarian, 299–300, 303, 416; Swiss 527–529; Swedish, 535. *See als* Bundesrath.
Directory, composition of, 147; wor of, 149, 152–177, 186, 189, 215; aboli tion of, 177; and Switzerland, 527.
Disestablishment of the Anglican Churc in Ireland, 457; in Wales, 485.
Disraeli, and the Reform Bill of *1867* 451–452; ministry, 461–463, 500; an the Congress of Berlin, 548.
Disruption of the Ottoman Empire an the Rise of the Balkan States, 540 557.
Dissenters, in England, 432–433, 475.
Dodecanese, Italy seizes the, 601.
Don Carlos (Spain) claims throne, 515 517.
Draga, Queen, murdered, 553.
Dresden, battle of, 238, 250; King o Saxony retains, 252, Prussia occupies 347.
Dreyfus Case, 396–400, 402.
Dual Alliance, 375, 395–396, 612, 614.
Dual Control, 511–512.
Dual Monarchy. *See* Austria-Hungary.
Dublin, Irish Parliament at, abolished 456, 466; bill to provide Irish Parlia ment at, 468.
Ducos, becomes Consul, 177.
Duma (Russia), 587–589.
Dumouriez, 124.
Dunwich, 431.
Dupont, General, 220, 221.
Durham, and reform, 436; mission to Canada, 491–492.

East Africa, Italy and, 412. *See also* German East Africa.
East India Company, 488, 490.
East Indies, Dutch colonies in, 523.
East Prussia, 380.
Eastern Question, 25; reopening of, 463, 546; defined, 540; Russia and, 543–545; Europe and the, 547–550; new phase of, 555, 595; the European War and the, 613.

rn Roumelia, 548, 551.
of Emancipation (Russia), 561–563.
ourgh, 278.
ation, in Russia, 22; the Convention
rance) and, 150; system of national
rance) reorganized, 190; free and
mpulsory demanded in Germany, 369;
tional system of, created in France,
3; State to control, in France, 401;
oblem of, in Italy, 411; in England
glected, 433; the factory system and,
2; Forster Act of *1870* (England),
9–460; made free in England, 471;
t of *1902* (England), 475, 477; in
rtugal, 521; in Belgium, 524–525;
Switzerland, 528, 531; in Denmark,
4; in Bulgaria, 552; in Greece, 555;
Japan, 576; in China, 583.
ard VII (England), accession of, 474;
ath of, 480–481.
ot, Napoleon and, 168–173, 182–183,
4; French compelled to evacuate,
3; England promises to evacuate,
3; and the Entente Cordiale, 407;
ngland and, 462, 505, 507, 509, 511–
4; "a Protected State," 514; aids
urkey against Greece, 543.
svold, Constitution of, 534.
a, Napoleon sent to, 241; his return
om, 242, 243–244, 250.
ers, Council of. *See* Council of Elders.
n, Lord, 492.
abeth (Russia), and the Seven Years'
War, 24.
erson, on Napoleon, 194.
igration, German, 310, 373; Italian,
13–414; causes of, 487; to New Zea-
and, 497.
igrés, intrigues of, 103, 109, 111,
13, 122; many, guillotined, 134; laws
gainst, relaxed, 186; Louis XVIII's
olicy toward, 242; Charles X and, 273.
mperor (German), powers of, 363–366.
mpire (France), 183; early years of, 194–
14; at its height, 215–226; British,
87–506.
mpress Eugénie. *See* Eugénie, Empress.
mpress Josephine. *See* Josephine (Beau-
harnais), Empress.
ns despatch, 357.
a, Princess (Battenberg), marries Al-
fonso XIII, 519.
ghien, Duke d', 191, 218.
gland, in *18th* century, 1–7, 26; territo-
rial gains of, by Peace of Paris, 2, 4;
evolution of the parliamentary system
of government in, 2–7; colonial policy

England, *continued*
of, 3; in the Seven Years' War, 3–4, 14;
and the American Revolution, 6–7;
young Russians sent to, 20; Montes-
quieu's opinion of the government of,
53; Rousseau on the government of,
57; influence of the government of, on
French Constitution, 88, 90–91; at war
with France, 124, 149, 152, 168, 171,
173, 182–183; Napoleon and, 168–173,
182–183, 191, 199–200, 210, 213, 215–
218, 221, 228–229, 232; makes Peace of
Amiens with France, 183, 192, 199;
French bishops in, 187; jealous of
French expansion, 199; issues Orders
in Council, 216; and Portugal, 217, 233;
and Spain, 221, 263; and the Congress
of Vienna, 242, 250–252; and the
Waterloo Campaign, 244–247; acquisi-
tions of, by Congress of Vienna, 252;
and the Quadruple Alliance, 255; and
the Congress of Troppau, 267; and the
doctrine of intervention, 268; Charles
X flees to, 276–278; and the July Revo-
lution, 280; recognizes independence of
Belgium, 282; and the revolution in
Poland, 286; Louis Philippe and, 289,
296; Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and,
318; and the Crimean War, 322, 332,
544–545; Mazzini and, 326; Cavour
and, 329–330, 332; and the war of *1859*
in Italy, 334; Bismarck and, 343; and
Mexico, 352; and Free Trade, 372; in
Africa, 374; Germany the rival of, 378;
William II and, 381; France adopts
parliamentary system of, 390; gains
colonies from France, 403–404; fleet of,
bombards Algiers, 404; and the Entente
Cordiale, 406–408; from *1815–1868*,
428–452; Parliament of (*1815*), 429–
432; position of the Anglican Church in,
432–433; distress in, after *1815*, 433;
reforms in, 435–443; and the Chartist
Movement, 444–446; and the repeal of
the Corn Laws, 446–448; and labor
legislation, 448–449; and the Reform
Bill of *1867*, 451–452; becomes a de-
mocracy, 452; since *1868*, 453–485; and
Ireland, 454–459; educational reform in,
459–460; army, civil service and uni-
versity reform in, 460–461; Disraeli
ministry, 461–463; and Egypt, 462, 511–
514; Second Gladstone Ministry, 464–
466; and Home Rule, 466–469; the
Second Salisbury Ministry, 470–471;
Fourth Gladstone Ministry, 472; Third
Salisbury, 473–475; Old Age Pensions

England, *continued*
Act in, 476; and the budget of *1909*, 478–480; and the Parliament Act, 481–483; and the Third Home Rule Bill, 483–485; colonies of, 487–506, 507–509, 511–514; and Portugal, 519, 521; and Greece, 542–543; and Turkey, 547; demands a revision of the Treaty of San Stefano, 547–550; and the Congress of Berlin, 548–550; "occupies" Cyprus, 548; cedes the Ionian Islands to Greece, 554; and Thessaly, 555; and the insurrection of Poland (*1863*), 564; in Asia, 572; and China, 573–574, 578–579; and Japan, 580; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596–597; and the European War, 611–618; and the Triple Entente, 614–615.
Entente Allies, Italy joins, 415.
Equality, the Revolution and, 51; Rousseau and, 57; principle of, established, 80; French found new system upon, 91; spread of ideas of, 112; the Consuls and, 177; Bonaparte and civil, 184–185, 190, 196; Metternich and, 257; Constitutional Charter (*1814*) proclaims, of all Frenchmen, 270.
Erfurt Interview, 221–222.
Eritrea, 412.
Essling, battle of, 223.
Established Church (England), 432. *See also* Anglican Church.
Esterhazy, Major, and the Dreyfus case, 397.
Esthonia, 20, 558.
Eton College, Gladstone and, 453.
Eugénie, Empress, 322.
Europe, Old Régime in, 1–30; Seven Years' War in, 3, 14; émigrés eager to embroil, with France, 96, 103; Treaty of Campo Formio changes the map of, 165; Russia and, 173–174; at peace, 183; ascendancy of France in, 196; coast of, blockaded, 200; Napoleon alters diplomatic system of, 211; and the Continental Blockade, 216; effect of capitulation at Baylen upon, 220; Napoleon seeks to dazzle, 221; Napoleon preëminent in, 228; Congress of Vienna determines future organization of, 241–242, 244, 249–257; Napoleon the "disturber of the peace of," 244; Russia extends into, 252; reaction in, after *1815*, 257–269; influence of the Revolution of *1830* in, 279; Central, in revolt, 298–312; states of, recognize the Second Empire (France),
Europe, *continued*
322; Cavour the most dynamic perso
ality in, 332; changes in the politic
system of, 335; Prussia fears inte
vention of, 349; map of, altered b
Prussia, 349; and the year *1866*, 35
importance of France in, altered, 35
refuses to recognize the Treaty of Sa
Stefano, 375; Triple Alliance dominat
Central, 376, 412; and the Enten
Cordiale, 406–408; Italy desires to b
one of the great powers of, 412; expa
sion of, 487; increase of the popul
tion of, 487; Canada and, 493; Afric
appropriated by, 509; and the Berli
Conference, 510; the Turkish Empi
in, 540–557; Western, aids Greece, 542
543; Turkey admitted to the family o
545; public opinion of, aroused again
Turkey, 547; and the Treaty of Sa
Stefano, 547; and the revolution i
Turkey, 555–556; and Asia, 572; an
China, 573–574, 583; and Japan, 577
582; an armed continent, 590; end o
the Turkish Empire in, 594, 603; power
of, and Turkey, 595–597; reaction o
the Balkan Wars upon, 606–618.
European War (*1914*), 426, 608–618; Ire
land and, 485; Canada and, 493; an
Imperial Federation, 506; German
and, 525.
Eylau, battle of, 211.

"F's, three," 464.
Factory Act (*1833*), 442.
Factory system, in England, 433, 441
Faidherbe, Governor of Senegal, 405.
Falk Laws, 367–368.
Far East, The, 572–583.
Faroe Islands, 534.
Fashoda incident, 407–408.
Faure, Félix, 395.
Favre, Jules, and the Third Republic, 358
February Revolution (France), 317.
Federal Act (German Confederation)
260.
Federal Convention (U. S.). *See* Phila
delphia Convention.
Federal Council (Germany). *See* Bun
desrath.
Federal Council (Switzerland), 529.
Federal Tribunal (Switzerland), 529.
Ferdinand I (Austria), policy of, 258–
259; forced to abdicate, 304.
Ferdinand (Saxe-Coburg) and Bulgaria
551–552; becomes Czar of Bulgaria
552, 596.

nand (later Ferdinand VII) of Spain, 1–219, 262–263, 268; restored, 515.
nand (Naples) and Austria, 264–; grants constitution, 266.
, Jules, and the Third Republic, 8, 392–394, 405.
alism, in Prussia, 10; in France, 37, 41, 47–48, 68, 70; abolished in nce, 78, 80, 185, 233; in Alsace, 5; Napoleon and, 184; in Spain, 222; Russia, 233; in Austria, 258; abol- ed in Hungary, 300.
len, and child labor, 442.
voters in, 430.
eras, 518.
and, Alexander I and, 211, 217, 233, 2, 534; and Sweden, 558; Nicholas and, 570.
t Consul. *See* Napoleon.
Hundred, Council of the. *See* ouncil.
ence, revolution in, 305–306; capital Italy, 409.
rida, 4.
ntainebleau, 241.
rmosa, Island of, ceded to Japan, 577, 82.
ster Education Act (*1870*), 459, 475.
quier-Tinville, 145.
urteenth of July. *See* July 14, *1789*.
x, and the American Revolution, 6; nd the House of Commons, 437; olonial policy of, 492.
nce, the Old Régime in, 1, 31–58; and he Seven Years' War, 4, 14–15, 488; and the American Revolution, 6–7; and the Jesuits, 16; aids Prussia against Austria, 29; effect of the Revolution in the life of, 31; beginnings of the Revolution, 60–84; and the making of the Constitution, 86–98; government of, under the Constitution of *1791*, 89–93; Civil Constitution of the Clergy of, 95–96; Legislative Assembly of, 101–119; and the émigrés, 103, 109; declares war against Francis II of Austria, 110–112; becomes a democracy, 116, 147; Paris becomes dominant in the affairs of, 116–117; under the Convention, 120–150; republic established in, 120; civil war in, 124, 127; dechristianization of, 137–139; under the Directory, 152–177; and Corsica, 153; Savoy and Nice ceded to, 158; and the Treaty of Campo Formio, 165, 183; threatened with invasion, 172; under the Consulate, 179–192; and the Peace of Amiens, 183, 192, 199; Concordat determines relations of church and state in, 187–189; Code Napoléon, 189–190; Bank of, founded, 190; early years of the empire in, 194–214; becomes chief Adriatic power, 202; influence of, in South Germany, 208; the Empire at its height in, 215–226; annexes Holland and northern coasts of Germany, 217, 228; and the Papal States, 217, 228, 232; and Spain, 217–222; alliance of, and Russia renewed, 221, 223; and Austria, 223–226; gains of, by Peace of Vienna, 224; the decline and fall of Napoleon, 228–247; rupture of the Franco-Russian Alliance, 233–234; peace offered to, on the basis of the natural boundaries, 239–240; allies invade, 240; Louis XVIII proclaimed King of, 241; and the Congress of Vienna, 241–242, 249–255; policy of Louis XVIII in, 241–242; Napoleon returns to, 242–244; the "Hundred Days," 244; and the Belgium campaign, 244–247; and the Congress of Troppau, 267; sends army into Spain, 268; revolution of *1830* in, 269, 287; under the Restoration, 270–279; Revolutions beyond, 280–288; recognizes independence of Belgium, 282; and the revolution in Poland, 286; the reign of Louis Philippe, 289–297; the Second Republic in, 297, 313–320; Provisional Government in, 297, 313–316; Second Empire in, 313, 320–324; Mazzini in, 326; and the Crimean War, 332, 544–545; and the interview at Plombières, 332; and the war of *1859*, 333; Savoy and Nice ceded to, 335; Bismarck ambassador to, 344; Prussia and, 345, 349, 355–361; and the year *1866*, 351; the Second Empire and the Franco-Prussian War, 351–361; and Mexico, 352–354; and the Treaty of Frankfort, 360, 374; and the policy of protection, 372; isolation of, after the Treaty of Frankfort, 374; and the Austro-German Treaty of *1879*, 375–376; and the Dual Alliance, 376, 395–396; under the Third Republic, 384–408; and the Commune, 384–386; Versailles declared the capital of, 385; and the government of Thiers, 386–388; army reform in, 387; Septennate established in, 389; and the Constitution of *1875*,

France, *continued*

France, *continued*
390–391; and the Catholic Church, 391, 400–403; national system of education established in, 393; colonial policy of, 393, 600; General Boulanger and, 394–395; and the Dreyfus case, 396–400; Separation of Church and State in, 403; acquisition of colonies by, 403–408; and the Entente Cordiale, 406–408; and Italy, 407, 412; and Africa, 507–509; and Egypt, 511–512; aids Greece, 542–543; and the insurrection of Poland (*1863*), 564; Russia borrows money from, 568; in Asia, 572; and China, 574, 578–579; and Japan, 578; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596–597; and the European War, 608–618; and the Triple Entente, 614–615.
Francis I (Austria). *See* Francis II.
Francis II (Holy Roman Empire), France declares war against, 110–112; retires from Vienna, 202; becomes Francis I (Austria), 207–208; daughter of, marries Napoleon, 226; policy of, 258–259.
Francis II (Naples), revolt against, 335, 336; flees to Gaeta, 338.
Francis Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, assassinated, 609–610.
Francis Joseph I (*1848–1916*), accession of, 304; and Hungary, 305, 416–418, 425–426; grants constitution, 416–417; and the Compromise of *1867*, 419–420; and Bohemia, 420–422; death of, 426; annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina, 595–596.
Franco-Prussian War (*1870*), 350, 357–361, 516; completes unification of Germany, 363; isolation of France after, 374, 395.
Frankfort, Diet of, 259–260, 311; Assembly meets at, 301; Parliament of, 306–310; work of Parliament of, rejected, 341; Bismarck appointed Prussian delegate to the Diet in, 344; Prussia incorporates the free city of, 349; the Bundesrath and the Diet of, 364; Treaty of, 360, 374, 384.
Frederick II (the Great), 11–17, 28, 29, 209; and the Pragmatic Sanction, 29; Napoleon visits tomb of, 210.
Frederick III (German Emperor), 366, 376.
Frederick VII (Denmark), 533.
Frederick VIII (Denmark), 534.
Frederick William I (Prussia), 11–12, 283.
Frederick William II, 17.
Frederick William III, policy of, 208–210; enters Paris, 240; persecutes the Liberals, 262.
Frederick William IV, rejects the work of the Frankfort Parliament, 308.
Free Trade, 37, 65, 281; Germany abandons, 372; England and, 372, 446–448, 475.
French Congo, founded, 393, 405, 408.
French Revolution, importance of, 1, 38; England and, 7, 404, 428; a transition from feudalism to democracy, 31; beginnings of the, 60–84; Paris celebrates the end of, 101; political clubs and, 108; and the war in Europe, 110, 112; and the September Massacres, 117–118; and the Convention, 120–150; Louis XVI and, 122–124; and the Constitution of *1793*, 127–128; Robespierre and, 142; and the insurrection of 13 Vendémiaire, 148–149; Napoleon and, 155–156; 183–185, 196, 244; and the treaty of Campo Formio, 165; Roman Catholic bishops and the laws of the, 187–188; and legislation, 189–196; Stein imitates the reforms of the, 231; Congress of Vienna and, 254; Metternich and, 256–257; Italy and, 264; the restored Bourbons and, 270–272, 274; of *1830*, 276–279, 280; Belgium and, 281–283; Poland and, 284; of *1848*, 296, 298, 445; widespread influence of, 428, 541.
French Soudan, 406.
Friedland, battle of, 211.
Fundamental Law of *1815* (Holland), 522.

Gabelle, 39–40.
Gaeta, 338.
Gag Laws, 434.
Galicia, 224, 422.
Gambetta, Léon, emergence of, 354–355; proclaims the Republic, 358; escapes from Paris, 359; wishes to continue the war, 384; and Clericalism, 391, 401; president of the Chamber of Deputies, 392; death of, 394; Waldeck-Rousseau and, 400.
Gapon, Father, 586.
Garibaldi, Anita, 336.
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, joins "Young Italy," 327; and the making of the Kingdom of Italy, 335–338.
Gatton, 431.

ca, 172.
neral Security. *See* Committee of General Security.
eneralities," 36.
neva Commission, 461.
noa, in *1789*, 1, 8, 26; and Corsica, 53; becomes the Ligurian Republic, 162; and Napoleon, 166, Masséna driven into, 182; given to the King of Piedmont, 249, 253, 264; Mazzini born in, 325; Garibaldi and, 337.
orge, Lloyd, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the budget of *1909*, 478.
orge I (England), 2–3.
orge I (Greece), 554–555.
orge II (England), 2–4.
orge III (England), reign of, 4–7; death of, 435; and New South Wales, 494.
orge IV (England), accession of, 435; death of, 436.
orge V (England), accession of, 481; and the Parliament Bill, 482.
erman Confederation, established, 259–262, 307–308; revived, 311; restored, 341; Holstein a member of the, 346; ceases to exist, 349. *See also* Germany.
erman East Africa, 374.
erman Empire. *See* Holy Roman Empire.
erman National Assembly, 301.
erman Southwest Africa, 374.
ermans, the dominant race in Austria, 257, 302, 420–423.
ermany, in *1789*, 9–10; Frederick II and, 11–17; influence of, in Russia, 21–22; émigrés in, 96, 103; states of, at war with France, 105, 124, 152; France in possession of provinces west of the Rhine, 149, 199, 205; campaign through southern, 153; congress of states of, 165; French driven out of, 174; French defeat Austrians in, 183; French bishops in, 187; Code Napoléon put into force in states of, 190; Napoleon seizes Hanover, 200; Napoleon sends Grand Army across, 201; Bavaria and Baden gain possessions in South, 202; transformation of, by Napoleon, 205–208, 211, 213; northern coasts of, annexed to France, 217, 228; kings and princes of, summoned to Erfurt, 221; troops from, sent to aid Napoleon, 224; and the Continental System, 234; Napoleon battles for supremacy in, 237–239; Prussia to have compensation in northern, 238; Saxony and, 250; Metternich and, 255, 257; after *1815*, 259–262; and the July Revolution, 280; and the revolution in Poland, 286; revolution in, 287–288, 301–302; problem of unity in, 307–312; emigration of Liberals from, 310; unification of, 341–350; reaction in, after *1849*, 341; Prussia conquers North, 347–348; states of South, 349; Confederation of North, 349–350; war with France necessary for the unification of, 356; states of South, aid Prussia, 357; Napoleon III a prisoner in, 358; and the Treaty of Frankfort, 360, 384; completion of unification of, 360–361; the Bundesrath and, 364; the parliamentary system does not exist in, 366; and the Kulturkampf, 366–368; the Center party in, 367; and Socialism, 368–372; Bismarck adopts policy of protection in, 372–373; acquires colonies, 373–374; and the Triple Alliance, 374–376, 395, 412, 414; makes treaty with Austria, 375–376; the reign of William II, 376–382; expansion of industry in, 378; the Social Democrats in, 378–380; Prussia rules, 379–380; demand for parliamentary reform in, 380–381; and Great Britain, 381; France pays indemnity to, 387; France feels the rivalry of, 393; and the Dreyfus Case, 396; and the Entente Cordiale, 407–408; loss of Austrian influence in, 416, 418; principle of nationality effective in, 420; and Africa, 509; violates Belgian neutrality, 525, 616; aids Greece, 542; and Japan, 578–579; and China, 578–579; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596–597; and the European War, 608–618.
Giolitti, and Austria, 608.
Gironde, 110.
Girondists, personnel, 110–111; desire war, 111; and the Jacobins, 110, 111, 118, 120–126; and the trial of Louis XVI, 123; leaders of, expelled from the Convention, 126, 129, 133, 137; call the departments to arms, 127; Lyons and, 133; twenty-one, guillotined, 134; offices open to, 186.
Gladstone, and reform of the House of Commons, 451; and the Great Ministry, 453–461; early life, 453–454; and Ireland, 454–459; and education, 459–460; other reforms of, 460–461; second

Gladstone, *continued*
ministry of, 463–466; third ministry, 467–470; fourth ministry, 472; resigns, 472–473; and the House of Lords, 472, 480; and the Transvaal, 500–501; and the Soudan, 513; denounces "the unspeakable Turk," 546–547.
Godoy, 218.
Goethe, 222, 261.
Gordon, General, 513–514.
Görgei, 305.
Gortchakoff (Russian Chancellor) and the Congress of Berlin, 375.
Gotha, Socialist platform adopted at, 369.
"Governments," France, 35–36.
Gramont, and the Hohenzollern candidacy, 356–357.
Grattan, 467.
Great Commoner. *See* Pitt.
Great Elector (Prussia), 11.
Great Khan, 18.
Great Saint Bernard pass, 182, 201.
"Great Terror," 137, 145.
Great Trek, 499.
Greece, and the war of independence, 541–543; foreign intervention in, 542–543; becomes a kingdom, 543, 545, 554; after *1833*, 554–555; acquires the Ionian Islands and Thessaly, 554–555; declares war against Turkey, 555; and the Young Turks, 599; and the Balkan War of *1912*, 602–605; Bulgaria attacks, 605; and the Treaty of Bucharest, 605–606.
Greenland, 534.
Green's *History of England*, censored in Russia, 570.
Grenoble, 243.
Grévy, Jules, chosen President, 392; resigns, 394.
Grey, Earl, becomes prime minister, 436; ministry of, defeated, 437; ministry of, resigns, 439; recalled, 439.
Grey, Sir Edward, and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 597.
Guadaloupe, 404.
Guam, 374.
Guastalla, 204.
Guiana, South America, 404, 488; Dutch, 523.
Guilds, in France, 47; abolished, 65–66, 80, 185.
Guinea, 405.
Guizot, Ministry of (*1840–1848*), 292–296.
Gustavus V (Sweden), 538.
Haakon VII (Norway), 538.
Habeas Corpus, 50; suspended, 434.
Hague, First Peace Conference at, 591–593; Second, 593–594.
Hague International Arbitration Tribunal, 538, 592; Servia and, 611.
Hallam, Arthur, 453–454.
Ham, 318.
Hamburg, 217, 228, 365; merchants of found trading stations in Africa, 373.
Hanover, House of, 2; Napoleon seizes, 200; supports Austria in *1866*, 347; Prussia invades, 347; King of, taken prisoner, 348; Kingdom of, incorporated in Prussia, 349.
Hapsburg, House of. *See* Austria.
Harbin, 579.
Hardenburg, 230.
Hébert, and the *Père Duchesne*, 137; guillotined, 140.
Hébertists, 139; and the Committee of Public Safety, 140.
Helgoland, 252, 488.
Henry, Colonel, 397.
"Henry V" (France), 388.
Herzegovina, Austria occupies, 375, 426, 548; insurrection in, 546; Austria-Hungary annexes, 595–596, 600; Servia covets, 597.
Hesse-Cassel, revolution in, 287; supports Austria in *1866*, 347; Elector of, taken prisoner, 348; Prussia incorporates the duchy of, 349.
Hesse-Darmstadt, supports Austria in *1866*, 347.
Hindus, and the Sepoy Mutiny, 489–490.
Hohenlinden, battle of, 183.
Hohenlohe (Chancellor, *1894–1900*), 377.
Hohenzollern, House of. *See* Prussia.
Hohenzollern candidacy, 356–357.
Holland, in *1789*, 1; young Russians sent to, 20; at war with France, 124, 149; makes peace with France, 149, 152; loses colonies, 183; colonies of, restored, 183; Louis Bonaparte becomes king of, 203; and the Continental Blockade, 217; annexed to France, 217, 228; Belgium annexed to, 250, 252, 281; colonial losses of, 252, 488, 499; and Africa, 507; since *1830*, 522–523; and China, 574.
Holstein, Denmark and, 345–346, 533; Prussia incorporates, 349, 533.
Holy Alliance, 254–255; and Spain, 263, 268, 515; a synonym for tyranny, 267; becomes dominant force in European politics, 268–269; powerlessness of,

- Alliance, *continued*
oo; the Poles and, 287; Canning and, 5.
lly Allies," 255, 266, 268.
- Roman Empire, in *1789*, 1, 9; mes to an end, 206–207, 259. *See also* Germany.
yrood Palace, 278.
ne Rule Bill (Ireland), first, 466–469; cond, 472; third, 483–485.
ne Rule Movement, 466–470, 472–73, 483–485.
ng Kong, ceded to England, 574.
lson Bay territory, 487, 491–493.
mbert I (Italy), accession of, 410; ssassinated, 413.
undred Days," 244.
ngary, Kingdom of, 257; and the revolution of *1848*, 298–305, 416; Diet of, abolished, 416; refuses to coöperate with Austria, 417–418; and the Compromise of *1867*, 419–420, 423; the Kingdom of, since *1867*, 423–426. *See also* Austria-Hungary.
skisson, and the tariff, 435.

rahim, 542.
eland, 534.
yrian Provinces, 224, 252.
nperial Federation (British), 505–506.
mperial Germany" by von Bülow, 382.
nperial Parliament (German) and the King of Prussia, 366; and the Kulturkampf, 367–368; and Socialism, 370; and the policy of protection, 372–373.
nperialism, era of, begins, 393; England and, 461–462, 470, 473, 476.
nperialists (France) and Boulanger, 395.
ncome tax, demanded by Socialists, 369; England and, 478.
ndemnity, Act of (England), 432.
ndia, acquired by England, 2, 4, 487–490, 572; French designs on, 7; Napoleon and, 168–169, 172; Wellesley and, 221; French towns on coast of, 404; commerce with, 462; Queen of England proclaimed Empress of, 463, 490; declared an Empire, 490; government of, 490, 505.
ndo-China, French acquisitions in, 405, 572.
ndustrial Revolution, in England, 2.
nitiative (Switzerland), 530–531.
nkermann, battle of, 544.
nquisition, in Spain, 222; in Italy, 265.
nstitute, 150.
Insurance, against sickness, accident, old age and incapacity in Germany, 371.
Intendants, under the Old Régime, 36, 92, 182.
International African Association, 509.
Invalides, 247.
Ionian Islands, 252, 488; ceded to Greece, 554.
Ireland, representation of, in the English Parliament, 430; famine of *1845* in, 447–448; Gladstone and, 454–459, 464–465, 467–470, 472; and Home Rule, 466–469, 472, 483–485; Lord Salisbury and, 470–471, 473; old age pensions in, 476.
Irish Government Bill (Gladstone's), 468.
Irish Home Rulers, support the Liberals, 467, 472, 480.
Isabella II, Queen (Spain), driven out, 356, 516; reign of, 515–516; her son becomes king, 518.
Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, 462, 511–512.
Isnard, 110.
Istria, handed over to Austria, 165; ceded to Napoleon, 202; Italy covets, 414.
Italia irredenta, 414.
Italy, in *1789*, 7–8; states of, enter war against France, 124; Bonaparte and, 153, 156, 158–166, 211; French driven out of, 172, 174, 182; Bonaparte's Second Campaign in, 182; northern, abandoned to the French, 182; Code Napoléon in force in, 190; Napoleon, King of, 196, 228; England jealous of French domination in, 199; Austria eager to recover her position in, 201; Venetia ceded to the Kingdom of, 202; and the Continental Blockade, 216; Napoleon annexes part of the Papal States to the Kingdom of, 217, 228, 232; troops from, go to aid Napoleon, 224; Austria receives northern, 252; and the Congress of Vienna, 252–253; Metternich and, 257, 259, 282; after *1815*, 264–266, 267; and the July Revolution, 280; Revolution in, 287, 301–302; partially conquered, 302, 304; conquest of, completed, 305–306, 416; Constitutional Statute granted in Sardinia, 311; War of *1859* in, 322–324; making of the Kingdom of, 325–340; Austria to be driven out of, 332, 361, 418; Napoleon III and, 332–335, 338; and the war of *1859*, 333, 416; aids Prussia against Austria, 347; completes her unification, 360; joins the Austro-

Italy, *continued*
German Alliance, 375–376, 395, 412; France feels the rivalry of, 393, 405; Delcassé and, 407; Kingdom of, since *1870*, 409–415; and the Papacy, 409–410; and the problem of education, 411; dreads France, 412; colonial policy of, 412; increase of population in, 413–414; emigration from, 413–414; acquisitions of, in *1912*, 414; unredeemed, 414; denounces treaty of alliance with Austria, 414; declares war against Austria-Hungary, 415; principle of nationality in, 420; and Africa, 509; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596; at war with Turkey, 600–601; and Tripoli, 600–601; Austria informs, of her intention to attack Servia, 606–612.
Ivory Coast, 405.

Jacobin Club, 105–107, 130; Robespierre and, 106, 141; Louis Philippe and, 289.
Jacobins, and Girondists, 110, 111, 118, 120–126; desire war, 111; organize demonstration against the King, 113; and the insurrection of August 10, *1792*, 116; and the Commune, 117, 126–127; demand execution of Louis XVI, 123; become masters of the Convention, 127; Robespierre and, 141; lose power, 146; offices open to, 186; in Paris (*1871*), 386.
Jaffa, 172.
Jagow, statement of, 617.
Jamaica, 442, 487.
Jameson Raid, 502.
Janina, falls, 603.
Japan, Canada and, 493; and Russia, 569, 571, 577–582, 593; early history of, 574–577; at war with China, 577–580; gains Formosa, 577, 582; gains of, by the Treaty of Portsmouth, 582; and the First Peace Conference at the Hague, 591.
Java, 523.
Jellachich, 303.
Jemappes, 289.
Jena, battle of, 210, 211, 238; Prussia after, 230.
Jesuits, 16; expelled from Germany, 367; in Switzerland, 528–529.
Jews, under Louis XVI, 50; position of, in South Germany improved, 208; Dreyfus and the, 399; position of, in England, 432; in Roumania, 553; in Russia, 558, 567, 585, 589; emigrate to the United States, 567.
Johannesburg, 501.
John VI (Portugal), 520.
Josephine (Beauharnais), Empress, ar Napoleon, 156, 164, 201, 211; crowne 196; divorced, 224.
Jourdan, 153.
Juarez, 353.
July Monarchy, 291–297.
July Ordinances (*1830*), 274–276.
July Revolution (*1830*), 276–278; infl ence of, 280–288; of 1908 (Turkey 555–557, 594–595.
July 14, *1789*, 76–78, 81; declared national holiday, 392.
June 20, *1792*, 113, 156.
June 2, *1793*, insurrection of, 126–127, 12
June Days (June 23–26, *1848*), 316, 31
Junot, 221.
Jury, trial by, in Hungary, 299, 300.

Kalisch, Treaty of, 237–238.
Kamerun, 374, 408.
Kara George, 541.
Kent, Duke of, 443.
Khartoum, 513–514.
Kiauchau, Germany secures lease of, 578
Kiel, harbor of, 347; treaty of, 534, 536
"King of Rome," 226, 232, 318.
Kioto, university established at, 576.
Kirk Kilissé, Bulgarians defeat Turks at 602, 605.
Kitchener, Lord, and the Soudan, 474 514; and the South African War, 504
Kléber, 169, 172.
Königgrätz, battle of, 348, 351, 355.
Korea, China and Japan desire control of 577; China recognizes independence of 577; Japan sends army into, 580–581 Russia recognizes Japan's paramount interests in, 582; Japan annexes, 582.
Kosciusko, 283.
Kossuth, Francis, 425.
Kossuth, Louis, 298–305, 425.
Kotzebue, murder of, 261.
Kruger, Paul, President of the Transvaal 502–503.
Kulturkampf, 366–368.
Kumanovo, Servian victory at, 602.
Kunersdorf, battle of, 15.
Kuropatkin, General, and Port Arthur, 581.

Labor Commission, 314.
Labor Legislation (England), 442, 448–449.
Labor Party, England, 477; supports the Liberals, 480.
Ladrone Islands, 374.

yette, and the events of Oct. 5–6, 89, 82; and the Declaration of the ghts of Man, 86–87; favors Louis nilippe, 278, 290–291.
ach, Congress of, 267.
artine, 110, 293, 297; leader of the epublicans, 313–316.
d, Act of *1870* (Ireland), 459, 464, 70; Act of *1881*, 464–465, 470; Purase Bill (Gladstone), 468; Purchase ct of *1891* (Salisbury), 471; Act of *903*, 471.
desgemeinde cantons, (Switzerland), 30.
dtag (Prussian), 379.
nnes, 169.
ssalle, Ferdinand, and Socialism, 368, 70.
teran, 410.
usanne, Treaty of, 601–602.
w of Associations (France), 401–403.
w of January 2, *1907* (France), 403.
w of Papal Guarantees, 409–410.
w of 22nd Prairial, 142–145.
w of *1868* (Hungary), 425.
w School (Paris), 150.
brun, 180.
eds, unrepresented, 432.
gendre, 113.
gion of Honor, founded, 190; Dreyfus and, 399.
gislative Assembly, 101–119, 313.
gislative Body, 181, 321, 358.
gislative Chamber, larger rights granted to, 354.
gitimacy, doctrine of, 250.
gitimists (France), 290, 387.
ipsic, battle of, 238–239, 348; King of Saxony retains, 252; commemoration of battle of, 261.
eo XIII (Pope), and the Kulturkampf, 368; and the Law of Papal Guarantees, 410–411.
eoben, preliminary peace of, 162, 164.
eopold of Coburg, becomes Leopold I, King of Belgium, 282, 353; and Queen Victoria, 444; reign of, 523–524.
eopold II (Belgium), and Congo Free State, 509–510; reign of, 524–525.
eopold, of Hohenzollern, accepts Spanish crown, 356; declines crown, 516.
èse-majesté, 379.
esseps, Ferdinand de, and the Suez Canal, 511.
ettre de cachet, 32, 50–51, 54, 70, 76.
iao-tung peninsula, Japan and, 577–578, 581–582.
Liao-yang, battle of, 581.
Liberal-Unionists. *See* Unionists.
Liberals, of Germany, 260–262, 306, 345, 350; in Spain, 268, 515; in France, 272, 274; in Poland, 286; Piedmont the hope of Italian, 329; Napoleon III and, 354; in England, 451, 453, 454, 463, 469–470, 472–473, 475–485; blocked by the House of Lords, 477–480; of Holland, 523; in Russia, 560, 567, 585.
Liberty, restrictions upon, in France, 48–51, 185; Montesquieu and, 53, 56, 89; Voltaire and, 56; Rousseau and, 56; economic, demanded in France, 64; constitution must guarantee individual, 69; Louis XVI proclaimed the Restorer of French, 80; Lafayette and, 86; principles of French, 87–89; spread of ideas of, 112; Madame Roland on, 136; the year One of, 137; the Consuls promise fidelity to, 177; Napoleon and, 184–186, 244; religious, established in Germany, 208; Metternich and, 257; suppressed in Germany, 262; religious, established in Hungary, 300; Cavour and, 340, 341; religious, in Great Britain, 432–433; religious, in Spain, 516.
Library, National, 150.
Liebknecht, and Socialism, 369.
Ligurian Republic. *See* Genoa.
Lisbon, 217, 221, 519–521.
Lissa, 349.
Liverpool, 453.
Livingstone, David, 508–509.
Livonia, 20, 558.
Lobau, Island of, 224.
Lodi, 159, 160.
Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, Austria receives, 252, 257, 264; declares its independence, 302; revolution in, 416; Austria loses, 426.
Lombardy, Austria controls, 153, 159; Austria relinquishes her rights in, 165; Austria acquires, 253; Austrian policy in, 265; revolution in, 301–302; conquered, 333; ceded to Piedmont, 333, 416; illiteracy in, 411. *See also* Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.
Lombardy-Venetia. *See* Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.
Loménie de Brienne, 68.
London, 191; conference in, recognizes independence of Belgium, 282; Mazzini in, 328; *Times* and the Dreyfus case, 398; Parliament meets at, 430,

London, *continued*
456; *Standard*, 434; riots in, 438; and the Chartist agitation, 445–446; Ireland and the English Parliament in, 468–469, 483; imperial conference in, 473; and old age pensions, 476; Treaty of (*1827*), 542–543; Treaty of (*1913*), 603–604.
Lonsdale, Lord, 431.
Lords, House of (*1815*), 429, 431; defeats the second Reform Bill, 438; and the third Reform Bill, 438–439; bishops of Irish Church lose seats in, 457; House of, defeats Second Home Rule Bill, 472; Gladstone attacks House of, 472; the Liberals blocked by, 477; reject the budget of *1909*, 479; Asquith and, 479–482; passes the Parliament Bill, 482; and the Third Home Rule Bill, 485; and Welsh Disestablishment, 485.
"Lord's Veto," the Liberals and, 480.
Lorraine, Germans invade, 357; part of, ceded to Germany, 360, 369, 374, 384. *See also* Alsace-Lorraine.
Loubet, President, and Dreyfus, 398.
Louis I (Bavaria), 554.
Louis I (Portugal), 521.
Louis XIII (France), 405.
Louis XIV, 60, 474.
Louis XV, and the Seven Years' War, 7, 404; extravagance of, 60; death of, 60.
Louis XVI, government under, 32–51, 60–68; extravagance of, 34–35, 38; and Protestantism, 48–50; and the beginnings of the Revolution, 60–84; his character, 60–62; his ministers, 64–68; and the States-General, 68–73; and the National Assembly, 73–74; and the revolution in Paris, 78; proclaimed the "Restorer of French Liberty," 80; and the decrees of August 4, *1789*, 81; leaves Versailles, 84; accepts the Declaration of the Rights of Man, 87; and the Constitution of *1791*, 89–90, 98, 181; and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 95–96; and the flight to Varennes, 96–98; and the Legislative Assembly, 101–119; and the Declaration of Pillnitz, 103; his brothers, 103, 187, 191; treason of, 109, 112, 122; Jacobins and, 111–113, 116; Duke of Brunswick and, 113–114; vetoes decrees, 113, 156; seeks safety in the Assembly, 114; suspended, 116; and the Revolution; 122; tri and execution of, 123–124, 136, 27 289.
Louis XVIII, legitimate ruler of Franc 187; proclaimed King, 241; grant charter, 241–242; policy of, 241–24 flees, 244; restored, 270–272; Alexar der I and, 559.
Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 317–320. *Se also* Napoleon III.
Louis Philippe, becomes King of Franc 278; recognized by the powers, 28 and Belgium, 282; and Italy, 28 reign of, 289–297, 313; fall of, 29 298, 300; and Algiers, 404.
Louise, Queen, 209, 342.
Louvre, Museum of, 150.
Lovett, and "*The Rotten House of Com mons*," 444.
Lowe, Robert, and parliamentary reform 452.
Lübeck, 217, 228, 365.
Lucca, 204, 264.
Lucerne, 527.
Lucknow, 490.
Lulé Burgas, Bulgarians defeat Turks at 602, 605.
Lunéville, Treaty of, 183, 199, 205.
Lützen, battle of, 238.
Luxembourg Palace, 314.
Luxemburg, a neutral state, 616–617.
Lyons, 127, 133.
Lytton, Lord, Viceroy of India, 490.

Macaulay, T. B., and representation in the House of Commons, 437; and Gladstone, 454.
Macaulay, Zachary, and slavery, 441.
Macedonia, Bulgaria and, 547, 548, 552, 604–605; Greece and, 555, 602; Young Turks and, 599–600, 602; Servia and, 604.
Machiavelli, 13.
Mack, General, 201.
MacMahon, Marshal elected President, 388–389; policy of, 391–392, 401.
Madagascar, France and, 393, 406.
Madeira, Portugal and, 521.
Madeleine, 295.
Madrid, 222, 518.
Magenta, battle of, 333, 416.
Magyars, the dominant race in Hungary, 257, 302–303, 304, 420, 422–423; Francis Joseph and, 416–417; oppose demands of Czechs in Bohemia, 421; policy of, 424–426.

atta confederacy, overthrow of,
ba Hill, battle of, 500–501.
sherbes, 50.
n, 170, 183, 252, 488.
elukes, 170.
chester, unrepresented, 432; and the
ti-Corn Law League, 447.
chu dynasty overthrown, 583.
churia, invaded by the Japanese, 577;
ssian activity in, 579–580; Russians
d Japanese to evacuate, 582.
in, Daniel, and Venice, 301.
itoba, 492.
tua, siege of, 159; fall of, 160.
uel (King of Portugal), 521.
ris, 497.
at, a monarchist, 98; incites the Sep-
mber Massacres, 118; and the Jaco-
ns, 118; and the Girondists, 121; the
ommune and, 126; Charlotte Corday
nd, 136.
rchand, seizes Fashoda, 407.
rch Days, in Germany, 301, 311.
rch Laws, 300–301; abrogated, 304.
rches, the, annexed by Victor Emman-
el II, 338–339.
engo, 182, 186, 187, 191, 201; anni-
versary of, 211.
aria Christina (Spanish Regent), 518.
aria da Gloria, 520.
aria Theresa, Empress of Austria, 13,
29, 62.
arie, Minister of Commerce, 315.
arie Antoinette, Queen of France, ex-
travagance of, 34; accession of, 60; her
influence over Louis XVI, 62–64, 66,
81–84; and Turgot, 66; and the flight
to Varennes, 96–97; treason of, 98, 112;
Duke of Brunswick and, 114; im-
prisoned, 116; death of, 136, 226.
arie Louise, Archduchess of Austria,
marries Napoleon, 226; given Duchy
of Parma, 253.
aritime Province, 572.
armont, 158, 169.
arseilles, 127, 133.
arsh, the, 121.
artinique, 404.
arx, Karl, and Socialism, 369.
assacre of the boulevards, 320.
assawa, 412.
asséna, 157, 182, 185.
auritius, 441, 488.
aximilian, Archduke of Austria, and
Mexico, 352–353.
ay Laws, 367–368.
Mazzini, Joseph, and the Italian *Risorgimento*, 325–328; Cavour and, 330; Garibaldi and, 335.
Medical School (Paris), 150.
Mehemet Ali, and Egypt, 511; Turkey seeks aid from, against Greece, 542.
Melas, 182.
Melbourne, Lord, and the first Reform Bill, 436; and Queen Victoria, 444.
Melikoff, Loris, 566–567.
Metric system, established in France, 150.
Metternich, and the Congress of Vienna, 249–255; influence of, 255–257; his policy in Austria, 258–259; his policy in Germany, 259–262; and the "right of intervention," 266–269, 280; and the revolution in Germany, 287; and England, 296, 300; and the revolution of *1848*, 298; overthrow of, 300; and Bismarck, 370; and Canning, 435; and Alexander I, 560.
Metz, 96; besieged by the Germans, 358; fall of, 359; ceded to Germany, 360.
Mexico, Napoleon III and, 352–354; and the First Peace Conference at the Hague, 591.
Michelet, on the Constituent Assembly, 88.
Miguel (Dom), 520.
Milan, capital of Lombardy, 153; Bonaparte and, 159, 166; Napoleon issues Decrees from, 216; occupied, 333.
Milan, King of Servia, 553.
Militarism, 590–592.
Military School (France), 396, 399.
Mill, John Stuart, and woman suffrage, 452.
Milyoukov, Professor, 569.
Miquelon, 404.
"Mir," 559; 562.
Mirabeau, on Prussia, 11; imprisonment of, 51, 76; defies the King, 74; on the Constitution of *1791*, 93; and the royal flight, 96; a leader in the Constituent Assembly, 136; compared with Robespierre, 141.
Miramar, 353.
Mission, representatives on. *See* Representatives on mission.
Missolonghi, fall of, 542.
Modena, Duke of, and Bonaparte, 162, 165–166; Austria and, 253, 264; revolution in, 287; ruler should be restored in, 333, 334; annexed to Italy, 334.
Mohammed V (Turkey), 598.
Mohammedans, and the Sepoy Mutiny, 489.

Moldavia, practically independent, 543; independent, 545. *See* Roumania.
Moltke, General von, 347–348.
Mommsen, on Germany, 382.
Monaco, 264.
Monarchists (France) control National Assembly, 384–385; wish to abolish the Republic, 387–389; secure majority in Senate, 391; the Republicans victorious over, 392; wish to overthrow the Republic, 395, 399–400.
Monastir, Servians capture, 602.
Mondovi, 158.
Mongols, 18–19.
Monroe, James (President of the U. S.), and the Monroe Doctrine, 268–269.
Montalembert, 318.
Montcalm, defeated by Wolfe, 4.
Montebello, 164.
Montenegro, declares war against Turkey, 547; independence of, recognized, 547, 548; Servia covets, 597; and the Balkan War of *1912*, 602–605; joins war against Bulgaria, 605–606; and the Treaty of Bucharest, 605–606.
Montesquieu, influence of, 46, 52–53, 89, 129; Rousseau and, 56–57.
Montevideo, 336.
Montijo, Mlle. Eugénie de, Napoleon III marries, 322.
Montreal, 491.
Morea, 542–543.
Moreau, and the campaigns in Germany, 153, 182, 183; and Napoleon, 160.
Morley, and Irish Home Rule, 468.
Morocco, France and, 406–408; Turkey and, 507; Spain and, 519.
Mortmain, in France, 400.
Moscow, ancient capital of Russia, 18, 19, 22; Napoleon's march to, 235–236; his retreat from, 236, 560; students sent from University of, 570.
Mt. Tabor, 172.
Mountain, the, 121. *See also* Jacobins.
Mukden, captured by Japanese, 581.
Municipal government (England), reform of, 442–443.
Murat, Joachim, brings cannon to the Tuileries, 148; sails with Bonaparte, 169; returns to France, 172; and the 19th of Brumaire, 177; humbly born, 185; becomes Duke of Berg, 204; and the army in Spain, 218; becomes King of Naples, 218, 228; and the Russian Campaign, 234.
Muscovy, Principality of. *See* Russia.
Museum of the Louvre, 150, 162, 166.
Nancy, Bishop of, 78.
Nanking, Treaty of, 574; Republic p claimed at, 583.
Nantes, Edict of, revoked, 48; city 134.
Naples, Joseph becomes King of, 2 218; Murat becomes King of, 218, 2 after *1815*, 264–265; insurrection 266; the congresses and, 267; Aust sends army into, 267–268; revoluti in, 301–302; conquest of the Kingdo of, 335–340; illiteracy in, 411.
Napoleon, and the Revolution, 10, 2 110, 148; witnesses attack on t Tuileries, 114, 156; defends the Co vention, 148–149, 156; and the cod fication of the laws (Code Napoléon 150; and the Italian campaign, 15 158–166; early life of, 153–156; care of, under the Directory, 156–177; Consul, 177, 179–192; his religion, 18 and the Concordat, 187–189, 402; Pi VII and, 187–189, 195–196, 217, 22 232, 264, 402; and the Duke d'Enghie 191; consul for life, 192; Emperor the French, 192, 194–226; "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine 206, 228, 259; and Frederick Willia III, 208–209; concludes Peace of Ti sit, 211–212, 217; and England, 213 218, 221, 228; and Italy, 217, 264 and Spain, 217–223, 262–263; an Alexander I at Erfurt, 221–222; an Austria, 223–226; divorces Josephin and marries Marie Louise, 224–226 decline and fall of, 228–247; Russia Prussia and Austria, his allies, 228 invades Russia, 234–237; and the campaign of *1813* in Germany, 238 239; forced to abdicate, 241; returns to Paris, 242–244, 247, 250; and Waterloo, 246–247; sent to St. Helena, 247, 257; death of, 247; effects of the overthrow of, 249–257; and Metternich, 257; his nephew, 317–320; and Switzerland, 527; and Denmark, 533.
Napoleon III (Emperor of the French), 320–324; Cavour and, 332; and Italy, 332–335, 338; and the Preliminaries of Villafranca, 333; takes Savoy and Nice, 335; allows Victor Emmanuel to annex the Marches and Umbria, 338; fails to use his opportunity, 351; and Mexico, 352–354; Gambetta and, 354–355; and the Hohenzollern candidacy, 356–357; taken prisoner, 358; Bonapartists desire restoration of, 388; and

leon III, *continued*
conquest of Africa, 405; and the mean War, 544. *See also* Louis poleon Bonaparte.
tu, supports Austria in *1866*, 347; ussia incorporates the duchy of, 9.
onal Archives, 150.
onal Assembly (*1789*), Third Estate clares itself, 73; nobility and clergy n, 74; becomes Constituent Assem- y, 74; effect of the Revolution in aris upon, 78–80; threats against, ; goes to Paris, 84; sends for Louis VI, 97; adjourns, 98; self-denying dinance, 98, 105. *See also* Con- ituent Assembly.
ional Constituent Assembly (France, *871*), 313, 315, 384–388; forces resig- ation of Thiers, 388; and the framing the constitution, 388–396.
ional Council, Switzerland, 529.
ional Guard, organized, 78; called ut, 296.
ional Library, 150.
ional Workshops (France), 314–316.
ionality, development of, in Spain, 19–220; in Austria, 223; in Prussia, 30–232; principle of, ignored at Con- ress of Vienna, 254; development of, n Germany, 260; in Hungary, 303; ivisive effect of the principle of, in Austria-Hungary, 420; Irish feeling for, 66; Australia and, 495; South African Union and, 505; development of, in Switzerland, 529.
varino, battle of, 543.
zareth, 172.
ecker, 62; financial reforms of, 66–67; recalled, 68; incapacity of, 69, 70; dismissed, 76.
elson, Admiral, and the French, 170, 214.
etherlands. *See* Austrian Netherlands *and* Belgium *and* Holland.
ew Brunswick, England and, 487, 491–492.
ewfoundland, 487, 491–493.
ew Guinea, 374.
ew Holland, 494.
ew South Wales, 494–497.
ew York *Herald*, sends Stanley to Africa, 508.
ew Zealand, 494, 497–498, 505.
ey, 185, 211, 234.
ice, 158; France and, 332, 334; Garibaldi born at, 335.
Nicholas I (Russia), and Poland, 286; and Francis Joseph I, 305; death of, 544; reign of, 560–561.
Nicholas II (Russia), reign of, 569–571, 586–588; promises a Duma, 587; and the limitation of armaments, 591; and the Hague Conferences, 591–593.
Nihilism, 564–566.
Nikolsburg, Peace of, 347.
Nile, Battle of the, 171; sources of, 508.
Noailles, Viscount of, 78.
Nobility, in France, under the Old Régime, 38–39, 41, 43–45, 70; position of, in the States General, 72–73; attitude of, toward the National Assembly, 74; renounces feudal dues, 78; titles of, abolished, 103, 185; commanding position of, in England, 429; abolition of the Norwegian, 537; in Russia, 558, 561–562.
Nogi, General, and the siege of Port Arthur, 581.
Non-juring priests, origin of, 95; and the war in the Vendée, 102; emigrate, 103; decree against, 113; murdered, 118; guillotined, 134; laws against, relaxed, 186.
Normal School, 150.
North, Lord, ministry of, 6.
North Cape, 289.
North German Confederation (*1867–1871*), 349–350, 363; opposed by Liebknecht and Bebel, 369.
Norway, joined with Sweden, 253, 533–537; abolition of the nobility of, 537; dissolution of the union of Sweden and, 537–538; suffrage in, 538.
Nôtre Dame, 138, 139, 196.
Novara, 267, 306, 329.
Nova Scotia, 4, 487, 491–492.

Obrenovitch, Milosch, 541.
O'Connell, and the repeal movement, 456, 467.
October 5–6, *1789*, 82–84, 87.
Oku, General, and Mukden, 581.
Old Age, Insurance Law, Germany, (*1889*), 371; Pensions Act (England), *1908*, 476; Pension Law (New Zealand), 498; pensions in Denmark, 533.
Old Catholics, in Germany, 367–368.
Old Régime, in Europe, 1–30; in France, 31–58, 101, 185, 186; desire to restore, 102; Bonaparte prevents the restoration of, 185; Bourbons do not restore, 270; attitude of the July Monarchy toward, 291; England a land of, 429.

Old Sarum, 431.
Oldenburg, Grand Duchy of, 234.
Olmütz, humiliation of, 311.
Omdurman, 514.
Opium War, 573–574.
Orange, House of. *See* Holland.
Orange Free State, 499, 503–504.
Orange River Colony, 504.
Orders in Council, 216.
Ordinances of July (*1830*), 274–276.
Oregon dispute, settled, 492–493.
"Organic laws" (Russia), 587.
Orleanists, uphold the right of the Count of Paris, 387–388.
Orleans, Duke of, intrigues of, 81, 289; death of, 136, 289; Louis Philippe, Duke of, becomes King, 278.
Oscar II (Sweden and Norway), 536–538.
Otto I (King of Greece), 543, 554.
Ottoman Empire, Disruption of the, and the Rise of the Balkan States, 540–557; collapse of the, 594–600. *See also* Turkey.
Ouchy, Treaty of, 601.
Oudh province, 489.
Owen, Robert, and child labor, 442.
Oxford, University of, 432, 453–454; religious tests in, abolished, 460.

Pact of *1815* (Switzerland), 527, 529.
Palais Royal, 289.
Palmerston, Lord, and Italy, 334; and Cavour, 339; and the first Reform Bill, 436.
Papacy. *See* Catholic Church (Roman).
Papal States, in *1789*, 1; Napoleon and, 165, 217, 228, 232; reëstablished, 253, 264; revolution in, 287, 301–302; Victor Emmanuel leads army into, 338.
Paris, Peace of (*1763*), 4; capital of France, 32, 36; paupers in (*1788*), 48; Parlement of, demands convocation of the States General, 68–70; and the events of July 14, *1789*, 76–78; organizes the National Guard, 78; Archbishop of, 80; government removed to, 84; Louis XVI plans to escape from, 96–97; celebrates "the end of the Revolution," 101; political clubs in, 106–107, 130; Assembly provides army for the protection of, 113; destruction of, threatened, 114; Revolutionary Commune of, 116–118, 126–127, 137–140, 141, 146; September Massacres in, 117–118; the Convention and, 121–150; Jacobins and, 121; executions in, 136, 145; organizes insurrection against the Convention, 14 148–149; schools of, 150; Museum 150, 162; Napoleon and, 153, 155–15 162, 166, 169, 173, 210, 237, 241, 24 244, 247; Councils return to, 17 government centralized in, under t Consulate, 182; becomes center German politics, 206–208; ecclesia tical court in, 224; capitulates, 24 First Treaty of, 249; ceases to be ce ter of European affairs, 259; cleric reaction in, 274; and the July Rev lution, 276, 281; Poles come to, 28 Louis Philippe and, 289, 295–29 Count of, 296, 388–389; June Days i 316; *coup d'état* in, 319; massacre the boulevards, 320; modernized, 32 Congress of (*1856*), 322, 332, 545; R publican party master of, 355; siege o 358–360; and the Commune, 384–38 second siege of, 386; seat of gover ment transferred to, 392; Boulang elected deputy in, 395; French colonie ruled from, 505; Treaty of (*1898*), 51 Young Turks in, 555.
Parlement, 45, 66; of Paris, 68–69.
Parliament, supremacy of, in England 2–3; George III and, 5–7; compositio of English (*1815*), 429–432; Cobbet urges reform of, 434; the Tories an the reform of, 434–436; the Whigs re form, 436–441; demand for furthe reform of, 444–445, 451–452; Irish abolish, 456; demand for Irish, 466 468, 483; Home Rulers and English 467, 472, 480; Irish to be represente in London, 483; Irish, granted t Ireland, 483–485; English, suspend Third Home Rule Bill and Bill fo Welsh Disestablishment, 485; English passes British North America Act, 492 in Ottawa, 492; British, and Australia 495; Australian, 497; South African 504.
Parliament Bill (England), *1911*, 481–482, 485.
Parma, Duke of, and Bonaparte, 162 165; Duchy of, given to Marie Louise 253, 264; revolution in, 287, 334; annexed to Italy, 334.
Parnell, Charles Stewart, and Home Rule 467.
Patterson, Elizabeth, 205.
Peace movement, 590–594.
Peace of Paris, 4.

ntry, in France, 47–48; and the urbon restoration, 242; in Russia, —559.
(Dom) and Brazil, 520.
IV (Portugal), 520.
V (Portugal), 520.
Sir Robert, reforms the Penal Code, ; and the second Reform Bill, 438; H Queen Victoria, 444; repeals the rn Laws, 448; Gladstone and, 454.
ng, capital of China, 573; Japan vances toward, 577; Legations in, sieged, 579.
l Code, reformed in England, 435.
nsula War, 218–222.
ole's Charter, 444–445.
Duchesne, 137.
y, Commodore, and Japan, 575–576.
ia, and the First Peace Conference at he Hague, 591.
adores Islands, ceded to Japan, 577.
er the Great, 19–24.
er I (Servia), 553.
er III (Russia), 24.
ladelphia Convention, 89, 93.
hellenic societies founded, 542.
lip Equality. *See* Orleans, Duke of.
lippe Égalité. *See* Orleans, Duke of.
lippines, 515, 519.
rygian cap, 108.
cenza, 159.
hegru, 191.
quart, Colonel, and the Dreyfus case, 897, 399; becomes Minister of War, 899.
edmont, in *1789*, 8; émigrés in, 96; in the war against France, 149, 152–158; cedes Savoy and Nice to France, 158; King of, restored, 249; after *1815*, 264–265; revolution in, 266, 267–268, 301–302; army of, defeated, 306; Constitutional Statute granted by Charles Albert to, 311; and the Crimean War, 322, 332, 544–545; a constitutional state, 329–332; and the interview at Plombières, 332; and the war of *1859*, 333–339; and the Kingdom of Italy, 339; and Prussia, 341, 344–345; constitution of, 409; illiteracy in, 411.
illnitz, Declaration of, 103.
itt, William, Earl of Chatham, Prime Minister of England, 4; and the American Revolution, 6.
itt the Younger, war leader, 183; and the French Revolution, 428; on representation in Great Britain, 432; and the House of Commons, 437.
Pius VI (Pope), 162, 166.
Pius VII (Pope) and Louis XVIII, 187; and Napoleon, 187–189, 195–196, 217, 220, 228, 232, 264, 402.
Pius IX (Pope), and the Kulturkampf, 367–368; and the Law of Papal Guarantees, 409–411; death of, 410.
Pius X (Pope), denounces the Associations of Worship, 403.
Pi y Margall, 518.
Plain, the, 121.
Plassey, centenary of, 489.
Plebiscite, 192, 320.
Plehve, iron régime of, 585.
Plevna, siege of, 547, 553.
Plombières, interview at, 332.
Plural voting (England), 466, 477; Belgium, 525.
Poland, in *1789*, 1; and Russia, 17, 24, 283–287, 560; Partitions of, 17, 29, 104, 164, 211, 213, 224, 234, 283, 558; Napoleon and, 211; Alexander I and, 234, 250, 558–560; and the July Revolution, 280, 282; Revolutions in, 283–287, 563–564; becomes province of the Russian Empire, 286; Nicholas I and, 560; Russification of, 564.
Polignac ministry, 274.
Polytechnic School, 150.
Pomerania, Prussia acquires, 252.
Pondicherry, 404.
Port Arthur, seized by Japan, 577; ceded to Japan, 577; Japan forced to give up, 578; Russia secures lease of, 578–579; Japan torpedoes Russian fleet near, 580–581; siege of, 581; Russia transfers to Japan her lease of, 582, 586.
Porte. *See* Turkey.
Porto Rico, Spain and, 515, 517, 519.
Portsmouth (England), voters in, 443.
Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Treaty of, 582.
Portugal, and the Jesuits, 16; Napoleon and, 217–218, 519–520; Duke of Wellington and, 221, 235; England and, 217, 223; and the Congress of Vienna, 253; revolution in, 266; and Africa, 507, 509–510; *1815–1914*, 519–521; and China, 574.
Posen, province of, 252.
Potsdam, 210.
Pragmatic Sanction, 29.
Prague, revolt in, 302; Peace of, 347, 355; Bohemia desires Francis Joseph to be crowned in, 421; University of, divided, 422.

Prairial, Law of 22nd, 142–145.
Prefect, 181.
President (French Republic), 390–391, 395.
Press, censorship of, under Louis XVI, 32; restricted under the Old Régime, 50; the Commune destroys the freedom of, 117; Bonaparte and, 185; censorship of, in Austria, 258; censorship of, in Germany, 262, 287, 342; gagged in Spain, 263; free in France under the Restoration, 271–272; liberty of, in Poland, 285, 559; in Hungary, 299, 300; freedom of, in France, 354; freedom of, demanded in Germany, 369; freedom of, secured in France, 392; freedom of, restricted in England, 434; and the Chartist movement, 445; freedom of, in Spain, 516; freedom of, in Switzerland, 528; censorship of, relaxed in Russia, 561, 563; gagged in Russia, 567, 569; freedom of, promised in Russia, 587.
Pressburg, Treaty of, 202–203.
Pretoria, 504.
Prim, General, 516.
Prince Consort. *See* Albert of Saxe-Coburg.
Prince Edward Island, 487, 491–492.
Prince Imperial, 322.
Proportional Representation (Belgium), 525.
"Protected Princes of India," 490.
Protection, Belgium favors, 281; Bismarck adopts policy of, 372–373; France, Austria, Russia and the United States believers in, 372; England and, 446–448, 475; Alexander II (Russia) adopts system of, 568.
Protestantism, outlawed in France, 48; Protestants and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 95; in Holland, 281; in Ireland, 455–457, 469.
Provence, Count of, 103–104.
Provinces, of France, 35, 92; tariff boundaries of, 37.
Provisional Government of National Defense (France), 297, 313–316, 358–359, 384.
Prussia, in *1789*, 1, 9–17; in the Seven Years' War, 4, 14–15; and Austria, 10–11, 13, 14–15, 29, 124; rise of, 10–17, 25; and Poland, 17, 29, 164, 234, 250, 283; and Russia, 25, 211; and the émigrés, 103; joins Austria in the war against France, 113–114, 149; makes peace with France, 149, 152; policy of Frederick William III of, 208–210; Napoleon and, 210–213, 215, 228, 234; not included in the Confederation of the Rhine, 213, 228; abolishes serfdom, 230; and the Continental Blockade, 217; development of nationality in, 230–232; army reforms in, 231; and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, 234, 238; King of, makes treaty of alliance with Russia, 237, 238; and the Congress of Vienna, 242, 249–255; and the Waterloo Campaign, 244–246; retains Posen, 252; gains of, by Congress of Vienna, 252; and the Holy Alliance, 255; and the Quadruple Alliance, 255; King of, promises constitution, 260–261; and the Carlsbad Decrees, 262; and the "right of intervention," 266–269; and the revolutions in Germany, 280; recognizes independence of Belgium, 282; and the revolution in Poland, 282–287; and the revolution in Germany, 287; King of, promises constitution, 301–302; and the problem of German unity, 307–312; three-class system of election in, 311–312, 380; and the war in Italy, 333; given a constitution, 341; army reform in, 342–345; Bismarck and, 343–350; three wars of, 345–349, 355–361, 533; annexations to, 349; and the North German Confederation, 349–350; and the year *1866*, 351; and the completion of German unification, 361; King of, is German Emperor, 363; representation of, in Bundesrath, 363–364; the great powers of the King of, 366; and the Kulturkampf, 367–368; and the Falk Laws, 367–368; demand for electoral reform in, 379; rules German Empire, 379–380; demand for parliamentary reform in, 380; the resolute opponent of democracy, 382; military system of, adopted in France, 387; Austria humiliates, 416; and the Polish insurrection (*1863*), 564; and China, 574; military system of, adopted in Europe, 590; and the neutrality of Belgium, 616. *See also* German Empire.
Prussian Union (*1849*), 310–311.
Public Safety. *See* Committee of Public Safety.
Punjab, annexation of, 489–490.
Pyramids, battle of the, 170.

Quadruple Alliance, 254–255.
Quakers, position of, in England, 432.
Quebec, 491.
Queensland, 495.
Quesnay, 52.

Radetzky, defeats Charles Albert, 302.
Ramolino, Laetitia, 153.
Ravenna, 336.
Reason, Worship of. *See* Worship.
Red Cross Society, Russia and, 586.
Referendum, 127, 530–531.
Reform banquets, 295.
Reform Bill, first, 436–437; second, 438; (*1832*), third, 438–441, 444, 451, 454, 465; of *1867*, 451–452, 465; of *1884*, 465–466.
Reichenau, 289.
Reichsrath (Austrian Parliament), 422.
Reichstag, created, 350, 363–365; the Center party in, 367–368; Socialists in the, 369, 371, 379; and State Socialism, 371–372; reform of, demanded, 379–382; disapproves action of William II, 381; Bethmann-Hollweg's official statement in, 617.
Reign of Terror, 110, 128, 136, 150; Danton and, 139–140.
Religious orders, in France, 400–401.
Rennes, court-martial at, 397–399.
Representatives on mission, 129–130.
Republic, established in France, 110, 120, 147; under the Convention, 120–150; and the Constitution of *1795*, 147–148; under the Directory, 152–177; under the Consulate, 177, 179–192; England recognizes the French, 183; and the Concordat, 188–189; Louis Philippe and, 289, 296; rise of the second, in France, 297, 313–320; Constitution of the, 313, 315–317; Louis Napoleon Bonaparte offers his services to, 318; Louis Napoleon overthrows the, 319–320, 321; Third, established in France, 358, 384; Thiers and the, 387; the Republicans control, 391; and the Church, 391, 400–403; and education, 393; colonial policy of, 393–394; discontent with the, 394–395; weathers the crisis, 395; and the Dreyfus case, 396–400; and the separation of Church and State, 400–403; expansion under the Third, 405–408; Spain declared a, 517–518; Portugal proclaimed a, 521; China proclaimed a, 583.
Republican Party, in France, created, 98; Lafayette, the leader of, 278; and Louis Philippe, 290–292, 296–297; in Germany, fails, 310; Lamartine, the leader of, 313–316; Napoleon III crushes, 321; secures control of Chamber of Deputies, 391; and clericalism, 391; controls government, 392; and education, 392–393; in Portugal, 521.
Residents (English) in India, 488, 490.
Restoration, France under the, 270–279.
Réunion, 404.
Revolution of *1688* in England, 3.
Revolution, American, 6–7, 491; Spanish (*1820*), 263; of July, *1908* (Turkey), 556. *See also* French Revolution.
Revolutionary Commune of Paris. *See* Paris.
Revolutionary Tribunal, created, 124, 129, 140; Marat and, 126; work of, 130, 133, 134, 140–146; Robespierre and, 141–146.
Revolutions beyond France, 280–288.
Rhenish Confederation. *See* Confederation of the Rhine.
Rhodes, Italy seizes, 601.
Rhodes, Cecil, 502.
Rhodesia, 502, 505.
Richelieu, 405.
Rights of Man, Declaration of, 86–89, 91, 92, 109, 113, 129, 133, 185, 231.
Rio de Janeiro, 520.
Rio de Oro, 519.
Rio Muni, 519.
Risorgimento, 325.
Rivoli, 160.
Roberts, Lord, and the South African War, 504.
Robespierre, a monarchist, 98; leader of the Jacobin Club, 106; opposes war with Austria, 112; overthrow of, 117, 146; on the Republic, 120; and the Girondists, 121, 126; demands execution of Louis XVI, 123; and the Commune, 126; and the Committee of Public Safety, 129–130; and Danton, 139–141; becomes master of the Jacobins, 141; as dictator, 141–145; fall of, 145–146, 156.
Rodjestvensky, Admiral, fleet of, destroyed, 581.
Roland, Madame, influence of, 110; death of, 134; her *Memoirs*, 135.
Roman Catholic Church. *See* Catholic Church (Roman).
Romanoff, House of. *See* Russia.
Rome, 166, 507; King of, 226, 232, 318, 322; Napoleon annexes, 228, 232; rev-

Rome, *continued*
olutions in, 305–306; Garibaldi and, 336, 338; subject to Pope, 339; Italy seizes, 360; becomes capital of the Kingdom of Italy, 361, 409.
Romilly, on Venice, 253.
Roosevelt, President, and the Treaty of Portsmouth (*1905*), 582; and the Peace Conference at the Hague, 593.
Rossbach, battle of, 15.
"*Rotten House of Commons, The*," by Lovett, 444.
Roumania, Kingdom of, 423, 425, 545, 553; independence of, recognized, 547–548, 552; after *1878*, 552–553; enters war against Bulgaria (*1913*), 605; and the Treaty of Bucharest, 605–606.
Roumanians, in eastern Hungary, 257, 303, 423–425; in Turkey, 540.
Roumansch, 531.
Roumelia, Bulgaria and, 547.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, influence and work of, 46, 48, 52, 55–58, 141–142, 154, 184; on Corsica, 156–157.
Royal Session (June 23), 73–74.
Russell, Lord John, and parliamentary reform, 436–438; and Gladstone, 451.
Russia, in *1789*, 1; in the Seven Years' War, 4, 14–15; early history, 17–25; and Poland, 17, 24, 29, 164, 250, 283–287, 560; and Austria, 18–19; Peter the Great and, 19–24; and Sweden, 20, 24; and Turkey, 20, 24, 200; influence of Germany in, 21–22; enters war against France, 124; enters new coalition, 173, 182; joins England against Napoleon, 200–202, 210; Alexander I of, concludes Peace of Tilsit, 211–212, 215, 217, 233; and the Continental System, 216, 233–234; gains Finland, 217, 233; Alexander I of, and Napoleon at Erfurt, 221–222; alliance of, and France renewed, 221, 223, 228; gains part of Galicia, 224; rupture of Franco-Russian alliance, 233–234; Napoleon invades, 234–237; makes Treaty of Kalisch with Prussia, 237–238; acquisitions of, by Congress of Vienna, 242, 249–255; and the Duchy of Warsaw, 252; and the Quadruple Alliance, 255; and the right of intervention, 266–269; aids Greeks against the Turks, 269; and the revolution in Poland, 280, 282–287; recognizes independence of Belgium, 282; and the Crimean War, 322, 332, 543–545; and the policy of protection,
Russia, *continued*
372; and Austria rivals in the Balkans, 374; at war with Turkey, 375, 547; and the Treaty of San Stefano, 375, 547; and the Treaty of Berlin, 375, 548–550; and the Austro-German Treaty of *1879*, 375–376; alliance of, and France, 376, 395–396, 534; and Sweden, 534; and the Ottoman Empire, 540–557; and Servia, 541; and Greece, 542–543; and Bulgaria, 550–552; to the war with Japan, 558–571; and Japan, 569, 571, 577–582, 593; in Asia, 572–573; and China, 572, 578; since the war with Japan, 585–589; and the limitation of armaments, 591; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596–597; and the European War, 608–618; and the Triple Entente, 614–615.
Russo-Japanese War, and its consequences, 580–583.
Russo-Turkish War (*1829*), 543, 560; (*1853–5*), 322, 332, 543–545, 560; (*1877*), 375, 426, 547–550, 552.
Ruthenians, in Galicia, 422.

Sacrilege, law against, 273.
Sadler, Thomas, and child labor, 442.
Sadowa, battle of, 348, 351, 355; "Revenge for," 355.
Saghalin, Russia cedes part of, to Japan, 582.
Sahara, 405.
St. Cloud, 175.
St. Croix, 534.
St. Helena, Napoleon and, 168, 189, 195, 199, 244, 247, 257.
St. John, 534.
Saint-Just, 123, 145.
St. Lawrence, the region of the, 487.
St. Louis (Africa), 405.
St. Lucia, 488.
St. Petersburg, 22–23; Bismarck sent to, 344; terrorized, 566.
St. Pierre, 404.
St. Simon, and socialism, 294.
St. Thomas, 534.
Salisbury, Lord, first ministry, 466–467; second ministry, 470–471; third ministry, 473–475.
Salmeron, 518.
Salonica, troops sent from, 598; Greeks enter, 602.
Samoan Islands, 374.
San Marino, 264.
San Stefano, Treaty of, 375, 547.
Sans-culottes, 108.

Santiago, battle of, 519.
Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, 609.
Sardinia. *See* Piedmont.
Saskatchewan, 493.
Savona, Mazzini imprisoned at, 326.
Savoy, 158; House of, 306, 329–330, 409; France desires, 332, 334; insurrection in, 335.
Saxe-Weimar, Grand Duke of, issues Constitution, 261.
Saxony, Frederick II and, 14, 15; and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, 213; and the Confederation of the Rhine, 213, 228; Prussia desires, 250; King of, restored, 252; Prussia gains part of, 252; revolution in, 287; supports Austria in *1866*, 347; representation of, in the Bundesrath, 363.
Scandinavian States, 533–538.
Schaumburg-Lippe, 365.
Schiller, 261.
Schleswig, Denmark and, 345–346, 533; Prussia incorporates, 349, 533.
Schönbrunn, Peace of, 224.
Schurz, Carl, comes to the United States, 310.
Scotland, representation of, in the English Parliament, 430; Ireland and, 455; old age pensions in, 476.
Scutari, falls, 603.
Sebastopol, siege of, 544.
Second Empire (France), 313, 320–324; and the Franco-Prussian War, 351–362.
Second French Republic and the Founding of the Second Empire, 313–324.
Sedan, battle of, 358, 360, 382, 384.
Senate (French), under the Constitution of the Year VIII, 180–181; approves new constitution, 192; dissolves Napoleon's marriage with Josephine, 224; proclaims Louis XVIII King of France, 241; under the Second Empire, 321; of the United States compared with Bundesrath, 363; under the Third French Republic, 390–391; and Boulanger, 395; of the Kingdom of Italy, 409; Irish, 483; of the Dominion Parliament, 492; Australian, 497.
Senegal, 404–405.
Sepoy Mutiny (*1857*), 489–490.
September Laws, 292.
September Massacres, 117–118, 126, 156.
"Septembrists," 118.
Septennate, established in France, 389.
Serfdom, in Europe, 26; in France, 47; abolished in Prussia, 230; in Russia, 233, 559, 561–562.
Sergius, Grand Duke of Russia, assassinated, 586.
Serrano, Marshal, and Spain, 516, 518.
Servia, Serbs of Hungary desire incorporation in Kingdom of, 425; revolt of, 541; semi-independent, 545; declares war against Turkey, 547; independence of, recognized, 547–548; becomes a Kingdom, 553; and Bulgaria, 553, 596, 604–606; and the Balkan War of *1912*, 553; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596–597; and Austria-Hungary, 597, 604, 608–612; Macedonian Christians flee to, 599; and the Balkan War of *1912*, 602–605; and Albania, 604; and the Treaty of Bucharest, 605–606; Austria resolves to attack, 608–612.
Seven Weeks' War, 347–349.
Seven Years' War, *1756–1763*, 3–4, 6–7, 14–15, 488.
Shantung, Germany and, 578.
Sheffield, unrepresented, 432.
Shimonoseki, Treaty of, 577.
Siam, and the First Peace Conference at the Hague, 591.
Siberia, 19; Poles sent to, 286; Russia and, 559–560, 565, 570, 572, 585.
Sicilian Insurrection, 335; Garibaldi and, 336. *See also* Naples.
Sicily, Garibaldi and, 336–337; illiteracy in, 411; emigration from, 414.
Sickness Insurance Law (Germany, *1883*), 371.
Sieyès, Abbé, on the Third Estate, 47; and Bonaparte, 174–177; and the Constitution of the Year VIII, 180.
Silesia, Frederick the Great and, 13–17, 29.
Simon ministry, dismissed, 391.
Slavery, abolished in English colonies, 441, 499.
Slavonia, 420; inhabitants of, resist the Magyars, 424.
Slavs, in Austria, 257, 301–305, 421–422; in Hungary, 423–425; rise in the Balkans, 546; in Russia, 558.
Slovaks, 423–425.
Slovenes, in Carniola, 422.
Smith, Goldwin, on the American Revolution, 6.
Smolensk, 235.
Sobranje, 550–551.
Social Contract by Rousseau, 57.
Social Democrat, founded by Lassalle, 369, 372.
Social Democrats (Prussia), 312, 378–380.

Socialism, growth of, in France, 294–297, 314–317; Bismarck and, 368–372; William II and, 378–380; in Russia, 565.
Socialists, in Paris, 386; 87 elected in Austria, 423; in Portugal, 521; in Belgium, 525.
"Society of the Exterminating Angel," 268.
Sofia, 552.
Solferino, battle of, 333, 416.
Solovief, 566.
Somaliland, Italy and, 412.
Sonderbund, 528–529.
Soudan, Lord Kitchener recovers, 474, 514; England and, 505, 513–514. *See also* French Soudan.
South Africa. *See* Africa.
South African Union, 504–505.
South America, Garibaldi escapes to, 335–336; Guiana in, a French possession, 404; England acquires Dutch possessions in, 499, 505; rise of independent states of, 515, 519; and the Second Peace Conference, 593.
South Australia, 495.
Spain, and Florida, 4; and the Jesuits, 16; enters war against France, 124, 149; makes peace with France, 149, 152; ally of France, 183; colonies of, restored, 183; and the war between France and England, 216, 221; Napoleon and, 217–223, 229; Charles IV of, abdicates, 218; Joseph becomes King of, 218, 228; development of nationality in, 219–220, 230; and the Congress of Vienna, 253; Metternich and, 257; after *1808*, 262–263; Revolution of *1820* in, 266–268, 282; and Mexico, 352; Queen Isabella driven out of, 356; Germany purchases islands from, 374; and Africa, 507; since *1823*, 515–519.
Speke, 508.
Spirit of Laws, by Montesquieu, 52–53.
Stambuloff, 551.
Standard (London), 434.
Stanley, and the first Reform Bill, 436.
Stanley, Henry M., 508–510.
State Socialism (Germany), 371–372.
States-General (France), summoned, 68; meets May 5, *1789*, 69, 70–73, 86; (Holland), 522. *See* National Assembly *and* Constituent Assembly.
States of the Church. *See* Papal States.
Stein, 230–231.
Stockholm, 535.
Storthing (Norway), 534–538.
Straits of Tsushima, naval battle of, 581.
Strassburg, Archbishop of, 42; Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at, 318; surrenders, 359.
Stuarts (England), 2, 3.
Suez Canal, shares purchased by England, 462, 511.
Suffrage, universal, in France, 116, 127, 181; abandoned, 147; under the July Monarchy, 291; in Prussia, 311–312; Provisional Government establishes universal, in France, 315, 317–318, 321; universal, demanded in Germany, 369; opponents of universal, in Germany, 379; Chamber of Deputies (France) elected by universal, 390, 392; extended in Italy, 411; in Austria-Hungary, 419; universal, in Austria, 423; demand for universal, in Hungary, 426; in England (*1815*), 430–431, 434; the Reform Bill of *1832* and, 439–441, 444; municipal (England), 443; demand for further reform in English, 445; further extension of, in England, 446, 451–452, 465–466; woman's, 452, 466, 498; in New Zealand, 498; in South Africa, 502; in Spain, 516–517, 519; in Holland, 523; in Belgium, 524–525; in Switzerland, 528; in Denmark, 534; in Sweden, 536, 538; in Norway, 538; in Greece, 554–555; in Japan, 577; in Russia altered, 588.
Sumatra, 523.
Sun Yat Sen, Dr., chosen president, 583.
Super-tax, on incomes, 478.
Surinam, 523.
"Suspects," 132–133.
Sweden, in the Seven Years' War, 14; and Russia, 20, 22, 24; Alexander I and, 211, 233; allied with England, 217; Prussia acquires Pomerania from, 252; and Finland, 252, 534; Norway joined with, 253, 533–537; dissolution of the union of Norway and, 537–538; suffrage in, 538.
Swiss Guard, 76, 114.
Switzerland, in *1789*, 1, 26; three cantons added to, 253; and the July Revolution, 280; Louis Philippe and, 289; Mazzini and, 326; German socialist paper published in, 370; and Spain, 517; since *1815*, 527–531; and Greece, 542; a neutral state, 616.
Sydney, 494.
Syria, 171–172.

aaffe ministry, 422.
alleyrand, and the transformation of Germany, 206; and the Congress of Vienna, 249.
alma, 221.
aranto, 200.
ariff, boundaries, 37; Napoleon establishes high protective, 199; in Spain, 222; Bismarck adopts policy of high, 372–373; in Austria-Hungary, 419; on breadstuffs in England, 433, 448; Huskisson and, 435; England and, 488; Chamberlain urges, reform, 475; Canada and, 493.
asman, and New Zealand, 494.
asmania, 495.
axation, in France under the Old Régime, 38–42, 44, 47–48; Turgot and, 64, 66; States General should vote, 70; heavy in Italy, 412; additional, in England, 478; in New Zealand, 498; oppressive in Portugal, 521; heavy in Japan, 582.
elegraph (London, October 28, *1908*), 381.
emple, King and Queen imprisoned in, 116.
ennis Court Oath, 73.
ennyson's *In Memoriam*, 454.
erra Australis, 493–494.
"Terrible Year," 384.
error. *See* Reign of Terror *and* "Great Terror."
"Terrorists" (Russia), 565–567.
ewfik, and the Dual Control, 512.
hermidor, 137; death of Robespierre on the 9th of, 145–146.
hermidorian reaction, 146.
hessaly, Greece and, 554–555.
hiers, declares a "vacancy of power," 358; Chief of the Executive Power, 384, 386–388.
hird Estate (France) under the Old Régime, 38–41, 43, 45–51; demands the suppression of feudal dues, 70; position of, in the States General, 72–73; declares itself the National Assembly, 73.
hird Republic, in France, 354, 358–360.
hird Section (Russia), 567.
housand, expedition of the, 336–338.
ilsit, Peace of, 211–212, 213, 215, 217, 221, 233, 534.
imes, London, and the Dreyfus case, 398.
ithes, under the Old Régime, 41, 47; abandoned, 78, 80, 185; abolished in
ithes, *continued*
South Germany, 208; Irish pay, to Anglican Church, 455, 457.
obago, 488.
odleben, 544.
ogo, Admiral, destroys Russian fleet, 581.
ogoland, 374.
okio, university established at, 576.
onkin, France and, 393, 406.
ories, in England, 3; and George III, 5; in America, 6; and the French Revolution, 429; oppose Parliamentary reform, 434; and reform, 435–439; Gladstone the "hope of," 454.
oulon, suspects in, 133; Bonaparte and, 148, 156, 169.
oulouse, speech of Waldeck-Rousseau at, 400.
ours, seat of government, 359.
rades Unions, permitted in France, 392.
rafalgar, battle of, 214, 215; Square, 318.
rans-Saharan railroad contemplated, 406.
rans-Siberian railroad, 568, 579, 581.
ransvaal or South African Republic, 499–504.
ransylvania, 420, 423, 425.
reitschke, 382.
rent, 414.
rentino, 414.
ribunate, 181.
ricolor, adopted, 78; stamped upon, 82; cockade, 108; banished, 242; soldiers put on, 243; and the July Revolution, 276, 278; the Count of Chambord and, 388–389.
rieste, Austria retains, 202; ceded to France, 224; Italy covets, 414.
rinidad, 183, 488.
riple Alliance, 374–376, 395–396, 412, 608, 612, 614; comes to an end, 414–415; and the breaches of the Treaty of Berlin, 596.
riple Entente, England, France and Russia, 614.
ripoli, 404; Italy and, 407, 414, 600–601; Turkey and, 507, 601.
rochu, General, head of the Government of National Defense, 358.
roppau, Congress of, 267.
uileries, Louis XVI and, 84, 97, 113, 122, 124; attacked, 114, 156; Convention meets in, 126, 148; Committee of Public Safety in, 129; and the Wor-

Tuileries, *continued*
ship of Reason, 144; Napoleon returns to, 241, 244; Napoleon III and, 322.
Tunis, France seizes, 375; France establishes protectorate over, 393, 404–406, 509, 600; Italy covets, 412, 600; Turkey and, 507.
Turgot, on the taxation of the peasantry, 47; and Louis XVI, 62; financial reforms, 64–66, 68; influence of, on Napoleon, 154.
Turin, 158, 265; Parliament meets at, 335, 339; capital of Italy, 409.
Turkey in *1789*, 1; and Russia, 18, 20, 24–25, 200, 375, 543–545, 547–548; and Egypt, 168–173, 511–512, 542–543; Sultan of, declares war against Bonaparte, 171–172; Alexander I and, 211, 233; not represented at the Congress of Vienna, 249; Kossuth flees to, 305; possessions of, in Africa, 404–405; Italy and, 414; question of the integrity of, 463; and Africa, 507; disruption of, 540–557; and Greece, 541–543, 555; and the revolts in the Balkans, 545–550; and the Congress of Berlin, 548–550; revolution in, 555–557, 594–595; collapse of the Empire of, 594–600; Parliament of, 597; counter-revolution in, 598; at war with Italy, 600–601; Balkan States unite against, 601–606; gains of, by the Treaty of Bucharest, 605–606.
Turko-Italian War of *1911*, 600–601.
Tuscany, (*1815*), 253, 264; revolution in, 301–302; Grand Duke of, flees, 306; ruler should be restored in, 333, 334; annexed to Italy, 334.

Uitlanders, 501–502.
Ulm, 201, 214.
Ulster, and Home Rule, 483–485.
Ultras (France), 272.
Umbria, annexed by Victor Emmanuel II, 338–339.
Union, Act of (England and Ireland), movement to repeal, 456–457, 466.
Unionist Coalition (England), 470.
Unionists (England), 469, 472–473, 480; disruption of, 475–476; policies of, from *1895–1905*, 476.
United States, Constitution of, compared with French Constitution of *1791*, 89–91; and the Monroe Doctrine, 268–269; Louis Philippe and, 289; emigration of German Liberals to, 310, 373; Louis Napoleon Bonaparte exiled to, 318;
United States, *continued*
intervention of, in Mexico, 353–354; and the policy of protection, 372; Germany the rival of, 378; Third French Republic compared with, 390–391; Italian emigration to, 413–414; Irish emigration to, 457; and the *Alabama* award, 461; and the Oregon dispute, 492–493; and Spain, 517–519; and Greece, 542; Jews from Russia emigrate to, 567; and China, 574, 579; and Japan, 575–576; and the First Peace Conference at the Hague, 591.
Universities, representation of, in the English Parliament, 431–432.

Valais, 528.
Valençay, 218.
Valmy, 119, 289.
Varennes, flight to, 97, 102, 103, 106, 107.
Vatican, 410–411.
Vatican Council, proclaims dogma of papal infallibility, 367.
Vaud, 528.
Vendée, civil war in, 96, 102, 124, 127, 133, 174.
Vendémiaire, the 13th of, 148–149, 156.
Venetia, and the Cisalpine Republic, 165; ceded to the Kingdom of Italy, 202; Austria acquires, 253; Austrian policy in, 265; revolution in, 301–302; and the war of *1859*, 333; still Austrian, 339; Italy receives, 349, 409. *See also* Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.
Venice, in *1789*, 1, 8, 26; young Russians sent to, 20; overthrow of, 162–164; disposal of, 165; bronze horses of, 166, 253; given to Austria, 253, 264; republic restored in, 301; republic of, overthrown, 306.
Verdun, 117.
Vergniaud, 110.
Verona, Congress of, 267–268.
Versailles, life at, 32–34, 42–43; government of France directed from, 36; States-General to meet in, 68, 70, 86; soldiers appear near, 76; tricolor insulted, 82; people march to, 82; King and Assembly leave, 84; palace at, 180; royalists at, 209; King William I proclaimed German Emperor at, 361; declared the capital, 385–386, 392.
Veto Bill. *See* Parliament Bill.

ctor Emanuel I (Piedmont), 267.
ctor Emmanuel II (Piedmont), accession of, 306, 329; not consulted concerning the Preliminaries of Villafranca, 334; and Sicily, 337; leads army into the Papal States, 338; annexes the Marches and Umbria, 338; enters Naples, 338; proclaimed King of Italy, 339; enters Rome, 360; the Pope and, 409; death of, 410; son of, becomes King of Spain, 517.
ctor Emmanuel III, accession of, 413.
ctoria, colony of, 495, 498.
ictoria, Queen, 443–444; proclaimed Empress of India, 463, 490; her diamond jubilee, 473; death of, 474.
ienna, Marie Antoinette and, 64; campaign directed against, 153, 159, 183, 201; Napoleon enters, 202, 223; Peace of, 224; Congress of, 241–242, 244, 249–257, 260, 264, 266, 280, 284, 307, 335, 521; Treaties of, 254, 282; becomes center of European affairs, 259; "great deception" of, 260; Poles come to, 286; the storm center in *1848*, 298, 300, 301; Prussian army marches toward, 348; center of interest shifts from, to Berlin, 351.
'ilágos, 305.
'illafranca, Preliminaries of, 333.
'incennes, 191.
'ladivostok, 572–573; Russian fleet at, 581.
'olney, Bonaparte and, 188.
'oltaire, influence of, 24, 46, 48, 52, 154; on the laws of France, 37; and the Roman Catholic Church, 50, 55; imprisonment of, 50, 54, 76; work of, 53–55; compared with Rousseau, 55–56.

Wagram, battle of, 224.
Waldeck, 381.
Waldeck-Rousseau, and the separation of Church and State in France, 400–401.
Wales, representation of, in the English Parliament, 430; old age pensions in, 476; Anglican Church in, disestablished, 485.
Wallachia, practically independent, 543; independent, 545. *See* Roumania.
Warsaw, Napoleon goes to, 211; Grand Duchy of, 213, 224, 228, 234, 238, 250–252; fall of, 286; Alexander I and the Grand Duchy of, 559–560.
Wartburg Festival, 261, 287.
Waterloo, 7, 110, 168; battle of, 246–247, 257, 263, 270, 298, 300, 428, 433.
"*Weekly Political Register, The*," 434.
Weimar, Duke of, 261.
Wellesley, Sir Arthur (later Duke of Wellington), and the war in Spain, 221, 239; military tactics of, 235; invades France, 239; and Napoleon at Waterloo, 244–247; and the Congress of Vienna, 249; ministry of, resigns, 436; William IV and, 439; and the Chartist agitation, 446.
Wellington, Duke of. *See* Wellesley.
Wellington, New Zealand, 497.
West Indies, French possessions in, 404; slavery in English colonies in, 441; England and, 487; Dutch colonies in, 523; Danish colonies in, 534.
Western Australia, 495.
Westminster Abbey, 472, 508.
Westminster, Parliament at, and Ireland, 466, 468.
Westphalia, treaties of, 105; Kingdom of, and the Confederation of the Rhine, 213, 228; Jerome flees from, 239.
Wet, Christian de, 504.
Wetherell, and the second Reform Bill, 438.
Weyler, 518.
Whigs, rule of, in England, 3; and George III, 5; and the American Revolution, 6; urge reform of Parliament, 436–441; other reforms of, 441–443.
Wieland, 222.
Wilberforce, and slavery, 441.
Wilhelmina, Queen (Holland), 522–523.
William I (Holland), 522–523.
William II (Holland), 522.
William III (Holland), 522.
William I (Prussia), 342–350; proclaimed German Emperor, 361; reign of, 366; and Socialism, 368; death of, 376.
William II, character of his rule, 365; reign of, 366, 376–382.
William IV of England (*1830–1837*), accession of, 436; and the third Reform Bill, 439; death of, 443.
William of Wied, and Albania, 606.
Windischgrätz, bombards Prague, 302.
Witte, Sergius de, industrial policy of, 568.
Wolfe, defeats Montcalm, 4.
Wordsworth, on Venice, 164.
Worship of Reason, 138–139, 142.
Wurmser, 159.

Würtemberg, electorate of, 9; becomes a kingdom, 203; and the Confederation of the Rhine, 206; and the Congress of Vienna, 249; supports Austria in *1866*, 347; joins Prussia against France, 357; representation of, in the Bundesrath, 364.

"Young Ireland," 456.
"Young Italy," founded by Mazzini, 326–327, 335.
Young Turks, and the Revolution of *1908*, 555–556, 594–595; policy of, 597–600.
Yuan Shih K'ai, President of the Republic of China, 583.

Zola, Emile, and the Dreyfus case, 397, 399.
Zurich, 527, constitution of the canton of, 531.